

31

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

31

A large, stylized, handwritten signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, rendered in a light blue color. The signature is fluid and expressive, with a prominent 'J' and 'N'.A small, stylized, handwritten signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, rendered in a light blue color. It is a simplified version of the larger signature above.

"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote...the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



AT THE RADIUM INSTITUTE AND CANCER HOSPITAL, HYDERABAD.
8 DECEMBER 1955

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Thirty One

(18 November 1955–31 January 1956)

A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Fund

© 2002

All rights reserved

Enquiries regarding copyright
to be addressed to the publishers

PUBLISHED BY

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
Teen Murti House, New Delhi 110 011

ISBN 019 566527 9

DISTRIBUTED BY

Oxford University Press
YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001
Mumbai Calcutta Chennai
Oxford New York Toronto
Melbourne Tokyo Hong Kong

PHOTOTYPESET AND PRINTED BY

Rekha Printers Private Limited
A-102/1, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase II
New Delhi 110 020

Edited by

H.Y. Sharada Prasad and A.K. Damodaran

FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

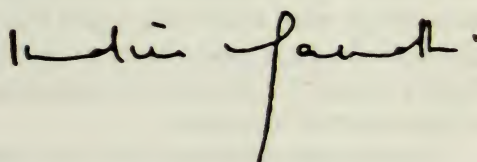
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping line extending from the bottom of the word "Gandhi" downwards.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

The present volume covers the period from 18 November 1955 to 31 January 1956. The most important event during this period is the visit of the Soviet leaders to India and Myanmar. We have some very useful material in the record of the conversations between Bulganin and Khrushchev and Jawaharlal Nehru. Other important developments in external affairs are concerned with Indian activist diplomacy with regard to Indo-China. India's relations with the United Kingdom and the United States at this time of cold war tension are important, both from the multilateral angle and also from the more limited perception of India's own national interests. The decision of Mr Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, to endorse the Portuguese position in Goa is a major irritant and influences our discussion with other countries. In Indo-China, the South Vietnam Government is non-cooperative. It is against this wider background that the crisis in the Middle East, between Israel and Egypt, gradually began to develop. Here again, India and Nehru are willing to play a mediatory role, if necessary. The actual diplomatic dialogues are conducted through, most of all, the British Government. Both Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister, and Malcolm Macdonald, the UK High Commissioner in India, are Nehru's major interlocutors. Krishna Menon, as the Head of the Indian Delegation to the UN, is Nehru's trusted confidant, a role supplemented by the Indian High Commissioner in London, Mrs Pandit. Most of the more important letters and messages in the book are to these personal partners in diplomacy along with, on one occasion, Lady Edwina Mountbatten. All this provides a total picture of Nehru's foreign policy vision and his strategy for meeting the challenges, both to India's national interests and to world peace. Problems like the much delayed question of new members for the UN General Assembly, and the institutionalization in Vienna of global atomic diplomacy, are dealt with by Nehru in his discussions with the world leaders and also his instructions to Indian officials.

The visit of the two Soviet leaders, Bulganin, the Prime Minister, and Khrushchev, the Communist Party General Secretary, in November-December, was a path-breaking event. It was the first visit of the Soviet leaders, after the beginning of the cold war, to a non-socialist developing country. In every sense it was a return visit to Jawaharlal's own very successful visit to the Soviet Union a few months earlier. In those early months of de-Stalinization, India provided to Soviet diplomacy an excellent opportunity for projecting their point of view not only to the people of India, but to the world outside. The huge popular success of the visit, of course, delighted them and irritated the western powers. The public meetings in India, as Nehru notes were great popular successes, a totally new experience for the Soviet leaders. The gigantic gathering at Kolkata is mentioned again and again by the Prime Minister in his letters. Equally important was the late decision made by the Soviet leaders to visit Kashmir in spite of its controversial situation in Indo-Pakistan relations. This

was, Nehru notes, directly due to the persistent requests of Karan Singh, the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir. The confidential conversations reveal nothing very dramatically new but they do give an idea of the degree of frankness and mutual understanding displayed by both sides. Of particular interest is the Prime Minister's anxiety to make the Soviet leadership understand his Government's problems with the Communist Party of India. The reaction of the Soviet leadership is tactful but non-committal. Much easier to discuss were, of course, the relations with the Great Powers of the world. Here, there was total understanding on problems like Goa, Egypt and China's developing relations with the United States. These conversations are of permanent documentary value. The Soviet leadership welcomes the idea of direct diplomatic conversations between the United States and China in Geneva. They are obviously quite confident that the Chinese, who are "good politicians", would derive genuine benefit from such a diplomatic initiative. In purely bilateral matters, the discussions did lead to some new negotiations on possible supply of defence equipment from the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries. This was at a time when we were in the middle of advanced negotiations with the British Government for the purchase of fighter aircraft. Nehru listens to British apprehensions of India's possible understanding with the communist countries and avoids entering into any particular contract at that particular moment, even though he makes it absolutely clear to the British High Commissioner that India would always make its purchases from any source to meet its defence needs. It is interesting to note that, even during these friendly conversations, Nehru was not, at any moment, uncritical. He is not very happy about Mr Khrushchev's exuberant public performances. His speeches, criticizing nations friendly to India, were not appreciated. Even though this was not mentioned to them directly, Nehru returned again and again to this subject in his letters. It is also interesting to note that, throughout the visit, Nehru and his colleagues seem to be still not fully conscious of Khrushchev's greater role in decision-making. The dual leadership continued in Soviet decision-making for more than a year, including during the visit to Britain in the summer of 1956; but by 1957 the world slowly began to realize the realities of communist precedence. The Party was everything; its Secretary, the supreme leader. This was so in China, in the Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries. The evolutionary nature of this power equation in the communist leadership is clear today and it is fascinating to see how slowly Nehru begins to understand it. He appreciates Khrushchev, more and more and his importance. He also begins to enjoy the exuberance of his personality. He is shocked when Rajaji, in a letter, says that Khrushchev reminds him of Hitler. Jawaharlal explains the total differences in the personalities as well as in the historical situation.

Another important foreign personality to visit the country was the King of Saudi Arabia. His Majesty's lavish generosity to the Indian dignitaries, officials and staff made Nehru study the whole question of gifts and presents from foreign dignitaries.

At home the Report of the States Reorganization Commission has begun to create problems but the major developments are still in the future. It is interesting to note that for Nehru himself, the individual linguistic state is a

low priority. He appreciates the beauty of language and culture but feels that, from the point of view of India's political and economic organization, much larger states are necessary. Again and again, he returns to the concept of five large zones in the country overarching individual states. As is well known, this idea never took off the ground. Nehru's fascination with the bigger unit is also shown in his positive reaction to the abortive proposal from the Chief Ministers of Bihar and West Bengal to have a union of the two States. The problem of Bombay as well as the future of the Punjab region are major items of discussions.

Another significant development at this stage was the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan. This gives Nehru an opportunity to analyse in several important speeches, and in discussing with the Planning Commission, the problems of short-term and long-term planning. He emphasizes the need for equal importance being given to distant projections, an immediate agenda for five years and the actual administrative challenges of each year within the plan period. A very important subject discussed by Nehru during this period is the priority of primary education in national planning. A memorable note by Dr J.C. Ghosh, Member of the Planning Commission, emphasizing this attracts Nehru's attention. It is one of the sad ironies of our national development that this continued throughout the decades to be one of the weakest points of our national planning. In our own time, Amartya Sen has had to remind the civil society in India of this reality.

Another important aspect of domestic politics is the relationship between the Centre and the states. Here, an important development was Nehru's differences with the Punjab Chief Minister, Bhimsen Sachar, who insisted that a brilliant Indian engineer, who was helping Corbusier in the Chandigarh project, should be asked to leave when his tenure expired. Nehru did not agree. He thought that administrative rules, dealing with pension, extension, etc., need not be observed in exceptional cases; and he thought that the case in question was exceptional. This dispute got entangled with another dispute in the Punjab between the two senior leaders in the Congress, Kairon and Sachar. Finally, Sachar decided to leave. A potentially much more important issue was Nehru's suggestion to the J & K Government to examine feasibility of Shaikh Abdullah's release as soon as possible. Here, the Sadar-i-Riyasat felt that it would be premature.

One interesting discussion in domestic economic policy was the relationship between heavy industries and small-scale industries, triggered off from two different directions. In the conversation with the Soviet leaders they went on emphasizing heavy industries. Nehru was inclined to agree but he could never lose sight of the disastrous impact on the employment opportunities for the poor sections of the people if the cottage industries were discouraged. At the same time, there were several interesting expressions of divergent views about the Ambar Charkha. These are seminal discussions; phrases like "intermediate technology" were still not used, but the Prime Minister is conscious of the dilemmas.

Nehru's fascination with science comes through, loud and clear, in his address to the annual session of the Science Congress. He speaks about the scientific temper and the scientific approach, particularly from the point of

view of the development of atomic energy. Here, of course, we were at crucial stages in the development of India's own nuclear programme, both on its own and in collaboration with countries like Canada and the United States.

There are several occasions in this volume when Nehru's compulsive pan-Indian vision emerges again and again. Whether he is in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, or in Andhra Pradesh, he always reminds his people of the strict precedence in importance between India as a State and the various states of the federation. He is quite sensitive to all parts of India and is visibly upset at the rather condescending attitude of the District Administration in the North East to Rani Gaidinliu, the Naga heroine, whom Nehru had known for several years.

Perhaps the most important single development at home was the initiation of the Nagarjunasagar project in Andhra and Hyderabad. Jawaharlal is at his inimitable best in speaking both about the economic value of the dam to be constructed there and also the cultural significance of one of the great centres of the Buddhist world. Special care was taken to see to it that the historical monuments at the site of the dam would be removed piece by piece and reconstructed on the top of a hill nearby. This was a truly successful effort in cultural rehabilitation which had its parallels in Egypt. The contemporary problems of human rehabilitation were as yet in the future.

In addition to the usual speeches, notes, letters and telegrams on every conceivable topic which give an idea of Jawaharlal Nehru's domestic preoccupations and an all-encompassing world view, this volume contains a very unusual item, Tibor Mende's conversations with Nehru during this period. Mr Mende was a distinguished French academic of Hungarian origin and an ardent admirer of Nehru. He persuaded the Indian statesman to have a dialogue with him extending over several sessions. There was obvious empathy between the two interlocutors and the conversation was always frank. Nehru obviously enjoyed himself in this interaction with an intelligent, concerned and disinterested observer from another continent. The conversations were taped, and with Nehru's permission published in 1956. Such a successful experiment in communication could not obviously be left out from the contents of the present volume. It is hoped and believed that this exercise in self-analysis at a critical moment in Nehru's evolution as a practical politician will help to present a coherent and a total picture of the man and his ideas.

It is our very pleasant duty, in placing this volume before its readers, to thank various individuals and institutions for their support and help in bringing it out. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi has graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as always, assisted in the publication of this volume by granting access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, Planning Commission, National Archives of India, All India Radio and the Press Information Bureau have allowed us to use relevant material in their possession. We wish to acknowledge, in particular, the permission given to us by All India Radio to use the tapes of the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. Some classified material has necessarily been withheld. One letter published in *Two Alone, Two Together: Letters between Indira Gandhi*

and Jawaharlal Nehru, 1940-64, edited by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi has been included in the volume.

Last but not the least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. Indeed, we are deeply indebted to Shri Tapan Kumar Karanjai, Dr Bhashyam Kasturi, Shri Shyamal Roy, Shri Amrit Tandon, Ms Geeta Kudaisya, Ms Shantisri Banerji, Dr Etee Bahadur and Dr Jawaid Alam, all of whom rendered scholarly assistance in the collection of archival material and its subsequent organisation. We are no less deeply indebted to Ms Malini Rajani and Ms Saroja Anantha Krishnan for undertaking the necessary typing work and assisting in the preparation of the index. Without their labour and commitment, this volume, with its rich historical data, could not have been placed before the scholarly community and lay citizens alike, interested in the life and works of Jawaharlal Nehru.

CONTENTS

1. General Perspectives

1	Onward Journey to a Welfare State	9	December	1955	3
2	Equal Opportunities for Progress	10	December	1955	9
3	Economic Development and Emotional Integration	25	December	1955	14
4	Unity and Communal Harmony	25	December	1955	19
5	The Objective of Economic Well-being	26	December	1955	25
6	No Quarter for Communalism	27	December	1955	33
7	Peaceful March for Progress	30	January	1956	43

2. Building New India

I. Economy

1	To T.T. Krishnamachari	2	December	1955	57
2	The Ambar Charkha	5	December	1955	60
3	To V.T. Krishnamachari	16	December	1955	64
4	Nationalization of Coal Industry	22	December	1955	65
5	Strike by Bank Employees	31	December	1955	67
6	The Second Plan: Scope and Resources	6	January	1956	68
7	Towards a Socialist Structure of Society	7	January	1956	71
8	To V.T. Krishnamachari	14	January	1956	78
9	To M. Visvesvaraya	18	January	1956	79
10	Helping the Less Privileged	18	January	1956	81
11	Basic Approach to the Second Plan	20	January	1956	83
12	To B.C. Roy	26	January	1956	90

II. Education and Culture

1	Building Links with Common People	25	November	1955	91
2	To K.K. Datta	4	December	1955	97
3	Books for Common People	7	December	1955	98
4	Preserving the Remains of Nagarjunakonda	10	December	1955	103
5	To Rajendra Prasad	19	December	1955	106
6	Responsibilities of the Young	20	December	1955	107
7	Excavations at Nagarjunakonda	21	December	1955	108
8	Settlement with Rathindra Nath Tagore	22	December	1955	109
9	Literature—a Civilizing Process	26	December	1955	110

10	Secret Records for Scholarly Scrutiny	29	December	1955	116
11	Permanent Industrial Exhibition	1	January	1956	117
12	To J.C. Ghosh	8	January	1956	118
13	Integrated Idea of India's Past	9	January	1956	120
14	Indian Temple Sculpture	12	January	1956	121

III. Scientific Research

1	Supply of Atomic Reactors	22	November	1955	122
2	Involvement of Scientists in Planning	7	December	1955	123
3	No Delay in Atomic Research	14	December	1955	124
4	To N.K. Sidhanta	15	December	1955	125
5	Scientists and Integrated View of Life	2	January	1956	126
6	To M.N. Saha	21	January	1956	134

IV. Minorities

1	Regulation of Religious Conversions	2	December	1955	135
2	Telegram to Sri Krishna Sinha	8	December	1955	139

V. Tribal Affairs

1	Rani Gaidinliu	14	December	1955	139
2	To B.C. Roy	16	December	1955	141
3	Telegram to Bisnuram Medhi	25	January	1956	142

VI. The Language Question

1	Memorandum on Urdu	24	November	1955	143
2	All Languages Should Grow	8	December	1955	143
3	To K.M. Munshi	22	December	1955	149
4	To Govind Das	8	January	1956	150

3. Reorganization of States

1	Problems in Reorganization	22	November	1955	153
2	To Partap Singh Kairon	24	November	1955	156
3	To K. Santhanam	2	December	1955	157
4	To M.K. Shivananjappa	7	December	1955	159
5	To Yadavendra Singh	7	December	1955	160
6	The Right Approach	11	December	1955	161
7	To Atulya Ghosh	19	December	1955	168

8	To Shankarrao Deo	20	December	1955	168
9	Various Aspects of Reorganization	21	December	1955	170
10	Points for Consideration	24	December	1955	184
11	To Bisnuram Medhi	30	December	1955	198
12	To C. Rajagopalachari	30	December	1955	199
13	To Morarji Desai	1	January	1956	200
14	To Mukat Behari Lal Bhargava	8	January	1956	203
15	Context for the Reorganization	16	January	1956	204
16	To S. Nijalingappa	19	January	1956	207
17	To C.D. Deshmukh	23	January	1956	208
18	Call to the Nation	23	January	1956	210
19	Proposed Merger of West Bengal and Bihar	23	January	1956	212
20	To C.D. Deshmukh	28	January	1956	214
21	Proposed Union of West Bengal and Bihar	29	January	1956	216

4. Indian National Congress

1	To Sri Krishna Sinha	4	December	1955	223
2	To U.N. Dhebar	19	December	1955	224
3	Congress and the Nation	31	December	1955	224
4	Goals Before the Congress	3	January	1956	226

5. Parliamentary Affairs

1	Invitation to MPs for Official Functions	21	November	1955	231
2	Guidelines for Protocol	22	November	1955	233
3	To Congress MPs of Lok Sabha	1	December	1955	235
4	To Satya Narayan Sinha	5	December	1955	236

6. Defence

1	Purchase of the Fighter Aircraft	26	November	1955	239
2	To K.N. Katju	2	December	1955	240
3	To Mahavir Tyagi	4	December	1955	241

7. Problems of Governance

I. Central Government

1	To Govind Ballabh Pant	27	November	1955	245
2	Gifts from Foreign Guests	2	December	1955	246

3	Citizenship Bill: Question of Commonwealth Citizenship	5	December	1955	247
4	To Govind Ballabh Pant	6	December	1955	254
5	A New Role for the Services	9	December	1955	255
6	Jallianwala Bagh Mural in Parliament House	29	December	1955	265
7	Nationality of Josh Malihabadi	30	December	1955	266
8	Arrangements During Tours	31	December	1955	266
9	Traffic Management in Agra during PM's Visit	3	January	1956	268
10	Cash Gifts to Government Staff	9	January	1956	269
11	Discipline in Police and the People	10	January	1956	270
12	To S. Radhakrishnan	28	January	1956	271

II. State Governments

1	To Bisnuram Medhi	20	November	1955	272
2	To Bhimsen Sachar	22	December	1955	273
3	To K. Kamaraj Nadar	23	December	1955	275
4	Relationship of Chief Commissioner with Ministers	24	December	1955	278
5	To Nawab of Bhopal	31	December	1955	279
6	To V.T. Krishnamachari	31	December	1955	279
7	To C.P.N. Singh	8	January	1956	280
8	To Bhimsen Sachar	10	January	1956	281
9	The Woodlands behind Rashtrapati Bhavan	11	January	1956	284
10	To Tara Singh	15	January	1956	285
11	To Brish Bhan	17	January	1956	287

8. Kashmir

1	To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad	17	December	1955	291
2	Condition of the Families of Political Prisoners	24	December	1955	292
3	To Karan Singh	11	January	1956	292
4	To Karan Singh	20	January	1956	295

9. Visit of the Soviet Leaders

1	Towards Stronger Bonds of Friendship	19	November	1955	299
2	India's Path	20	November	1955	301
3	Talks with the Soviet Leaders—I	21	November	1955	303
4	To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad	21	November	1955	307
5	To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad	23	November	1955	308
6	To Karan Singh	23	November	1955	309
7	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	25	November	1955	310

8	To Karan Singh	26	November	1955	311
9	Air Service between India and USSR	30	November	1955	312
10	The Relevance of <i>Panch Shila</i>	30	November	1955	312
11	To U Nu	1	December	1955	318
12	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	2	December	1955	321
13	To Karan Singh	2	December	1955	322
14	To C. Rajagopalachari	2	December	1955	323
15	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	2	December	1955	324
16	Indo-Soviet Cultural Cooperation	3	December	1955	326
17	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	5	December	1955	328
18	To Lady Mountbatten	5	December	1955	331
19	Talks with the Soviet Leaders—II	12	December	1955	334
20	Talks with the Soviet Leaders—III	13	December	1955	345
21	Impressions: Soviet Leaders' Visit to India	20	December	1955	354

10. External Affairs

I. Sri Lanka

1	People of Indian Descent	6	December	1955	369
2	Interpretation of the 1954 Agreement	31	January	1956	371

II. Pakistan

1	Help to Social Welfare Institutions in Pakistan	24	November	1955	372
2	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	2	December	1955	373
3	To A.K. Fazlul Huq	15	December	1955	374
4	Indian Propaganda in Pakistan	15	January	1956	375
5	A Memorial for Jinnah	19	January	1956	375

III. New Admissions to the UN

1	Message to Anthony Eden	27	November	1955	376
2	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	27	November	1955	378
3	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	13	December	1955	379

IV. The Baghdad Pact

1	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	20	November	1955	379
2	Baghdad Pact and USA	20	November	1955	380
3	Futility of Military Pacts	26	November	1955	381

4	India and the Baghdad Pact	27	November	1955	383
5	Message to Anthony Eden	2	December	1955	384
6	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	6	December	1955	387
7	Talk with the Iranian Ambassador	18	December	1955	389
8	Message to Anthony Eden	25	January	1956	391

V. Far East & Indo-China

1	Cable to R.K. Nehru	15	December	1955	394
2	Cable to R.K. Nehru	15	December	1955	395
3	Cable to R.K. Nehru	15	December	1955	396
4	Cable to R.K. Nehru	23	December	1955	397
5	Chinese Prisoners in USA	24	December	1955	398

VI. Other Countries

1	Relations with Saudi Arabia	28	November	1955	398
2	Canada's Misgivings on Foreign Aid to India	4	December	1955	401
3	Export of Beryl Ore	7	December	1955	402
4	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	15	December	1955	403
5	China and India	18	December	1955	404
6	To Bhagwan Sahay	8	January	1956	410
7	Contacts between India and Germany	11	January	1956	411

VII. Miscellaneous

1	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	3	December	1955	413
2	To Horace Alexander	4	December	1955	414
3	To John Kotelawala	7	December	1955	416
4	To Josip Broz Tito	23	December	1955	418
5	External Finances for CPI	23	January	1956	420
6	Fundamentals of India's Foreign Policy	24	January	1956	421

VIII. The Goa Question

1	Dulles-Cunha Joint Statement	4	December	1955	423
2	Fallout of the Joint Statement	4	December	1955	424
3	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	7	December	1955	425
4	Publicity about Goa	16	December	1955	426
5	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	24	December	1955	427
6	The United States and Goa	30	December	1955	428
7	To John Foster Dulles	15	January	1956	432
8	Jurisdiction of the ICJ	31	January	1956	433

11. Conversations with Tibor Mende

1	To Tibor Mende	19 December	1955	437
2	First Session	31 December	1955	438
3	Second Session	1 January	1956	460
4	Third Session	8 January	1956	478
5	Fourth Session	9 January	1956	495

12. Letters to Chief Ministers

I		26 November	1955	521
II		30 December	1955	529
III		16 January	1956	534

13. Miscellaneous

1	National Anthem and National Song	25 November	1955	543
2	To Tenzing Norgay	30 November	1955	543
3	To Yehudi Menuhin	4 December	1955	544
4	Controlling Sadhus	4 December	1955	545
5	Communism in India	7 December	1955	546
6	Arrangements for Food during Tours	27 December	1955	551
7	<i>The Discovery of India</i> : Hungarian Translation	20 January	1956	553
8	To Indira Gandhi	24 January	1956	553

ILLUSTRATIONS

- At the Radium Institute and Cancer Hospital,
Hyderabad, 8 December 1955 *frontispiece*
- Sprinkling flowers on the foundation
stone of the Nagarjunasagar dam,
10 December 1955 *between pp.* 86-87
- Opening a new building of the Delhi
School of Economics, 18 January 1956
- At the entrance of Kerala Kalamandalam,
Cheruthuruthy, 25 December 1955 102-103
- From *Shankar's Weekly*, 1 January 1956
- Receiving Nikolai A. Bulganin and Nikita S. Khrushchev,
New Delhi airport, 18 November 1955 310-311
- With Bulganin and Khrushchev,
New Delhi, 1955
- With Bulganin and Khrushchev prior to their
departure for Myanmar, Kolkata airport,
1 December 1955 326-327
- Signing the Joint Statement with Bulganin,
New Delhi, 13 December 1955
- From *Shankar's Weekly*, 20 November 1955 342-343
- Bidding goodbye to Bulganin and Khrushchev,
New Delhi airport, 14 December 1955

With Gaetano Martino, Foreign Minister of Italy,
New Delhi, 4 January 1956 438-439

With Franz Bluecher, Vice Chancellor, Federal
Republic of Germany,
New Delhi, 11 January 1956

With Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat Sen)
and others at a garden party,
New Delhi, 17 December 1955 454-455

With members of a cultural delegation from Uzbekistan,
New Delhi, 19 December 1955

ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BPCC	Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CPI/CP	Communist Party of India
CPGB	Communist Party of Great Britain
CPWD/PWD	Central Public Works Department
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSR	Central Service Rules
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DM	District Magistrate
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
FS	Foreign Secretary
GOI	Government of India
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
I&B	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICS	Indian Civil Service
ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MEDO	Middle East Defence Organization
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NAI	National Archives of India
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NNC	Naga National Council
NNRC	Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission
NPC	National Planning Committee
NR&SR	Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PRO	Public Relations Officer
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SG	Secretary General
SRC	States Reorganization Commission
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNO/UN	United Nations Organization
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USA/US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
WH&S	Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply
WIDF	Women's International Democratic Federation

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Onward Journey to a Welfare State¹

Mr Chairman² and Members of the Kurnool Municipal Council and Friends and Comrades,

I am grateful to you for your address of welcome. As you have said, this is my second visit to Kurnool city. Two years ago, I came here on an auspicious occasion when the Andhra State began its career.³ It is only a little over two years since then, but this infant State has already shown its good health, has become sturdy and strong, and gives every hope of its future progress. So I wish to congratulate you, not only those who are here in this city of Kurnool, but all the people of Andhra, on the progress made by this latest of our states during these past two years. That progress and the work done during this period is testimony not only of what has been done but what is going to be done.

Tomorrow, as you know, I am going to inaugurate one of the major projects, not only of Andhra, but of India, the Nagarjunasagar Project.⁴ I am happy to be associated with this Project which will bring prosperity to the people of Andhra and to the people of India as a whole. These big projects are welcome and are signs and symbols of our daring, because to undertake these great projects of many kinds all over India requires a great deal of courage, not only in starting them but in achieving success in them. And as we achieve success in one project after another, our ambitions grow, our strength grows, our confidence in ourselves grows, and so we go on step by step on our onward journey. This onward journey is the journey not only of you and me, but of all the thirty-seven crores of people in India, onward journey to a welfare state, to a socialistic structure of society, wherein every individual, every person has full opportunities of growth, where not only the necessities of life but the cultural opportunities of life can be shared by everyone. That is the aim. That is what we are aiming at. It is a tremendous task to raise this country of 370

1. Speech at a public meeting, Coles Memorial Hostel Grounds, Kurnool, 9 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. S. Narasimha Reddi was the Chairman of the Kurnool Municipal Council.
3. Nehru inaugurated the Andhra State on 1 October 1953. For his speech on this occasion, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, pp. 262-266.
4. On 10 December 1955, Nehru laid the foundation stone of the 122-crore Nagarjunasagar dam, a joint venture of the Governments of Andhra and Hyderabad across the Krishna river. The dam, about a hundred miles from Hyderabad, was expected to irrigate nearly 3.5 million acres of land in both the States and generate 75,000 kW of power. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see the next item.

millions, after hundreds of years of servitude. But even in these last eight years we have seen and the world has seen that we are in earnest, that we are determined to achieve our objective and that we will achieve it.

We have made some progress in these last eight years but the way is long and we have far to go and we have to use all our strength and spend all our energy in this, not merely as individuals, not merely as groups here and there, not merely as states, but with all the strength of a united India. No state, however hard it may work by itself, if it is isolated from the full current of life, that is India, will go far ahead. But if India goes far ahead, every state will go far. Therefore, all of us have to remember always this lesson of the unity of India, this lesson that we all hold together, stand together, and if we fail to stand together we fail altogether.

It is important, because while we all know and realise the importance of unity, at the same time we get misled. We get excited and forget this major consideration and are led into wrong directions. Even now, all over India there is a great deal of argument going on about the Report of the States Reorganization Commission which was appointed nearly two years ago.⁵ That Commission consisted of three able, impartial members not intimately connected with our party or any party. After close consideration, they gave their Report. And obviously any report coming from such a source deserves our earnest and respectful consideration. It may be that each one of us does not accept or does not like some recommendations they have made. Even when that Report came out, and I first spoke on the Radio about it,⁶ I ventured to say that I was somewhat surprised at some of the recommendations. People do not believe that I could have been ignorant of the Report when it came out. But the fact is that I was ignorant of it, I do not meddle in other people's affairs. I have enough to do of my own. When we asked a Commission to do a job, I left them to do it as best as they could. And when it came out, some parts of it came to me as a surprise. That does not mean that I disagreed with them or agreed with them. They merely were novel ideas to me. But after that, we paid a great deal of attention to what they said and as I just said we considered their recommendations with all the respect that such a Commission's Report deserved. I am not going to discuss that Report with you now. We have to consider it in other places, by our Government, by our Parliament, by our national organisation, the Congress, because it is our desire to arrive at conclusions which meet with the largest measure of goodwill among our people.

5. The States Reorganization Commission, appointed on 29 December 1953 and comprising of S. Fazl Ali as Chairman, and H.N. Kunzru, and K.M. Panikkar as members, submitted its report on 30 September 1955.

6. On 9 October 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 524-526.

So far as I am concerned, naturally, I should like to consider the administrative advantages, the economic advantages, the linguistic advantages, and all the other questions that arise. But to me, it is of the least importance where a bit of India is, in which state it is, here or there, because before me is the picture of India, not a particular state only here and there, and it is far more important to me that people should work in amity and goodwill rather than quarrelling over little bits of areas or territory. Goodwill is a more precious thing, cooperation is infinitely more valuable than any patch or area of land.

You, people of Kurnool and people of Andhra, naturally are attached to your State of Andhra, to your language, and to your customs. That is right. But, after all, what is the thing that you ought to value most? Is your heritage bigger even than the heritage of Andhra? What you should attach most value to, is that you are the citizens of the Sovereign Independent Republic of India, that you are the inheritors of all that India stands for today, all that tremendous past of India going back to the dawn of history many thousands of years ago, all this vast area of India from the snowy Himalayas to Cape Comorin, all that has happened in these thousands of years of joy and sorrow to our ancient race, all that you and I have inherited. Do you think your Andhra is your own particular preserve and I am not to share in the heritage of Andhra? Why should I also not be proud of Andhra; and you only? And why should you not share also in the heritage of the Himalayas or Cape Comorin or Bombay or Calcutta, or all this great country of ours? This is a common heritage for us and it does not really matter very much if for administrative reasons some decision is made which does not please you or please me. I am not particularly happy about every recommendation that the States Reorganization Commission has made. Yesterday in Hyderabad⁷ I said, two years ago, no—two, three, four years ago, repeatedly I stated in Hyderabad city at public meetings that I was entirely opposed to the division of the Hyderabad State,⁸ simply because here was a State carrying on work competently. Why should we undergo the trouble of dividing and trisecting it? So, I said that I was entirely opposed to this idea. Yet when this matter has been considered by our Commission and they have come to a certain decision after giving full consideration to various facts and to the wishes of the people, do I go on shouting my loudest that I will not have it?⁹ I accept as a soldier the decision that has been made, because all my

7. At a meeting of Congress workers.

8. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, p. 25.

9. The States Reorganization Commission had recommended that apart from the districts of Raichur and Gulbarga, the Marathawada districts should also be detached from the Hyderabad State. The residuary State which should continue to be known as Hyderabad was to consist of the Telugu districts of Hyderabad namely Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal (including Khammam), Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad, Medak along with Bidar district and Munagala enclave in the Nalgonda district.

life, I have been a disciplined soldier, a soldier of my country, a soldier of the Congress, a soldier of that great leader under whose feet we sat and learned to do our job a little. So we accept things, often enough, whether we like them or dislike them. We reason and we argue, we try to convince others or be convinced and when the decision is arrived at we accept with goodwill and good heart. We have had our say, others have had their say and then we proceed to do the real work. The real work is not cutting up India, this way or that way, into states. The real work is the advancement of the people of India, of the 370 million people of India; whether they live on this side of the border of a state or that side, we do not want any of them to suffer. Every one must have equal opportunities for growth. Therefore I beg of you to consider these matters, not only of the States Reorganization Commission but all other matters that arise, in a spirit of sweet reasonableness, of full argument, of full discussion, and then when some decision is arrived at, as is done in every democratic society by democratic means, then to accept it. And even if you want to change it, work if you like for the change later. Nothing is final in this world.

The address of welcome of the Municipal Council referred to our activities in the international sphere and referred to the message of peace that we have ventured to emphasise in all our activities outside India. That is so. I do not mean to say that we are the first or the second or the third to do so. Other countries, many people in the world—I should say, the vast majority of the people in the world—hunger for peace. The leaders of every country want peace, only a lunatic wants war. That is true. But it is one thing to want peace. It is another thing to adopt methods which will create a peaceful atmosphere. And what we are trying to place in all humility before the eminent statesmen of the world is this, that methods count, means count, not only the ends aimed at. That is the major lesson that Mahatmaji taught us. Means count, means are even more important often than ends. Even for good ends, wrong means should not be employed because if you have wrong methods and wrong means, the ends themselves will fade away. That is what we have ventured to say. If we want peace we cannot have peace through attempts, through talk of war and preparation of war. That merely leads to fear and suspicion and each move leads to some counter-move. Also if we want peace, we have to be a little restrained in our language. There are many things in this wide world that you may not like. You may not like your neighbour's way of doing things. But is it right for you to go and curse your neighbour because you do not like his way of doing things or is it right for me to go and condemn some neighbour country for I do not like the way they do things. And then if I do so, they condemn my way of doing things and we have a tournament of cursing and condemning each other. That does not help anybody. That does not convince anybody. That merely excites anger and passion on each side and clouds our

minds. Therefore, whether we like a thing or dislike a thing we should use the language of restraint, the language of peace. We should never give up any principle that we value because if we give up our standards, our principles, the truths we cherish, then indeed we have no foundation left. But the cherishing of a truth does not require the abusing of the other party. It does not require the abuse of the other party which does not believe in your truth. If it is truth, if it is properly put forward, it will gradually percolate into the other's mind. But it will never percolate if you take a big stick to make the other party believe in your truth. All this business of armament, and threats of war and preparation of war in order to make the other party believe that you are right—well, if the other party is terribly weak, it may be frightened into submission, but no belief will come that way.

Now, we talk bravely about our message of peace in the wide world. But remember this—that it is very easy to talk about what others should do. It is more difficult to act on to your own principles in your own home and in your own homeland. If we go about carrying this message of peace elsewhere, surely we should set an example of it in our own country first of all. Indeed, it does not much matter what we say to other countries. What is important is what we do in our own country. And when I look at my own country, proud as I am of my people and my country, I am sometimes greatly distressed—distressed at certain tendencies towards violence, at fissiparous tendencies, at conflicts which tend to become much too violent. What is this? Let us remember we are apt as a race to hold up the highest ideals and then to fall singularly below them in our practice. That is a bad thing. It is better to have a lower ideal and act up to it than high ideals and not act up to anything. We must be men of integrity, a race of integrity. What we say we should do. If we talk of peace to others, let us have peace in our own heart. Let us behave well to our neighbours. Let all this trouble about linguistic provinces and others be decided peacefully, in a friendly way and not by threats, not by violence. What happened in the city of Bombay two or three weeks ago?¹⁰ Violence! Burning! Arson! Why? Because some people thought they were trying to convince others this way; a peculiar way of convincing others! So I beg of you to consider that we are as a people very much on our trial and it is a very serious matter. It is easy for us to pass resolutions, to deliver speeches, but we will be tested ultimately by our own behaviour, what we do, what we are. It does not ultimately matter what you

10. On 18 November 1955, the police in Bombay clashed with demonstrators who were demanding merger of Bombay city with Maharashtra, and on 20 November, a Congress meeting at Bombay, addressed by the Chief Minister, Morarji Desai, was disturbed when brickbats were hurled on the dais. The next day, several buses and trains were set on fire and some police posts attacked, and this led to police firing in which ten persons were killed and 266 injured.

say although that is important. It matters what you do but finally it matters what you are. That is the ultimate test of a human being, and of a nation. I have dreamt for long of the future of India. Long long ago, we thought and dreamt of a free India and it has been given to us in our generation, to see an independent and free India. That is something of which all of us cannot only be proud but infinitely grateful, that we have achieved this great accomplishment in our life. But that did not bring an end to our pilgrimage or our journey. For immediately we achieved the freedom of India a new journey spread out—to carry, to take, to march together with the 370 million people of India, to the next stage of their higher status, betterment, welfare state, socialist society so that every human being in India, to whatever province he might belong, to whatever religion he might belong, to whatever caste or sect he might belong, should have equal opportunity. Remember this, when we talk of the unity of India, it does not mean the unity of one religion, one sect, one caste; it means the unity of every individual in India. It means, indeed, if you believe in the equality of people in India, if you believe in the socialist approach, if you believe in the democratic approach, it means that you have to put an end to every barrier that separates, to every barrier that makes some people high up and some people low down. It means the break up of the system of caste that has pursued us all these years and separated us into different compartments. It means this and much more. So this tremendous journey came before us.

Now, we dream and work for this next stage in our journey. It is a mighty journey of 370 million people. We talk of plans. We work in terms of five year plans because it is a convenient method. But there is no end of this journey at the end of five years. In a brief time we shall have the Second Five Year Plan and so we go on marching step by step. I have no doubt we shall march and I have no doubt we shall go ahead. But what I am anxious about is that whatever we do we should do in the right way, whatever we do we should do with integrity, with goodwill, with comradeship for all those in our country and indeed for all those who are outside, that we should have no malice, no ill will and no anger against anybody, and thus, fulfil the destiny of this great country of ours.¹¹

11. After this Nehru spoke in Hindi covering the same points.

2. Equal Opportunities for Progress¹

As I look at this beautiful sight, my mind goes back to the past and it also looks into the future. Here the distant past surrounds us, the great past when our ancestors built great works here. What we are going to do here, is for the future, for future generations, for you and your children and your children's children, and long after that, so that the water of this great river of ours, the Krishna, might be utilised, might be spread out over your fields and might thus bless your work. But let us think also of the old days—2,000 years ago—when this Krishna river brought great ships here from the sea and people came here from distant countries—China, Japan, Burma, Thailand and Ceylon. They came here because here was a great city, a famous University and Indian thought and culture spread out from here. Here stood the great city of Sripavata, later known as Vijayapuri. Here, the great Ikshvaku kings² ruled and here above all, was a great University and the great Acharya Nagarjuna.³ So, here was a great centre of learning and culture and the Buddhist faith, not only for our own country, but for many countries in Asia, and people came here from these distant countries to learn the message of the Buddha, the message of peace and goodwill. So let us remember of that period in our history when India was a seat of learning and light, giving generously of her learning and her message and light to our neighbouring countries and friends.

Now, 2,000 years later, we are again free and we have renewed our bonds with all our neighbouring countries and again, I hope, all of us together will work for peace and for the advancement of humanity. And in this great work, that we are now beginning in the whole of India, and of which this Nagarjunasagar may well, be a symbol. In this great work, I am sure, we shall have the blessings of our great ancestors who used to work here. Today, what

1. Speech while laying the foundation stone of the Nagarjunasagar dam on the right bank of the Krishna river in the Andhra State, 10 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. After this, Nehru crossed over in a ferry to the Hyderabad side and unveiled a pylon to mark the commencement of construction of the Nagarjunasagar dam on the left bank of the river.
2. The Ikshvaku Kings, who were the subordinates of the Satavahanas, established an independent kingdom with Vijayapuri (Nagarjunakonda) as their capital in the second quarter of the third century A.D. Their rule was ended by the Pallavas of Kanchipuram at the end of the third century A.D.
3. Acharya Nagarjuna was one of the earliest and greatest among the Mahayana philosophers who resided and preached here in the second century A.D.

is the best prayer that we can pray, what is the best temple to which we can go? The best temple is a work which is made for the good of our brothers and sisters. The best prayer is, that our people may prosper, our poverty and difficulties may go away. And so, when I laid this foundation stone here of this Nagarjunasagar, to me it was a sacred ceremony, to me this was the foundation of the temple of humanity of India, a symbol of the new temple that we are building all over India. All of us in India, in our great Bharatvarsh, are today engaged in great work, and in a great journey. We are all marching together where? We are marching together towards prosperity for our people, towards what is called a 'welfare state' so that all our people, all over this great country of ours, may be prosperous, may have work, may have every opportunity of growth, and so that we might put an end to the poverty and unemployment and misery of our people. To achieve this great objective it is difficult because our country is big, and there are millions and millions of people in it, how to raise all of them, surely we can only do so by our own hard work, by our unity, by our working together, by our living in peace. So, all over India today whether you go to the high mountains in the North, the Himalayas or come down here to the South, you will find great works undertaken, great river valley schemes and many other works, and you will also find in thousands and thousands of villages in India people joining together for their own benefit and working together. So, whether you live here in Andhra Desh or whether you live right in the North in the Punjab, in Kashmir or anywhere in India, we are all working together with one single object, we are all brothers and sisters, we are all members of this great family of India. Remember this, because it is important that you realise that you are not by yourselves here, you have brothers and sisters spread out all over this great country, and we are all going to hold together and help each other to go forward. And if we hold together, and if we have unity amongst ourselves, then we create a mighty force in this, to take us forward.

In our country, there are many religions, there are many provinces and states, there are many languages, but still our country is one, and whatever religion a person may have, he is an Indian first. In our country, there are, of course, Hindus and there are the Muslims, and there are the Sikhs and the Parsis and the Buddhists and the Christians. Here in the South, 2,000 years ago, this was not only a great site of the Buddhist faith, a great University, but also of the Hindu faith and they lived in friendship with each other. So, in India we have the tradition of living in friendship, in cooperation with each other, whether we belong to the same faith or other. We must remember that. Remember that the message of India throughout the ages, for thousands of years, has been the message of tolerance, the message of friendship, the message of peace, the message of working together for the common good. So, now that India has become free and independent and now that we can march

ahead all together we have to remember this message and we must be true to the genius and culture of the great race to which we belong. For, we are a large family. In this family, as I have said, there are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, and others and in this family there are people from the North, from the Himalayas, and from all the other great provinces of India speaking different languages; all these together make one family, and we have got to pull together to work together and to get together and succeed together. Those who quarrel, do a disservice to the country and to themselves. Those who think that India is divided up and we cannot cooperate with each other, forget the lesson of our culture. So, today you must remember this lesson of India's unity and the lesson of peace and cooperation and in this matter we must also remember that all our people today are brothers and sisters, all of them have got to work together for the advancement of India and her people. So, I hope that this great work that we are starting here today, on this river Krishna, this great dam that we will build will always be a symbol and a reminder to you, of not only the future that we are aiming at—the future of prosperity, but also the great culture of the past which has made us what we are. May you all bless this undertaking and may prosperity come to you!

Just now⁴ I participated in an auspicious task across the river Krishna and laid the foundation stone at the site where a huge dam is going to be constructed. You may have heard the speech I made there. As I stood there, all sorts of thoughts crowded into my mind, about the past as well as the present. I remembered that this place has been famous in the history of India. In fact, it was famous not only in India but outside too and people used to come from far-off places to visit this city which was known as Sripurvata in the ancient times and later got the name of Vijayapuri. People from distant lands came to this city to meet Indian scholars, learn the arts of India, and to learn about Buddhism, which had been born in India. So this was a great centre of learning and a meeting ground of Indian and Asian cultures and civilisation. Therefore, on this day when we are assembled here to start a great task, we must throw our minds back a little to the ancient history of this city. We must think back of the times when India was famous all over Asia and the light of her civilization illumined distant lands and people came from all over to learn the message that India had for them. We did not fight with any country then, nor did we commit aggression. Our message was of peace and love. This is how Indian culture spread far and wide.

Now once again, great times are ahead of us when India can look forward to progress and prosperity. So we must refresh our memories about our ancient past in order that we may follow the path of peace, love, and mutual cooperation.

4. Speech delivered on the Hyderabad side (on the left bank) of the Krishna river begins here. Original in Hindi.

We must think about Gautama Buddha whose name and fame spread to distant corners of the world. In the ancient times, more than two thousand years ago people came in large numbers to India from China and Japan and the country that is now known as Indonesia, and Burma and Ceylon, and Indians went to these countries. Thus there was a free intercourse between India and other countries. As you see the time has once again come for us to renew that intercourse with our neighbours. Great leaders from other countries come to India and our people also visit them. The old relations that we are trying to re-establish in the world today involve two things. One is that thoughts about the ancient past come to mind and, secondly we are reminded of the problems of the modern times which all of us have to face. Once again, there is great talk of peace in the world today and India's message of peace is ringing out in the world. Our entire foreign policy is based on the ideal of peace and internally too, we want to conduct all our affairs peacefully and with love and cooperation.

Our country, India, is a very large one and you can see that for thousands of years, the different parts of the country had free intercourse with one another. The ideas from the North used to flow to the South and the scholars and the great men of the South used to make a great impact on the North. Similarly there was a free exchange of ideas between the East and the West too, and there was a common thread of unity underlying all their thoughts. For thousands of years, in spite of different kingdoms and rulers who ruled all over India, the country was one emotionally and culturally and there was a basic unity among the people of India. Today I was on the other side of the Krishna which is known as Andhra now and on this side of the river is Hyderabad. But there is hardly any difference between the people who live in these two States. A mere river cannot separate us and in this task, which we are starting today, of building the Nagarjunasagar dam, we need the cooperation and participation of the people on both sides. It cannot be done if there is no unity and cooperation among the people. Similarly all the big things which are happening all over the country require the cooperation of the people because India belongs to all of us. You do not belong only to your own district or to the State of Hyderabad or Andhra, but to the whole of India. Why should we try to reduce this great inheritance of ours? The whole of India from the Himalayas to Kanniyakumari, from the North to the South is yours and mine and all of us are one. We are one big family in India. Therefore, let us forget for a little while, our different provinces, whether we live in Uttar Pradesh or in the South and remember that all of us belong to this great country of ours. We are respected in the world because we are Indians and not because I hail from Uttar Pradesh or you from Andhra or Hyderabad. It is India's name and the fact that we are citizens of India which are respected in the world. So you must always remember that we are Indians and all of us belong to one large family and so we must live together in mutual harmony. There are different provinces

and religions and castes in this country. But India can progress only if all of us live together in unity. You must remember that anything that unites us adds to our strength and we gain by it. Whatever separates us and creates barriers among us is bad. Therefore, now the time has gone when the caste system could flourish. We have to live together in unity and maintain complete equality so that everyone in India gets equal opportunity for progress.

We are assembled here at a sacred spot where thousands of years ago, our ancestors lived and thought great thoughts and did mighty deeds. Their thought and philosophy spread to the whole world. There was a big *Vidyapeeth* here headed by Acharya Nagarjuna whose name and fame survive to this day, not only in India but in China, Tibet and Japan. Even if we have forgotten him somewhat, his name continues to be famous in other countries. He was a great soul. So we are on this sacred spot on which once flourished a city called Vijayapuri. It had been built by the great kings of those times. The name itself is beautiful and the task that we are starting today is for victory, victory of the people and their welfare and alleviation of their distress. What greater victory can there be?

I hope that another city will now come up here around the big dam that is going to be constructed. Perhaps, it will be proper for you to name that city Vijayapuri too. Victory over what? In the olden days, kings and emperors used to fight with one another but, as you know, our principle is to fight with no one. The only war that we shall wage is against the poverty in the country and not against any country or individual. So let the new Vijayapuri that will come up here, be a symbol of victory in our war against poverty in India. Let us root it out of the country.

The thought comes to my mind that the idea of building a dam here on the Nagarjunasagar was first conceived of by Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung. About sixteen or seventeen years ago, a Planning Committee was set up in which Ali Nawaz Jung and I were associated.⁵ So I had the opportunity of meeting him often and of observing what a highly skilled engineer he was. We got a great deal of assistance from him. He had many great ideas like this. So we are happy, that idea is at last being given shape. This is an auspicious task that we are starting but one thing that worries me is that when the dam is built, the waters will submerge the remains which are hidden below the earth now and the ruins of old buildings of Vijayapuri and the old *Vidyapeeth*. They will be lost to us forever. Therefore, it has become essential that before the construction

5. Nehru was the chairman of the National Planning Committee, set up by the Congress Party in October 1938, and Ali Nawaz Jung was the chairman of the River Training and Irrigation Sub-committee of the NPC.

work starts, this site should be properly excavated and the old remains and ruins be removed to a safe place and preserved for posterity.⁶

So we have started this great task today.⁷ It is now up to you to do the work well. I hope that the people on both sides of the river will cooperate wholeheartedly in this task and make it a great success so that it is completed in time and the waters may benefit our farmers for miles around this area. We can produce electricity too which will help all of you in various ways. Industries will come up and this area will progress fast which will remove your difficulties and make you better off. Our good wishes and blessings to all the engineers and workers on whom the burden of this task will fall. Please say *Jai Hind* with me. *Jai Hind!*

6. The Archaeological Survey of India was eventually successful in transplanting and preserving the monuments, sculptures and other relics of the site in the Nagarjuna Island Museum, located at a hill top, 11 kms away from the dam.
7. It took twelve years to complete the construction of the dam and on 4 August 1967, Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, released the waters of the dam into canals.

3. Economic Development and Emotional Integration¹

Friends and Comrades,

Perhaps you know that I am passing through Coimbatore on my way to Malabar for a few days' tour of that beautiful part of our country.² I am happy that this has enabled me to visit Coimbatore again,³ because, your city is not only a very attractive city but is becoming one of the main centres of our industry. I have come here on an auspicious day, the Christmas Day. The Christmas Day is not merely a day for those who are Christians. Every auspicious day is auspicious for everybody and therefore I greet you and wish all of you well on this day.

Our country is now engaged in a tremendous task and a great experiment. In essence, our country has almost been experimenting for hundreds and

1. Speech at a public meeting, Chidambaram Pillai Park, Coimbatore, 25 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Nehru was on a four-day tour of Kerala from 25 to 28 December 1955.
3. Nehru was in Coimbatore from 2 to 4 October 1953. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, pp. 19-22.

thousands of years. And, we are merely carrying on that experiment—the experiment of bringing together things, of synthesising, not of disrupting and separating. And so today one of the main things that we have to do is to weld this Indian nation and Indian people together, to integrate them, to give them not only the political unity they have got but emotional integration and unity.

There are two major questions before our country. One is, what I have just said, this building up of the unity and solidarity of all the people of India and the second is economic development leading us to a welfare state, to a socialist pattern of society and to the well-being of all the people of India. Now, these two really are parts of the same picture—the unity of India and the advance and the progress of her people, because, if the unity is lacking, progress will not come. Therefore, the first thing we have to realise is to break down all barriers, all walls, all obstructions which come in the way of this emotional integration of all the Indian people. You know that there has been a great argument going on in the country about the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission and many people are greatly excited about them and some people are so excited that they have almost lost their balance of mind. Now, it is true that this is an important subject, even, if you like, a vital subject and we should consider it with all great care and decide with all wisdom. But, after all, it is far more important that the whole of India pulls together than what physical area of India lies on this side of a state or that side of a state boundary. The whole lesson of India's history during the past 2,000 years is this—that we have had many things in our favour. We have had people in this country, great people, great leaders, wise people, sages, brave people, highly intelligent people, but we have not been able to cooperate together easily. We have fallen out amongst ourselves and, because of that lack of unity, all the other virtues that we had have suffered. Therefore, now that we are again free and independent we have to build up this unity and everything that comes in the way of that unity must be brushed aside.

Of course, when I talk about unity, I do not mean that all the people of India should become uniform, or look alike and be regimented. India is a country with enormous diversities. India has a thousand faces, a thousand aspects. India should retain all this beautiful diversity and variety, but the bonds that tie every individual to another in India must be strong and must not weaken because of that diversity. I want each one of you to feel as I do about India, that is to say, I consider all this great country from the Himalayas down South to Kanniyakumari as my heritage. It is your heritage, the whole country, the heritage of each one of you. Your heritage is not this town only or this district or this state, but this whole country of India from North, South, East, West is your heritage. Then why should we act as if our heritage is a small limited one and give up this tremendous inheritance? Therefore, I want that we should all

break down—we can't break down geography—but break down these psychological barriers, there may be state barriers, provincial barriers, caste barriers, so that this feeling of unity may increase amongst us and strengthen our country and ourselves.

Our country has many religions. We welcome them all. We don't consider them as something outside our country. We want them all to live at peace with each other. Our country has many languages. We want to encourage them all and consider them as our national languages. There is no conflict. Our country has many other different aspects of things before it. Well, they all fit in into this beautiful picture of India—we don't want to place before us white or green or red or blue. We want this multi-coloured picture of India as it is, with all its rich history and rich culture and rich variety.

Recently, you, here in Coimbatore had a visit from the great leaders of the Soviet Union,⁴ and you gave them a welcome and then they went on to other places. Now a great controversy has arisen in other countries about India—about the consequences of the visit of these Soviet leaders to India. They ask, 'Is India aligning itself, tying itself up with the communist countries, with the Soviet Union? Are we giving up our policy of non-alignment and neutrality?' And some people in the West are very angry that we had given a warm welcome to them.⁵

And so this argument goes on. People seem to think in many parts of the world that if you are friendly with one person, that means you are hostile or an enemy to the other, as if you can only be friendly in order to be hostile. Now, one should come together, one should be friendly for friendship's sake, because one likes each other, not because one dislikes somebody else. And the area of friendship should not be confined by a wall of hostility to others.

That is our outlook, international outlook, our national outlook, and that is the real basis of what is called the policy of neutrality, of non-involvement that India follows.

In the past; some great countries, many great countries, whether they were on this side or that, have thought as if other countries can either be with them or against them, as if no other country had an individuality or a soul or a mind

4. Bulganin and Khrushchev were on a tour of India from 18 November to 1 December and from 7 to 14 December 1955. They visited Coimbatore on 27 November.
5. For example, A.M. Rosenthal, an American journalist attached with New Delhi Bureau of *The New York Times*, in a special report had written on 27 November: "One Congress politician in New Delhi said that.... it sickened him to see the Government turn out school children to greet world communist leaders as heroes." The newspaper also commented editorially: "For what the Russian salesmen are really selling is nothing immediately tangible but, in the words of once familiar phrase, pie in the sky by and by."

or an intellect. Well, India has very strong individuality, not today, but for the last 2,000 years, and to consider—since we have a mind of our own, we have a soul and a spirit of our own—that we can tie ourselves up with this group or that group regardless of what we are, seems to be a complete misunderstanding of what India has been and is going to be in the future. So, India will pursue her independent policy internally, in our domestic sphere, externally, in the international sphere, and we can make friends with all who are friendly to us and we shall continue to be friendly with those who do not want to be friends with us. We do not want to be hostile or inimical to any country. But, naturally our contacts will be closer with those who are friendly than with those who refuse to be friendly.

The second thing I referred to you was this question of the economic advance of the Indian people. Now, remember that that means not some odd factory being put up in Coimbatore or something else being done here and there. It means your judging of what is going to do good to the 370 million people of India. The test is always going to be, how we are going to raise all these millions of Indians—not what a little group here, or that group there, or that particular area of India, may prosper. You know that we are drawing up the Second Five Year Plan⁶ and the more we draw it up, the more exciting this work becomes, more difficult and more complicated, but at the same time, the more exciting and exhilarating this work becomes. What more exciting task can there be for any nation, any individual, than to build in this huge way, than to cooperate with millions of people and to raise the level of all these millions of India, than to fight this curse of poverty and try to bring well-being to all our people? That is the task. It is not merely a question of making a list of all jobs, but so fashioning our economic structure, our industry, our agriculture, so that we rise, our people rise, step by step to higher levels. No government, however strong, can do this work without the utmost and closest cooperation of all the people. It is not an official plan put down from above. It is something which everybody must understand and cooperate with. It is a tremendous task. For instance, let us take one aspect of it. More and more I have become convinced that our structure, our economic structure, our social structure, our agricultural structure should be based on the cooperative principle, on cooperative growing up, on industrial cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives. Now, if cooperatives are to grow in India, they have to grow by the million, not one here and two

6. The main objectives of the Second Five Year Plan, covering the period from April 1956 to March 1961, were: (i) an increase of twenty-five per cent in the national income; (ii) rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries; (iii) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and (iv) a reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

there, and ten there, and fifty there. They have to grow by millions in order to cover the country. Now, how can they grow by the million, if millions of people are not trying to do it? Not a government official at the top can do it, but millions of people cooperating together, building industrial or agricultural cooperatives, of course government helping. Therefore, it becomes quite essential for this widespread understanding by the people, of these plans, of criticising them, of helping in drawing them up and then in implementing them. We are not going to go ahead fast unless there is the closest association between the governmental structure on the one hand and the people on the other.

This old year 1955 will soon be over, with all its problems, its successes and its failures, for us and for others and soon another year will begin, bringing new problems. Do not be afraid of problems. Problems mean a living and advancing community. It is only the dead that have no problems and as we reckon with these problems, we grow stronger. We solve some problems and that gives us confidence and strength. Even if a problem knocks us down for a while, well, we get up again and grow stronger again and face it. In this way we have to face the future, as we have faced it in the past. I think that any person who will look objectively and dispassionately on India's history in the past eight years or more, since independence, will say that the changes that have come about in India at all levels, have been truly remarkable. People who come from abroad, who had known India in the past, are astonished at the changes they find here and so we are going ahead. But let us always remember that, as we go ahead, the difficulties increase as we reach nearer our next halting stage and it is indeed a test of our greater strength, that we set greater standards for our own behaviour.

And, therefore, we feel strong enough now to lay down a programme in our Second Five Year Plan which is likely to be much bigger, vaster and more difficult than the First Five Year Plan and that is going to be a challenge and a test of us. But I am quite sure that we shall not only accept that challenge but fulfil it. Therefore, remember that the year to come is not a year for you or me or any of us here, of easy living, of just sitting down or lying down. It is going to be a year, not only one year, but the next five years, of hard work, hard concentrated work—a good deal of perspiration and sometimes a good deal of doing without something that we want, because, if we are going to fulfil this big plan ahead, we shall have to lead often enough a rather hard and austere life. Austerity must come in. I do not mean to say that our common people have to be austere. They are austere enough. But we must introduce this element of doing without luxuries, so as to devote all the surplus that we can have towards the progress of the nation.

And now I wish you all a happy new year and hard work and success in your endeavours in this new year. Now say with me *Jai Hind* three times.

4. Unity and Communal Harmony¹

Friends and Comrades,

I am sorry to be late by about forty-five minutes. You must have been waiting here for a long time. I do not like being late. I think, all of us must be punctual. But coming a long way by car, one is stopped at many places en route, because people gather there and it is difficult to pass them by. I have come to Palghat after about two years or so and I should spend a few days in Malabar. It is long since I have toured in Malabar and I am happy to have this opportunity of coming to this beautiful part of our country.

As you know, there is a great deal of argument and controversy going on today about the redistribution of states. Now, this is an important matter and it should be dealt with carefully. But, so far as I am concerned, I feel at home in every state. So it doesn't make any difference to me where you put a boundary of a state. Where one has friends, there one is at home. And it is my good fortune to have friends and comrades in every corner of India. So the whole of India is one big state for me. I hope that whatever ultimately the Parliament decides in this matter will be accepted with goodwill by everybody even though many of us may not like a particular decision because after all, it is far more important to have goodwill with our neighbours than to quarrel about little boundaries. As you perhaps know, I have suggested that, whatever the state boundaries might be, we might have zonal areas in India.² That is, we may divide our country into four or five big zones—north zone, south zone, east zone, west zone, central zone—and in each zone there should be a great deal of cooperation, economic specially, planning and about many other matters of common concern. You know that our most important work today is planning for the economic development. Now, when you plan, you cannot really plan for each small area. Any big project, any big scheme, like a river valley scheme or any other, covers several states. Therefore in planning it is important that we look upon India as a whole first of all, and then consider large areas together. If each state stands quite separately without reference to its neighbour states then it will not be a good plan. Therefore, if we have these zonal areas with zonal councils, they would help in planning and economic development of the whole area and bring about a great deal of cooperation between states and in this way they will also help in lessening, in mitigating and controlling this narrow-minded state consciousness which is a tendency which comes against

1. Speech at a public meeting, Fort Maidan, Palghat, 25 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Nehru had suggested formation of zonal councils during the debate on SRC Report in Lok Sabha on 21 December 1955. See *post.* p. 183.

the unity of India. Because we must always remember that your welfare and the welfare of every state and every group of people in India depends ultimately on the welfare of India as a whole. No state is going to go far ahead if India lags behind. Therefore the unity of India is essential and therefore we must always think of all the states pulling together, cooperating and all the people of India being one large family. It is by our united efforts that we gained Independence and it is by our united effort that we will advance and fight this poverty which is such a curse on our people.

Now, when I talk about the unity of India, what do I mean? There is political unity—India, the Republic of India, is one state, one country. That is right. But we want something more than that, not merely political unity on the map but mental unity, emotional unity, that is what we want. When people do not have barriers separating them, that is when they do not think there is the religious barrier, there is the provincial barrier, there is the caste barrier, there is the language barrier; all these things tend to separate us. Now, all these things are important. Religion is important; language is important; that is so. But it does not mean, there is no reason why the religion or language should become a barrier between different people. India, as you know, has many religions as it has many languages, let us respect all of them, let us encourage them. We have, of course, large numbers of the followers of the Hindu faith in India. We have many Christians; we have many Muslims; we have Buddhists and we have others. All these have been in India for hundreds and thousands of years and they have become religions of India, of our people, and we must respect all of them and not try to suppress any or consider any of them as something that must be driven out. It has been the practice and the culture of India for thousands of years to tolerate other opinions, other faiths, to work, to live, in fact, to have peaceful coexistence. That is the fundamental background of India during all these long years.

Now, while we respect each other's religion and do not interfere, we must remember that in politics we are all one. There is no such thing as Hindu politics or Hindu nationalism and Christian nationalism, or Muslim nationalism. There is only one thing, Indian nationalism and those who want to separate that and bring in religion, they degrade religion and they degrade politics. Therefore, we must beware of this mixing up of religion with political and with national work. Religion is a personal matter of the individual or the group and it should be respected as such. But when we enter the domain of politics and national work, then our duty is the same whatever religion we may belong to. And therefore to bring in religion there means what is called communalism, which narrows, which divides us. And therefore in India we have condemned communalism. When we fought for freedom, for the Independence of India, and when we built up a great organisation, the National Congress, to fight, to struggle for the freedom of India, we did not distinguish between Hindu and

Muslim and Christian and Buddhist and Parsi and Jain. Everybody could join the National Congress and did join it. Everybody could fight for the freedom of India and the freedom of India that came was to everybody, of every religion, man and woman and child. Now that we have attained Independence, we have got another very great work to do, the work of raising all the people of India, of giving them higher standards, of fighting poverty and unemployment and making India a welfare state in which all people have equal opportunity. Now in this matter there is no question of the Hindus having a greater chance or the Christians or the Muslims. Religion has nothing to do with it. Everyone should have an equal chance and an equal opportunity in India and be an equal partner in the freedom of India and in the welfare of India.

During these eight years since Independence, India has made great progress and India's name is respected throughout the world. In the United Nations, in New York, the part that India plays is important and is respected and India's part is always one of peace, of bringing people together, of cooperation among nations. That is why India is respected. We are respected because the world feels that we have grown out of narrow-minded communal politics. And if you see other countries in Asia or elsewhere you will find that where the people are mixed up with narrow politics, narrow communalism, that country is backward. That country does not make progress. India has made progress because we have declared ourselves against communal politics, because we have declared ourselves to be a secular state respecting each religion and not suppressing any religion, but in our politics functioning in the secular way, that is, everyone having an even chance.

Now, in India we have had experience of this communal politics and communal organisations among the Hindus, among the Muslims and among other groups too. Fortunately, we have risen above them and our experience has shown us how harmful these organisations are, whether they are Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or Christian or any other. You will remember, you know, that we have still some Hindu communal organisations. They have no great strength in the country. But the objective they have is, I think, harmful to the interest of this country. It is a narrow objective which prevents the growth of national unity, which creates barriers between one people and another in this country. So also, there was the Muslim organisation, the Muslim League, which created so much trouble and so many barriers and divisions and which ultimately led to the partition of the country. Therefore with this experience behind us, we know, we are convinced that these communal organisations are bad for the country. They really are a relic of the distant past, of backward thinking, of the country not having advanced enough. Now that we are free and independent, it is even more absurd for any Indian to think in terms of communal politics. The Muslim League has ceased to exist in India, almost in all India, because there was no room left for it, no place left for it. As a matter of fact even in

Pakistan the Muslim League is much weaker now than it used to be. But oddly enough, I am told that there is a little fragment of the Muslim League still in Malabar.³ Now, this has surprised me greatly why Malabar should be so backward. According to our laws, anybody can function, even wrong thinking can function, even wrong action can function, because we believe in civil liberties in our democratic structure of society. That is so. Therefore, as you know, even communal organizations function in India—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian. So it is not a question of the law suppressing them but of people realising how foolish they are, how backward they are and how they injure the cause, their own cause, by thinking in terms of these communal organizations. Therefore I would like you to consider this matter because the whole of India is marching forward fast and the world respects India and admires India because it is going forward fast. Now, those people who are in communal organizations, fall out of step with this march of India. They become a little pool when the river goes on forward. And it is not good for them or good for anybody that they should be left behind. We do not want to leave any person behind. We want to carry with us in our forward march all the 370 million people of India, of every religion, of every caste, of every kind. I do not want any stagnant pools of water in our political life. We are a living, advancing, nation moving forward fast and therefore we should clean up this thinking of ours so that the whole country might have healthy thinking and healthy action. Therefore, whether you are a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian or a Sikh or a Parsee or a Buddhist, whatever you may be, do not mix up religion with politics. Keep your religion, that is your personal matter. But when we come to the political plane, it is a national matter. You need not think alike from the political plane. You must not mix up religion and politics and thereby degrade both religion and politics. Remember that we live today in the atomic age and we have to think accordingly and not remain backward in our thinking as if no change had occurred in the world. Therefore these communal organizations like the Muslim League have no room in India today, no place in it. Remember also that in India the Muslim League has a bad history and a bad reputation. Why carry this bad history and bad reputation with you, with any of you. The sooner you get rid of it, the better.

I have been talking about disruptive tendencies, about the unity of India and about our breaking down walls and barriers that separate us. Now addressing myself to the Hindus here specially, I would remind them of something which has weakened Hindus and weakened India in the past terribly and that is the caste system. We have had enough of castes and the sooner

3. The All India Muslim League had been synonymous with the Muslim League of Kerala with the support of Muslims in Malabar since Independence. In 1951, the Indian Union Muslim League came into existence as a full fledged political party.

we put an end to it the better it is. We talk of democracy in India and we have got a democratic Constitution. How can democracy function fully if there is great inequality, either economic inequality or the inequality of caste. The caste system and democracy are incompatible. So also we talk of socialism and the socialistic pattern of society. The caste system and socialism are incompatible. What do we aim at in India? We aim at raising the 370 million people and giving every single individual in India the same opportunity. They do not get it today, we know. But we want to have a society in which every one will have the same opportunity to grow, in which inequalities will largely cease to exist. Some inequalities there are bound to be. You may be, well, a person may be strong physically, another weak; some person may be tall, another short; some person may be clever and another stupid. We cannot make everybody clever by decree or strong by decree. But every person must have equal opportunities of growth. Then he can grow more or less according to his nature. Therefore, we want to have an equalitarian society in which the differences, more particularly the economic differences, are not great and everybody must have the same opportunity—man or woman. That is our ideal. And all these things that I have mentioned to you, this communalism, this casteism, as well, of course, as the economic disparities coming in the way of that and have therefore to be removed.

Now, let us consider language. We have in India a number of great languages, well-developed languages. All of them are our national languages. And we should try to encourage them, to develop them and to develop specially intimate contact with each other. Because these languages of India, as a matter of fact, are intimately connected with each other and there is no difficulty in their helping each other. There is no conflict between them at all. We have given Hindi a place, a special place in regard to all India official work. Why? Not because Hindi is, better than Tamil or Malayalam or Bengali or Gujarati but because Hindi is the most widespread language in India. Therefore, it is the most convenient language for that purpose. But all the other languages, whether it is your language, Malayalam or Tamil or Telugu or Bengali or Gujarati or Marathi or, Punjabi or Urdu or Assamese or Oriya, all these are recognised by our Constitution as national languages to be encouraged, to be used and to be brought nearer to one another. Language is an essential part of a people's culture. What is culture? A real culture is not something which limits you, which puts you within walls, within a prison. Culture should extend your outlook, widen your outlook. Culture should be a joining force and not a disruptive force. It ceases to be culture if it keeps you in a walled prison. So also, language is a great cultural thing which should not become a dividing factor in India or anywhere and we should look upon language as a rich inheritance which will help us to understand each other better. Every person who considers himself educated should know at least three languages, at least two Indian and preferably one foreign language.

Now, I have taken up so much of your time and I have little time left to talk about the most important subject of all, that is, our economic progress, our Second Five Year Plan, Community Projects. I see that here, written in front of me, the Community Project of Palghat. Because after all the great work that we are doing today, the biggest work is that of development, the Second Five Year Plan of which, of course, Community Project is one part. The Community Project schemes of India are, I think, something which is essentially very revolutionary. Because if they do not talk in terms of conflict and violence, people do not realise that these community schemes in India are essentially and basically revolutionary and are changing the whole temper and outlook of our countryside all over India.

We are on the eve of our Second Five Year Plan and in a few months' time you will see this and we hope to take a big step forward in this Plan. But we can only do so with the complete understanding and cooperation of all the people of the country. Because any big advance requires hard work and sacrifice and austerity and cooperation and unless all the people of this country realise this, we shall not go forward fast. One part, and a very important part, of our work in future, both in the agricultural areas, and elsewhere, is the development of cooperation, producer cooperatives as well as other types. I think that a country like India if it is to develop democratically and bring about an equality in the people, it must accept this cooperative way of working and I want you to realise this that we have got to go fast ahead. The development of cooperatives in India has been slow. Even our laws have been too complicated and have come in the way. They are too rigid. We have to go fast, not a few but by the ten thousands and hundred thousands. Only then will our march be rapid enough.

Now I am going to finish, but before I do so, I want to remind you of something and I want you to remember it always that you may live in Palghat or Malabar or Kerala or South India, or anywhere, you may be rich or poor, whatever your profession may be, each one of you has inherited something very great. Our heritage, of each one of you, is the whole of India, the whole past of India, the whole present of India and the whole great future of India to come. That is your inheritance. Remember that and when you think of this tremendous inheritance, then your mind will widen. You will come out of your little shells of state and caste and all that and you will find that you have got the greatest adventure in the wide world before you.

In a few days this old year will end and the new year will begin. I wish you all good fortune in this new year, and hard work, and hard work for this great cause of India. *Jai Hind!*

Now, will you say with me three times *Jai Hind!*

Now I am going to perform this ceremony of opening a hospital ward you have in the Community Project. I shall turn on the switch here and somewhere in the hospital a ward will be opened.

5. The Objective of Economic Well-being¹

Friends and Comrades,

As you have just heard from the Chairman of the Municipality,² I have visited Trichur many times before. The first time, I think, I came here 25 years ago,³ and now that I have come again, this past quarter of a century passes before my eyes, with all its big changes and ups and downs and how, after a long struggle, we achieved freedom and Independence, and how since then, we have engaged ourselves in an even more difficult struggle, the struggle to achieve economic well-being and higher standards for all our people. Now, broadly speaking, everyone, will agree in that objective of economic well-being. Why then do we differ in many ways? Why are there various parties and all that? It is good to have various parties because when there are different approaches to a problem, more light is thrown upon it. I do not believe in everybody being regimented to think in one way. I want the free flow of thought, the free exchange of thought and out of that we sometimes find a bit of the truth. That is so. Nevertheless why do we differ often and quarrel with each other about the path to be pursued? I want to say a few words about that to you.

Wherever I go I lay stress on something that is obvious, with which every one should agree. I lay stress on the unity of India, not merely the political unity which we have achieved, but something far deeper, the emotional unity, the integration of our minds and hearts, the suppression of feelings of separatism, of disruptive tendencies, because while many people agree about the unity of India, there are some people and parties that act in a way which can only result in breaking the unity of India. Why they do so, I do not know. It is for this reason that I lay stress on this, because, unfortunately, while on the one hand we, the people of India, are bound together by strong bonds of culture, of common objectives, friendship, affection, even families—that is so, at the same time there have been inherent in India separatist and disruptive tendencies, raising their heads, whenever some new question arises. We talk about the reorganization of states and suddenly we find this question discussed. It is an important question. By all means let us discuss it. But why this passion and fury? You see there this separatism coming up. This separatism ultimately

1. Speech at a public meeting, Thekkinkad Maidan, Trichur, 26 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. C.M. Joseph, Chairman, Trichur Municipal Council.

3. In May 1928. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 3, pp. 166-167, 234-245.

means what? Not your affection for your fellow-man, but your dislike of the other. That is what separatism means. Just like in the international field I have no objection to people coming together because they like each other, nations coming together, because they like each other, that is good. But I have the strongest objection to people coming together because they dislike somebody, because they hate somebody. The coming together to help each other is good. The coming together to hurt somebody else is a bad thing. That is why in the international field we are against these military alliances which are not the coming together of people who like each other, but which are meant to be aimed against another country or group of countries. That is bad. Anything the basis of which is hatred and dislike and enmity, is bad, whether internationally or nationally. So I don't say that in India we hate each other. That is not my point. Of course not. If we did, we would break up, split up. But I do say there are disruptive tendencies which raise their heads whenever an occasion offers itself to them. And we must be on our guard against them. Among these disruptive tendencies there are some which come under the name of communalism, that is politics under some religious garb, and one religious group being incited to hate the other religious group. There is provincialism, statism—same thing. There is casteism—perhaps the most insidious and dangerous of all in our country. I think that in the last many hundreds of years—I am not speaking of the distant past when caste began, it may have been very good then in those circumstances—but for the last few hundred years when it became rigid it weakened us, it weakened us nationally and socially, it divided us up into small groups, it separated our people into hierarchies, some calling themselves high caste and some middle caste and some low caste and some no caste at all. And so we have this division, this inequality perpetuated, and one group being exploited by another. I think that was the main reason for India's weakness and India's downfall.

Now, we have all these lessons of history. We have seen how, repeatedly in spite of our many virtues, and our great abilities, we have fallen behind in the race of nations; and because, I think, of this spirit of disunity, or lack of unity amongst us, the entire community of India is being separated into castes and creeds and not pulling together. Therefore, I lay stress everywhere on this unity of India, emotional unity of India and on our fighting communalism, provincialism, separatism and statism and casteism. Also because all these things have no place today. The world changes, very rapidly, and all these ancient practices and structures of society are completely out of place today. What is today? Today is the day of atomic energy. Even nations have little place today and gradually we shall move towards some kind of a world society, that is to say, if meanwhile, the world does not perish under the hydrogen bomb. So all these hierarchies, these divisions and separatisms, all that, whether it was good or bad in the past is another matter, but today it has no place at

all, and if any community adheres to that, it will remain backward and others will go ahead. Therefore, it is necessary for us to wake up fully and not merely talk about these matters but act, and in acting put an end to these ancient practices and divisions and look the world in the face as a united nation. Otherwise we go down.

Therefore, so far as I am concerned, and I hope, so far as you are concerned, there is no division between north and south and east and west of India. There is only one India, of which all of us, you and I, are inheritors, it belongs to all of us. This southern part of India or this State of Travancore-Cochin is not your private preserve. I have as much right to it as you. And so, the northern states, the Himalayas are not our private preserves. They are your inheritance also. They belong to you as much as to anybody else in India. So, the whole of India, from the north to the south, is the common heritage of every Indian and all India's history, from thousands and thousands years ago till today, is our common heritage. All the culture of India, whether it comes from the north or the south or anywhere else, is our common heritage and what is more, the great future that spreads out before us is going to be our common heritage. Let us remember this.

And now people talk about our international policy and our national policy and sometimes they say that we follow one policy in the outside world and another in India. Now I want to tell you, and I want you to think about it, that our policies, whether they are national or international, spring from the same source and have the same objective. Basically, they both aim at peaceful methods. They aim at change. Whether internationally or nationally, they aim at change. They are not static policies but they aim at change through peaceful methods, through cooperative methods, through pressure if you like, certainly, but pressure also exercised through peaceful methods. We plead for peaceful coexistence in other countries, because we want, and we have, I hope, peaceful coexistence in our own. We want big changes in the world and in India, I need not tell you what changes we want in India. They are tremendous. We want revolutionary changes, certain political changes. There is Goa, for instance. But we restrain ourselves. It is easy enough for us by military power, or police power, or any other power, to take possession of Goa. But we have offered the unique example, I say in the world, of a great country like ours, having the strength easily to solve a question like Goa, restraining itself, restraining popular passion, even at the cost of unpopularity, restraining ourselves and deciding that we shall solve this question by peaceful methods. So we have said we do not want to be false to our creed. That is Goa.

But take other matters in India. We are engaged in economic and social change, and very big changes are required in India in the economic sphere and in the social sphere. We have said that we are aiming at a socialist pattern of society. That means a big change from today. The whole structure of our

society must change. We aim at that, we work for that. But we work for it through peaceful methods, because we realise that peaceful methods are not only better from any moral point of view, but even from the narrowest point of view of practical politics, they are better. They do not leave trails of bitterness and hatred behind. They do not produce conflict which destroys instead of being constructive. Therefore, even the revolutionary changes we want in our industrial, economic and social fabric, we want to bring about by peaceful methods, peaceful and democratic methods. We believe in the democratic methods and democracy is essentially peaceful.

In our social sphere you know that even now we are bringing forward legislation in Parliament to make very great changes in Hindu society.⁴ We are bringing them forward in the normal way, trying to convince people; having convinced them to get the laws through. Because if Hindu society does not change, then I fear it is doomed. It has to keep up with the world, something may have been very good a thousand years ago, but the world today is different and we have to adapt ourselves to the world, keeping always with us the essential principles that have governed, I hope, the Hindu race from the beginning. Those essential principles do not change. They are important. But the structure of society, the law of succession, and all that, all these change with the changing times. So my point is that we are undertaking, and we have even somewhat achieved, revolutionary changes. Was that not a revolutionary change when we put an end to 500 Indian States in India within a few days, or almost a few weeks, by peaceful methods? Is there an example in history where such enormous change was brought about by peaceful methods? That shows the method of India's working.

Now, in the international sphere also, we are not content with things as they are. We are not content with all these colonies in Africa, and Asia and elsewhere. There are many things we don't like. But we proceed cautiously, we proceed peacefully. We let our views be known fully. We don't go about merely cursing people. We don't even go about cursing the colonial powers, because we know that, that only creates hatred and difficulty. But we work for them, whether in the United Nations or otherwise; and in the United Nations, you know very well what an eminent part India has played and how India's delegation under a very eminent son of this part of the country, Krishna Menon, how it has succeeded in doing many things which even Great Powers could not easily achieve. Therefore, our policy, whether in the international sphere or the national sphere, springs from the same idea, from the same ideal, and is based on peaceful methods.

4. On 30 November 1955 the Rajya Sabha, passed the Hindu Succession Bill providing among other things, equal right to the daughter in intestate succession.

Remember this, that we are still the children of the Indian revolution and because that revolution was a peaceful one, nevertheless, it was a revolution, which formed and moulded the Indian people for a generation or two. We have not ceased to be revolutionaries. But by the very process of that peaceful revolution, we functioned differently.

Now you know, broadly speaking, what our Government stands for, or what our national organisation, the Congress, stands for. It is much the same. Where do these other organisations come in, whose chief function seems to be to attack the Government and attack the Congress. As I told you a little while ago, I want criticism. I don't mind attacks. I want our people to be wide awake and not to be complacent. I want their minds to be alert, keen as a razor's edge. So I am not afraid of attacks or criticism. That is good. But I do want to understand what exactly these organizations or other organizations, whatever they may be, the Communist, the Socialist, or Praja Socialist, or the communalist—what do they stand for? We may leave out the communalists, because they stand for nothing at all. They are only a relic of some ancient period who are neither in the past nor in the present and are hung in mid air and somehow, as India tolerates everybody and everything including mad men, they also exist and carry on. So, we may ignore the communalists. But let us not forget that the trend of thought that they bring in is a dangerous trend. It is a separatist trend. It is a disruptive trend. It is a trend full of hatred. It is a trend that contains everything that is bad for India today. If we went in for this kind of communalism, whether it is Hindu, or Muslim, or Christian, or Sikh, or any other communalism, India would cease to be what it is. It would go to pieces. So let us put aside these communal parties.

We have these other parties, the Socialist, the Praja Socialist, they are two now, and the Communist. For what exactly, where do they stand? Unfortunately they have got so accustomed to the use of strong language that it is difficult to find out any meaning in that language. It is just strong language cursing the Government, cursing this, cursing that, cursing each other. Generally they live in a state of extreme frustration and are angry with the world, because the world does not listen to them. India does not listen to them. I am very sorry I cannot make India listen to them, I wish them prosperity. I wish them good fortune. But what am I to do when they simply remain cut off from those things that are happening in India, and getting angrier and angrier that success does not come in their way. I should advise them, in all humility and in all modesty, to try to find out, after all, what is wrong with them. We are very wrong, let us admit it. We made enormous mistakes. At any rate we have the intelligence to try to correct our mistakes. We do not say we are infallible. We have made mistakes, we will make more mistakes, because this life is a complicated business and the world today, and India today is a very complicated affair, and you and I, and all of us, can only progress by trial and error. But we

must have at least the capacity to learn from our mistakes, to correct them. Unfortunately, our friends in the Socialist Party do not have the capacity to learn from anything, either other people's mistakes, or their own mistakes, or the facts. They do not seem to know what the facts of life are in India. It is no good repeating some slogans, however good those slogans might be. They are good slogans, I admit, many of them. But a repetition of slogans does not create a policy. It does not meet the problems of the day and so they remain, according to a sect, conscious of their own purity, but having little relation to facts or what is happening in India.

Now, let us come to the communists. These brave revolutionaries, whose revolution consists not in an intelligent application of intelligence to anything but in trying to find out what is happening 5,000 miles away and trying to copy, regardless of whether it fits in or not, regardless of whether if they have anything to do in the present state of India, or present problems of India or not, a kind of inverted mirror which tries to mirror something that happened, not today, but some time ago, in some other country. Probably the most extraordinary position. I am not against communism. I am not against socialism. I am not against anything. The only thing is, I am for India and nobody else. I am for the Indian people. And other people, I do not know what they are for. You see, the other day the leaders of the Soviet Union came here and we welcomed them and we gave them a welcome which they will remember and the world will remember. It was a friendly welcome, a cordial welcome, because we are not opposed to them. We are friendly with them, with their country. We wish them well. But wishing them well does not mean that we should lock up our own minds and intelligence and forget our own experience in our own country. India is some definite entity in the world, not today, it has been for thousands of years and I cannot understand how any one could simply imagine that India's mind and heart can be locked up and it could be made to follow some dictated policy from somewhere else. Is that the kind of independence and freedom that we have achieved? Surely not. Therefore, it is one thing to be friendly. It is one thing to learn from other countries, and I tell you there is a great deal that we can learn from Russia and we propose to learn it. Plenty of people from the Soviet Union are coming to India in various industries, technical matters, others, doctors, etc., from whom we intend learning. We are even sending for their coaches for athletics. Because we want to learn from everybody. We want to learn from China. In China, I might tell you, there has been a very great development recently—of cooperatives. A remarkable development. Well, we want to support our cooperatives in India and we shall send our people to learn how the Chinese are doing it and how far we can learn from them. There is no difficulty about that. We can learn and we propose to learn a great deal from the United States of America, which is the most advanced industrial power in the world in technology and other matters. So we

propose to learn from every country, and we propose to be friendly with every country.

Now, our friends the communists, their idea, and some other people also on the other side, their idea is that friendship with one country inevitably means hostility to another country. To be friends, their policy is, you must not only be friends with me, but you must be enemies to my enemy, or those whom I consider my enemy. Now this surely is a remarkable attitude to take up, apart from its being fundamentally opposed to the policy of any independent country.

The communists tell us that the basic analysis of society is of class struggle, and therefore we must prepare the people for class struggle and to destroy these upper classes and have a classless society. Now, I want a classless society also, in India and in the world. I do not want privileged classes. I do not want a great deal of inequality among people. I recognise that there is a conflict in the interests of different classes. Recognising that, the point is how we are to proceed about it. I say, even so, recognising the conflict between classes, the right way is to liquidate that conflict, to put an end to it by peaceful methods. It is not a denial of the conflict, of course there is conflict all over the world, whether between nations or between classes or between others. But the point is how to deal with that situation. After all, there was a great deal of conflict between the Indian States, their rulers and their people, but we settled that in a different way. Therefore it does not do any good for anyone today to tell me what happened in the French Revolution 160 years ago and try to do that today. One hundred and sixty years have made a difference to the world. It is no good anyone telling me what happened in Russia 38 years ago, the Great Revolution. Because the conditions in Russia were peculiar to Russia. They do not exist in India. Our conditions are different. We can learn from the French Revolution, we can learn from the American Revolution, from the Russian Revolution, from the Chinese, as well as from other revolutions and other matters. But we have to find our own way, and unfortunately our friends of the Communist Party in India have so shut their minds and have so spent all their time and energy in learning a few slogans of the past that they are quite unable to appreciate what is happening in India and what are the changes that have taken place in India. In fact, these great revolutionaries, in the Communist Party of India, have become great reactionaries. Therefore, today it is not enough to use strong language merely to shout and repeat old slogans. They may have been good some time ago, and unfortunately, our socialist friends and our communist friends chiefly indulge in using strong language and in shouting slogans. We have to look at the conditions as they are. We have to deal with problems. How are we doing that? Not by slogans, but by all our work for our five year plans—Second Five Year Plan is approaching. We are dealing with these problems of India in this

way—seeing what our resources are, seeing what we must do in order to increase our ability to go forward, dealing with the agrarian question, dealing with the industrial question, trying to start big heavy industries, trying to have cottage industries, coordinating them, balancing them. This is the way of approach. Now it may be that what we do is not well thought out. Criticise us by all means. Certainly correct us. We want the support of the socialists, and the communists and even the communalists, if you like, in considering these problems in this way. That is the way of approach now. Because, if I may again repeat, we are in the atomic age and the methods of even the last generation do not apply now. The slogans of yesterday are no good today. The world has changed and is changing. And therefore, we must take up these problems, actual problems not theoretical problems, not slogans, and deal with them. That is what we are trying to do, in framing the Second Five Year Plan and I would invite you all, with the help and cooperation and consultation of large numbers of people outside, other parties, independents and everybody. So, I want to draw your attention to this method of approach. I do not say that what we in Government, or what we in the Congress do, is correct. It may be wrong, we may make a mistake. If so, we try to correct it, but I do submit to you that the right approach to these problems is in this way and not the old way of shouting slogans and cursing and sometimes leading processions and some people sometimes going on hunger strike, an extraordinary behaviour which has no relation to solving a problem.

I have taken up a great deal of your time and I have got to go back far. But my mind is full of ideas which I want to communicate to you, because I want to be in tune with your thinking and I want you to be in tune with my thinking, because all this great work that we have got to do in India requires tremendous cooperative effort, requires cooperative thinking, mutual criticism, so that ultimately we might act all together. It is a mighty task, a tremendous task. There is no bigger task in the world today. This task of building up this new India, this task of raising the level of 370 million people, this task of bringing about the industrial revolution in India, in the space of a few years, a revolution which has taken a 100 years and more in Western countries, these are tremendous tasks. This task, ultimately, of fighting the poverty and unemployment of India—no government can do it without the widest public understanding, public appreciation and public cooperation. Therefore I want you to think of all these matters. As I have said and I repeat, we in the government, and we in the Congress, may make many mistakes, I am not afraid of making mistakes, but the point is that we must move in the right direction and that we must adopt right methods. If our methods are right, and if our direction is right, stumbling down does not matter. We will get up again and go ahead. Therefore, I want your cooperation in all this, and I invite you all to think about these matters, because you will have to act. It is not by government

decree that we shall go ahead, but by the people's action, corporate action or united action, whatever provinces you may live in, whether you are a Hindu, or a Muslim, or a Christian, or an atheist. We have all to work together, whatever you may be, because we are working to build up a new India and I invite you to this great and tremendous and most exciting adventure.

And so, now, thank you and goodbye to you, and may it be well with you and with India in the new year.

Now you please say *Jai Hind* with me three times.

6. No Quarter for Communalism¹

Friends and Comrades,

I have come to Malabar after many long years. Almost, I think, it is a quarter of a century. Many of you sitting here might not have been born when I came to Calicut last and a great deal has happened since I came, a great deal in the world, Great Wars, and in India we have attained our Independence. I have been here three days now and these three days have been full of happy impressions of the beauty of this garden of India, if I may call it so, and of the charm of the people here. I cannot express in words my gratitude for the affection I have met everywhere. I just referred to the charm of the people here, more particularly I would say the charm of the women of this part of the country. Of course, I have always thought and still think that the women of India, that is, all over India, are the pride of India. In Malabar, your customs, your laws, etc., have given a greater measure of freedom to the women here and so they have grown accordingly. I have yet one more day in Malabar before I go back to my work but here, in this ancient and historic city of Calicut, I should like to express my gratitude to the people of this area for their welcome and affection.

As I sit here and look at the sea and the ships lying at anchor, my mind goes back many hundreds of years. I think of 400 years ago when Vasco da Gama came here, and he opened not only a new epoch in India's history but in Asia's history, for that date signifies the gradual coming of Europe and European domination over India and over a large part of Asia. That was about four hundred years ago and then for a long time this lasted. But you and I have seen the end of that chapter in India's history and that is important from many

1. Speech at a public meeting, Kozhikode, 27 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.

points of view. Of course it is important to us from the point of view of India's freedom. But it has an even greater significance for it means a great change in the whole relationship of Europe and Asia. I know that even now in parts of Asia there is foreign and colonial domination. I know that in a little tiny corner of India, called Goa, the descendants of Vasco da Gama are still sitting there. I know all that. But these are remnants and relics of the past, hangover of the past. The fact is that after a long period Asia has come to her own and Asia is not going to permit other people, other continents, other countries to play about with her destiny.

It has been our high privilege and good fortune, yours and mine and of all those who live in India, to have been alive during this tremendous period of India's and Asia's history. It has been a great period, it is a great period because this is the beginning of this great period, and I want you to realise at what a historic moment you and I are alive and are working. Because I want you to look at your own problems, at India's problems, in this great and significant historic context. My generation in India is a passing generation. It may carry on for some time. But my generation in India consisting of millions and millions have worked for this change and have succeeded in that work. It is given to few of us to dream dreams and then see them realise, and it has been our joy and great good fortune to see many of our dreams take shape before us, to see the Independence of this great country, this great Republic of India. But having achieved that we have only made a beginning. And, as I said, my generation is a passing generation. I believe that this generation has done well. It has made many mistakes no doubt, but it has held aloft the honour of India, it has held aloft the banner of the freedom of India, and I believe that whatever mistakes we have made, we have never done anything which might sully in any way the good name of India.

We were a small people but we had the privilege of serving under a great leader, Gandhiji, and we learnt much from him and we held aloft the torch of India's freedom and not only held that aloft, we have held aloft also that thing which Gandhiji always taught us, that we must always pursue peaceful and good methods, that even a good objective does not entitle us to use bad methods. So we have held aloft this torch of freedom and the torch of peace. And sometime or other, the time will come when this generation will hand over that torch to the younger generation which is preparing for it today. May you be worthy of India and worthy of carrying that torch aloft.

In our struggle for freedom we had a hard time because you cannot achieve anything without paying for it, paying not in silver and gold but paying with your blood and tears, paying with your self-sacrifice, paying for things which are infinitely dearer than money. We paid that cost, but however hard our struggle was, the tasks that await us now are harder, are more difficult. Freedom came to us but freedom does not come by itself. Freedom brings responsibility

and obligations. You cannot have any right without an obligation. Freedom came to us because it was our right to be free. But together with it came all kinds of responsibilities and obligations, responsibilities to our own people, primarily, but also in its train it has brought responsibilities of an international character. And today, whether we wish it or not, we are entangled in international affairs and we try to serve the causes we have dear at heart not only in India but abroad also. What kind of country do you want India to be? Surely your aim is, and my aim is, that India should be great, great not in military might—we care little for that—great not in financial power, but great in every sense that is worthwhile, great certainly in her well-being, the well-being of our people, great in pursuing her ideals, great in extending her friendship and cooperation to others. Now if you wish to be great, you have to pay the penalty of greatness and the penalty of greatness is hard work and always remembering your ideals and adhering to them. Therefore, I said to you that the tasks now that await you are more difficult than those that came to us when we fought for the freedom of India. Because India, even though she is not a great military power, even though we still are a poor country, even so, India is respected in the world, India's voice carries weight in the world and thus our responsibility has already grown. So we don't want to get entangled in international affairs. We have enough work in our own country. We have tremendous work to do here. It is no small matter to raise 370 million people, one sixth of the entire population of the world, but whether we want to or not, we cannot escape our destiny, the destiny of any great country and any great people. We cannot keep away from international problems because those international problems may overwhelm us, by war or by other conflicts. Today no country can lead an isolated life. Therefore, inevitably, whether we want to or not, we have to play our part in these international problems, whether it is in the United Nations, whether it is directly with other countries or whether it was our mission to Korea² or our present mission to Indo-China.³ But everywhere we have gone, whether we worked in the United Nations or whether we have gone to Korea or to Indo-China, we have carried the message of peace with us. We have not gone to fight anybody, we have not gone for conflict but to put an end to conflict and India's voice has always been raised in favour of peace and cooperation between nations.

I have just referred to our work in the United Nations. In this connection I should like specially to mention the work of the leader of our delegation, a

2. India was the Chairman of the NNRC which was responsible for implementation of the Korean agreement of 1953.
3. India was the Chairman of the ICSC, constituted to implement the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

citizen of this city of Calicut. Krishna Menon is a dear friend and colleague of mine for many years. By his ability, by his steadfast adherence to principles and to the cause of peace, I believe, he has done many things in the United Nations for which not only India but many other countries ought to be extremely happy. I believe that he has been instrumental on several occasions in finding solutions for difficult problems, sometimes in avoiding conflicts, sometimes in bringing nations together which otherwise would not have been together. Therefore I should like to pay a tribute to his high ability and statesmanship as the leader of the Indian delegation.

I have referred to this new chapter in the world's history which denotes the ending of European domination in Asia. I think that one of the major facts of today is this emergence of Asia in the world and it is because many great countries have not quite realised this fact, that they have made many mistakes. Asia has re-emerged after hundreds of years in various ways and even where Asia is still struggling for self expression, there is ferment. India has attained her freedom in her own way. China, that great neighbour country of ours, has attained her freedom in her own way. It is not a question of whether you like that way or this way but it is a question of your recognising what is happening in Asia and what has happened, and because some countries do not like it, they do not recognise it, and because they do not recognise it, their policies are unreal and artificial. I believe that many of the difficulties that face us today would not have been there if the great countries of the world had recognised what is happening in Asia, and, what is more, what is going to happen in Africa. These are not minor events happening, this is the turn of history's tide in Asia and if it is not recognised, the tide will not go back. The ocean will roll on. Therefore, it is time that all the countries of the world should realise what has happened in Asia and what is going to happen in Asia. Last year or early this year we had the Bandung Conference, of which you may have heard, where 29 countries of Asia and Africa were represented, countries having different views, different viewpoints and yet there at Bandung, they came to certain unanimous decisions.⁴ That was a remarkable fact, a fact which brought clearly before the entire world the developments that were taking place in Asia.

I have referred to this awakening in Asia. From this it follows that the countries of Asia which had been left behind and had become backward must make haste to make good. From that it follows that the Industrial Revolution which affected Europe and America a hundred and fifty years ago, must come to India and come rapidly because the problems of Asia cannot be solved

4. The Asian-African Conference was held at Bandung, Indonesia from 18 to 24 April 1955. For the joint communique adopted by the Conference, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, p. 137.

unless industry develops, modern science develops and the progeny of modern science develops in Asia. Therefore we stand in Asia also more or less at the threshold of this Industrial Revolution. Of course, we have some industries, perhaps more than many other countries of Asia. Nevertheless, the real Industrial Revolution has not come here. I do not want that revolution to come to India in the manner it came to some Western countries with all these problems that it brought with it. But we want it to come differently. But anyhow that revolution has to come if we are to find a solution for our problems of poverty and unemployment and in order to create a welfare state and a socialist pattern of economy.

These are the great problems of today and the great tasks of today. But side by side with them there hovers another tremendous fact, the fact of the atom bomb, the fact of atomic energy, this great power which can be used for good or for evil. Therefore, suddenly the world has to face this great alternative, whether it will allow itself to be extinguished, liquidated, crushed by the use of atomic energy for killing purposes or whether it will take another step and put an end to war and use this mighty power for peaceful purposes. All the world is beginning to realise that a great war in which atomic and hydrogen weapons are used, nuclear weapons are used, will probably destroy the world or a great part of it. And because of that they are now afraid of having war. It is good that they have realised that. But still this race in building atom and hydrogen bombs continues. And because it continues, there is no knowing that something might happen which might result in this terrible conflict, and disaster.

So far as India is concerned there is no doubt in our minds. We want no war. We stand for peace. And we have ventured to place before the world a set of Five Principles, which we call the *Panch Shila*, which should govern international morality and the relations of nations with each other. If nations follow that code then there need be no conflict and if there is some kind of a petty conflict it should be resolved by peaceful methods. Now, this question has ceased to be a question of theory and principle, it is a most practical matter for us and for the world as to whether nations are to live at peace or to hover on the edge and on the precipice of war as they do today.

The *Panch Shila* is not a new invention of ours today. I believe that it is the inherent message of India not only today but for ages past. You may remember the voice of a great ruler of India who lived 2,200 years ago, Asoka. He has inscribed it on rocks and pillars of stone spread out all over India, and in that he has given this message of peace and tolerance for all to remember. I said the other day that the choice for India or, if you like, India has made the choice, the choice for the world is ultimately between this message of Asoka and the atom bomb. There is nothing left in between the two.

I referred to Asoka's message and called it India's message but I do not mean to say that we in India are in any way superior persons or better than

the people of other countries. We have the same failings, the same conflicts which others have, only it has been our good fortune to have great leaders from time to time who have pointed to us the right way and the last of them being Gandhiji. Therefore, let us remember this message, and when we put it forward with some pride, sometime I am sorry to say, before other countries, let us remember that we have to act up to it in our own country and among our own people.

Today all over India there is a great argument and a great controversy about the reorganization of states. That is an important subject affecting us and it is right that we should consider it and argue about it and reason about it as much as we like. But it is not right that we should carry on this argument in terms of threats, in terms of conflicts, in language which is unbecoming to any peaceful pursuit. Therefore we have to remember those Five Principles in our own activities, in our own behaviour, to each other. Often enough we forget them, often enough we get entangled in our petty quarrels, often enough we drag in religion and in the name of language we quarrel with each other. Therefore, we have to remember this in the context of India, we have to remember that everything that comes in the way of the unity of India is bad. Everything that encourages the unity of India is good to that extent. Therefore, the question of unity of India should be always paramount before us, the unity, the integrity and the solidarity of India should be paramount to us in considering any problem. It was in that method that we achieved the unity of India that we gained strength and attained freedom. It is in that method that we can all work together harmoniously, that we shall succeed in the great tasks of building new India.

Now, we have a vast expanse of Indian history to look back upon and to draw lessons. That history teaches us of great periods of India, bad periods, of great men, great sages, wise men, great statesmen, fearless and brave men. Why then did India fall? It is for us to consider. It fell, I think, because of a certain tendency in India to forget the unity of India, a tendency in us to divide ourselves in compartments. Of course, the biggest evidence of the tendency in us to divide ourselves up is the caste system of the Hindus, which may have had some use and may have been perhaps suitable in a past age. But in later ages it lost what good qualities it possessed and it merely became something to divide and cut us up into a hundred or a thousand bits. How could India survive then? But apart from the actual division of Indian society by the caste system, the mentality it introduced of thinking on small lines, on parochial lines, on caste lines, was a bad mentality. With that mentality no people can be great people.

Therefore, we have to fight all these tendencies which are disruptive and fissiparous whether they are communal, whether they exploit religion for politics, whether they are provincial or state which make the doctrine of the state

something above India's unity and India's progress, or whether they are castes. We have had bitter experience of communal organisations in this country. The very idea of a communal organisation is separatist, is to put up walls, is against somebody. So far as religion or faith or belief is concerned, you know that our Constitution and our practice guarantees every person his faith and belief, subject only maybe if it is against some public order or some matters. Broadly speaking of guarantees I think the world knows that we respect that guarantee. Only a short while ago we had a very distinguished visitor, the King of Saudi Arabia,⁵ a very able man who travelled all over India, met many people of all kinds, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and others, officials and non-officials, and who saw with his own eyes what the state of affairs was in India. And when he was leaving he addressed a gracious message to us expressing his great gratification not only at what he had seen in India in regard to the progress of India but also in regard to the way we treated minorities, the position that the Muslim community had in India and as well as other communities.⁶ I mention this merely to draw your attention how the world looks upon India.

I said just now that communalism has a bad odour in India. We know it. It is not a theory. It is a pernicious thing which we are determined to fight. It has resulted in great harm to India. However, we learnt that lesson. We do not prevent even the communalists from functioning. They can do so. There are plenty of odd organizations in North India among the Hindus, among the Sikhs, among others which are purely communal, which are bad, I think. We allow them to function, because we allow freedom to any organization to function so long as it keeps within the law. But it is one thing to allow organizations to function because they are within the law, it is quite another thing to encourage it or discourage it, or to express an opinion about it.

In Malabar I am told that there is a remnant of the old Muslim League. It has ceased to exist in the rest of India. It is thoroughly discredited in the rest of India. But somehow perhaps news from the rest of India has not reached Malabar yet. News travels slowly, or sometimes people's ears and eyes are not open to see what is happening. It is an amazing thing, I say, that this discredited organization should raise its head in Malabar or anywhere. That organization has worked against Indian freedom, it has sided with the adversary, it has brought about misery to India. And therefore, if I express myself strongly, I hope you will understand why I do so. I do not mind the Muslims or anybody

5. King Abdul Aziz Bin Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia visited India from 26 November to 13 December 1955.

6. On 10 December 1955 at Bombay, King Saud paid a tribute to the Government of India for its policy of "equality and equity" towards the forty million Muslims in the country.

having any organizations. Have your Muslim League by all means but realize it that we shall fight it, tooth and nail, all the time. There is going to be no quarter for communalism in this country whether it is Muslim or Hindu or any other.

Now, as I was coming to this meeting a new local newspaper was given to me, a translation of it rather, in which—I think it must have represented this Muslim League here—it criticised some remarks I made two days ago, rather mild remarks, I thought, much milder than what I have said today, and it said something about the Government of India coming in the way of the Muslim shariat because it passed a special marriage law.⁷ It also referred to representations. Now, I am not a Muslim, and I am no authority on the shariat. But I know something about history and I know something even about the shariat. And probably I know more about Muslims, about the Muslim nations of the world and about Muslim culture and Muslim history than the whole of Muslim League of Malabar put together. I am a representative, and I am proud of it, of that joint and composite culture that arose in North India, Hindu and Buddhist and Muslim and Christian and all that. I rejoice in this joint composite culture. I am not a separatist, I open the doors of my mind and heart to every good thing that comes in. And as a representative partly of that Muslim culture that came to North India—and India profited by it—I tell you that you have precious little of it in Malabar among the Muslims. People talk here sometimes about the Urdu language. The gentlemen who talk about it do not know the Urdu language. I do, and I speak it. It is my home tongue. But I should like these representatives of the Muslim League here to take a journey, not to the rest of India, although even that would do them good, but to the Muslim countries of the world and find out how they are functioning, find out what they think of India, find out what changes they are making in their own structures, etc. I should like them to find out if in any Muslim country or in which Muslim country the criminal law laid down in old times is pursued or many other things. The fact of the matter is that we get mixed up between the great principles of religion and certain customs which are relevant in a particular time and are not relevant in another. We are on the threshold of the atom age, I said, and even apart from the atom age the industrial age is coming to us. That age does not recognise your caste system and if you carry on with your caste system, you are doomed in this age. That age does not recognise many other things too. Whether Hindu or Muslim, one has to wake up to this. Adhere to great principles which your religion, Islam or Hinduism or Christianity,

7. Referring to Nehru's observations about the Muslim League at Palghat on 25 December, a local Malayalam daily had commented that the Special Marriage Act passed by the Indian Parliament in 1954 was against the shariat.

has placed before you and do not stick to minor things which have no relation to religion. Now I referred to the special marriage law. I should like to understand how a law which is a permissive law which does not force anybody to do anything, how that can be against any shariat or any tenets of any religion. I fail to understand this criticism and if I am told that we may not pass any, even permissive laws, I regret to say that I am quite unable to accept that argument and I am not going to accept it. I might inform you that it was my special desire and special effort that led to the Special Marriage Law Bill being passed. And I am proud of it and happy over it, that it was passed.

There is another consideration I should like to place before you. We have tremendous problems in the building up of this country, the raising of 370 million people. We have said that so far as religion is concerned it is the private matter of the individual or the group. They have complete freedom, even in regard to other matters, economic matters, the structure of society, of industry, etc., that is not a matter of religion. In that the divisions are not Hindu and Christian and Muslim and Sikh, etc. In national matters we have to pull together. I do not mean to say that all must have one opinion. You may differ. You may have other organisations. You may belong to the Socialist Party or the Congress or any other party. That is a different matter. But I do say that if you bring in a communal party to deal with those problems at all, then you have not understood those problems, and you will remain in your stagnant pool of thought and activity without any progress at all.

Why do delegations and deputations come from most countries of Asia to India today? I am not referring merely to the Kings and the Captains⁸ who came here to see India, but I am referring to people who come to see what we are doing in our industrial sphere, in our agrarian sphere, in many matters, to see our Community Projects and the like. Because they know, news has reached them that India is making considerable progress in all these directions and so people, whether it is from the Muslim countries of the West of Asia or the East, they come here to cooperate with us. They ask for our experts to go to their country because all of us think more or less on the same lines, broadly speaking, because all of us want to attack and fight this curse of poverty, because we want to go in for land reforms and industrial reforms and industrialisation, etc.

I have taken up so much of your time about this communal organization business although as a matter of fact it is rather a dead horse to flog because it is completely out of date to any person who knows about the modern world.

8. "The tumult and the shouting dies;
The Captains and the Kings depart"
Rudyard Kipling, 'Recessional'.

If a person insists on living out of from every living current of thought, well, I can't help it. But the only thing is that he will be left behind. The world doesn't stop at the dictates of a person who does not think.

Look at the picture of India today. I wish many of you could travel about to the cities and the villages all over India and see the new ferment that is there, to see this great movement of the Indian people marching forward. Unfortunately, we who are in it sometimes do not see it. But if you go outside, you can see this much better. Anyhow there is this great movement not only of the Indian people but of other Asian people and their countries. It is a mighty river which I hope will become faster and faster. You cannot stop that river and you don't want to. If you want to cut yourself adrift from that great current, you may become a little pool, cut away from the life of the nation.

Now, I have taken a great deal of your time but I want to refer briefly to this great current that is gradually developing all over India. We have our five year plans. To some extent they represent our work. The First Five Year Plan—it was a cautious and a modest plan. But even a modest plan requires hard work. Because we have succeeded largely in that Five Year Plan, our strength has grown, our confidence has grown in ourselves; and the world has respected us. And now we are on the verge of the Second Five Year Plan which is going to be a much bigger one and much harder one. Remember that we are a peaceful nation. We do not want to fight any country but we have a great war to wage and that will require a full war effort. But the war we shall wage is not against any country or people but a war against our own failings, against our poverty, against our unemployment. That is a tremendous war and it will take many years before we succeed. That is the big task before us. We have laid down as our goal the welfare state. We have laid down that we want to have a socialist structure of society. These are broad terms which indicate the direction in which we are going. I recognize that this is not a blueprint of everything that we shall do but they indicate broadly enough where we want to go and I suggest to you that it is no good our sitting down and arguing and debating the fine points as if we were in a school debating society. The real way is to sit down, as we sit down in drawing up our five year plans and the rest and to consider what to do and how to do it, to take counsel with others who know, with as many who know, and also learn from the success and failures of other countries, to learn from America, to learn from Russia, to learn from China, to learn from everybody, but ultimately to decide for ourselves. It is no good, telling us to go and copy America or to go and copy the communist system in Russia or in China. Have we no individuality? Have we no intellect left? Do we not know our conditions better than anybody else outside? Therefore, we shall learn from all countries but devise our own methods and our own ways of progress.

This is the great task before us and I want you and all of us to consider

it in its practical aspect, not in terms of slogans. The slogan of yesterday is out of date today. In this atomic age whatever you may have shouted before, may have completely no meaning today. Let us keep our broad objectives and then let us discuss practically how to achieve them. I am perfectly prepared to recognize that we in the Government or in the Congress make mistakes. We have made many mistakes. We shall no doubt make many more. But at any rate we try to solve problems, we don't live in a world of slogans and dreams.

Now, therefore, I invite you all in this great task of building new India. It is a tremendous thing, an exciting thing. There is nothing more exciting in the wide world today than this task of building new India, after hundreds of years of subjection. I tell you, when I think of it, and I think of it often, I feel exhilarated and excited. People ask me, where does your energy come from? I tell you, because energy comes when you undertake great tasks, and you are full of the enthusiasm and the exhilaration that comes from undertaking great things. It is from that we derived our energy to achieve independence, it is from that faith and belief that we are going to derive energy to achieve greater things in the future, and to build up this great new India of our dreams.

Thank you for the patience with which you have sat and listened to me and I wish you a happy and prosperous and a hard working new year. May it be well with all of you and with India.

Now please say *Jai Hind* with me three times.

7. Peaceful March for Progress¹

Sisters and Brothers,

It is a strange quirk of Indian history that whenever we take a step forward or achieve something grand, something else happens to drag us down. It is a strange combination of the good and evil. You will find many such instances in our history. But the strangest coincidence of all is this week during which we celebrate our Republic Day with great pomp and show, with processions, fireworks and spectacles and then suddenly we come to the 30th of January which draws our attention to something entirely different. It reminds us of

1. Speech at a public meeting at Ramlila Maidan, Delhi, 30 January 1956. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.

certain fundamental facts which we may otherwise forget in the din of celebration.

When India became independent, there was great rejoicing in Delhi and other cities and villages of India. We had succeeded after a very long struggle. But in the very hour of freedom came catastrophe. Communal riots broke out in the Punjab and parts of Pakistan and there was great bloodshed. On the one hand, we were celebrating our Independence which had come after years of effort, and on the other, a great calamity overtook our people on both sides of the borders. You may remember that it went on for days and spread all over North India. The streets of Delhi witnessed a scene of great bestiality which earned us a bad reputation in the eyes of the world, and more important, shamed us in our own eyes. So this is a strange combination of events which I have often observed.

As you must have noticed a great many things have happened during the past one year. There are signs of progress everywhere. The Second Five Year Plan has taken off the ground and big projects are being completed.² The Community Projects and National Extension Service have transformed nearly a hundred thousand villages. It is spreading rapidly. We have become reassured about the food situation. Not that we can afford to slacken even now. We have to be constantly vigilant against food shortages in case of crop failures. We have to pay attention to all these aspects. But at least it has become quite clear that the problem is not insoluble. We do not need to import large quantities of foodgrains from abroad any longer. We may do so occasionally when there is a shortage of a particular commodity. But we can do without it. This year there were floods in Assam, Bengal, North Bihar, and the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and even Delhi. There was great damage to the crops. But in spite of all that, there have been no real food shortages nor have the prices increased. It shows that we are well equipped even to face a crisis like this. Similarly, other things have happened especially in connection with the Five Year Plans which have reassured the country and given it self-confidence. It has created a new interest among the people in the Second Plan which we are about to start, for there is hope of greater progress during the next five years. Discussions and debates are going on about what our priorities ought to be.

In short, in spite of ups and downs and niggling worries, there is an atmosphere of hope in the country. People feel reassured that India is on the march. Even where there is a difference of opinion the question that is raised

2. The Second Plan envisaged the construction in the public sector of three steel plants at Rourkela in Orissa, Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh and Durgapur in West Bengal; a lignite project at Neyveli, South Arcot, and expansion of the Hindustan Shipyard at Vishakhapatnam.

is, what can be done to accelerate the pace of progress. As you know, everyone wants to progress rapidly. But we cannot allow ourselves to become breathless by running. We must have the necessary resources to accelerate the pace. Now, if somebody demands that I should walk five instead of four miles an hour, I can do so only if I have the capacity to do so. The same is true of progress. We can go only as far as our strength and resources permit. It means that people must work harder. We have to calculate what our resources will permit us to do. The faster we progress, the greater our resources will be. It is an extremely complex problem. But basically, the impression that has been created both within the country and abroad is of strength and determination to progress.

As far as India's foreign policy is concerned, you will find that it has made a great impact upon the world. It is not backed by threats and pressures, wealth or military might. If it has succeeded, it is only because it is the right path. So the attention of the world has been focussed on India for this reason also. I am not going to go into all the details. But India's voice has carried weight in the decisions of the United Nations on many occasions when the decisions would have been quite different but for India's role in it. It is not that we are boasting about India's influence. That would be wrong. But it is true that since we believe in friendship with all the countries, our method of working creates confidence in us and everybody is prepared to listen to us. When there are two armed camps, there is constant fear and suspicion of the other's intentions and finally it leads to war. But fortunately the world trusts India. At least there is no doubt about our intentions. Therefore we are often able to serve others in this field. There was a big conference on atomic energy in Geneva in which our capable scientists from Bombay represented India.³

There is another aspect too. In the last one year, many distinguished visitors have come to India from abroad. They did not come merely to see the Taj Mahal though that may be included in their itinerary. But the Taj Mahal has been there for centuries. The visitors come because India has gained in stature in the world, India's views influence the decisions taken in the field of international relations. Anyhow, we welcomed all of them. More will be coming in the next few months. Whether we agree with their views or not, we shall give them all a warm welcome. I hope you will also do the same. If we disagree with their viewpoint we can express it at a suitable moment. But it is our duty to welcome our guests with respect.

The visits of foreign dignitaries and other developments have added to India's stature. Some countries have not liked the idea that a newly-independent

3. From 8 to 21 August 1955. For Nehru's message for the first international Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, p. 143.

country should become a force to reckon with and should throw its weight around this way or that, though, as I said earlier, we do not push ourselves forward. On the contrary, we have hesitated to get involved. We did not particularly want to go to Korea, Indo-China or elsewhere, but were helpless. A great country like India has to perforce take on responsibilities. It cannot run away from them. A responsible nation cannot shirk its responsibilities. So we have had to take on these tasks out of a sense of duty, not because we want to strut about on the world stage. But some countries have not liked this very much.

On the other hand, there have been some other developments in the last few weeks⁴ which have been a slap in the face and we have been humiliated in the eyes of the world. It is the same old story of one step forward and two steps backward. Just when we are coming up, we do something which humiliates us and detracts from our glory. In a sense, of course, it makes us more vigilant. Otherwise there is grave danger in becoming complacent and not being constantly alert. If we allow ourselves to become slack or complacent, then suddenly a different situation confronts us upsetting all our preconceived notions.

Eight years ago when India became independent, the barbarity that followed in the wake of partition was a great trauma for India. Apart from the fact that millions of people were uprooted and rendered homeless, it inflicted a deep wound in our hearts that we should be capable of such barbarous acts. A wound inflicted by one's own hand is slow to heal and the bloodbath that occurred on both sides of the border inflicted a severe wound. We earned the opprobrium of the world, but more important, it shook our faith in ourselves and left us in a daze. Anyhow, we faced the situation and gradually brought it under control. I am not talking about the role played by the police and the armed forces. That is a superficial thing. We brought our emotions under control and realised how we had got carried away and behaved like beasts. With great difficulty we brought the nation back to an even keel and began to progress slowly. This was a tremendous test for all of us. Now, to whatever degree we may have succeeded at least we have not failed. If we look at it from a historical perspective, perhaps in spite of the evils of the situation, it did some good to the country by making the people vigilant and warning against the pitfalls of being led astray. I was telling you just now about the visitors from abroad who are impressed with our progress. It is a great contrast to the events which took place just after Independence.

4. Following the announcement on 16 January of the decisions of the Government of India on the Report of the States Reorganization Commission, there were disturbances and violence in various parts of the country.

At a time like this, the events of the past few weeks, particularly in Bombay,⁵ Orissa⁶ and some other provinces, have been extremely painful. There were riots, shops were looted and burnt and people's lives were in danger. But what is even more painful is that all these things are happening over an issue like the reorganization of state boundaries. The quarrel is over some districts and *tehsils* and to which state they should belong. I can understand the people's involvement and emotional loyalties and they are important. But after all, these are merely matters of administrative arrangement. There is no question of a new government or belonging to another country. All the states are part of India. Then why should there be such an uproar about it?

I have come here again and again and reminded you that the most important factor in India's progress is her unity. India is a huge country and right from the olden days, its worst malaise has been disunity and the tendency to live in compartments. The caste system, which may have been relevant at some remote time, created great barriers among the people and prevented them from having a common social meeting ground. It also led to great disparities. The people lived as hundreds of small islands. Then there were quarrels in the name of religion. It is communalism which was ultimately responsible for the partition of India. I have often drawn your attention to all this in the past.

You have seen the consequences of provincialism and how people are prepared to cut one another's throat. I agree that language and province are extremely important in the life of a human being. We must respect all the languages of India. I have said this again and again. It is laid down in our Constitution that Hindi should gradually replace English as official language at the all India level. Please remember that we did not choose Hindi because it is more beautiful than the other Indian languages. Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada are all great languages with a rich literary heritage. Urdu is very close to Hindi. We chose Hindi because it is the easiest language to learn and is spoken by the largest number of people in the country. That was the only reason and all the provinces accepted this when the Constitution was being framed. So there was no question of discrimination. All the fourteen prominent languages of India have been included in the Constitution as our national languages. That means that we want all of them to progress equally well. In fact, Hindi can develop and grow only when the other national languages also flourish. There is no question of competition or dragging down one or the other. There must be cooperation and a mutual give and take between the languages. That is the only way to look at this question.

5. See *post*, pp. 153, 206 & 209.

6. See *post*, p. 181.

There is an ancient feud between Hindi and Urdu, and the protagonists of each try to drag down the other. They forget that languages can grow and be enriched only by borrowing from one another. Even now, they have not got rid of these outdated notions. Though Hindi has been given a position of such honour under the Constitution, even now its protagonists feel threatened by Urdu and try to put a spoke in its wheel. This is absolutely wrong.

Take the Punjab, for instance. There is a great debate there whether the Nagari or the Gurmukhi script should be used. Where is the question of argument when both can be used? It is really strange that the entire debate is carried on in Urdu. Even in Delhi, it is the Urdu newspapers which have a large readership. Then why deny Urdu its rightful place? After all, Urdu is our own language. It was born in Delhi and Lucknow. Why should we throw away a precious heritage? It is absurd to think that Urdu will usurp the place of Hindi. Hindi is already strongly entrenched and is spoken by a large majority of people. Secondly, the very thought that the growth of one language can harm the other is wrong. All the languages must grow side by side, as it has happened in Europe, and borrow and learn from one another. Therefore, our effort should be to see to it that all of them develop well and benefit by it.

I do not know if you are aware of this, that in the last few years, three academies have been established here. One is the Sahitya Akademi; two, Lalit Kala Akademi; and three, the Sangeet Natak Akademi.⁷ One concerns literature, the second painting and the arts and the third is connected with music and drama. By some chance I have been made the chairman of the Sahitya Akademi⁸ and one of its special tasks is to bring the various languages of India closer to one another. Translations are made from one language to another so that the people may get acquainted with the works in different languages.

Well, please forgive me. I got carried away. I was saying that I agree the question of languages is extremely important. But the moment it is used as a political weapon you go astray. Violence is bad in any case. But to fight in the name of culture and civilization and bring them into politics is absolutely wrong. I can understand people standing up for their rights. But I cannot understand languages becoming barriers between the people. In the olden days, the caste system was responsible for creating a great many barriers and prevented the growth of nationalism. Now, linguism is trying to do the same. You cannot prevent people from moving freely, nor can boundaries be shifted every time

7. On 12 March 1954, the Sahitya Akademi was inaugurated to work for the development of Indian letters and the Lalit Kala Akademi was set up in August 1954 to promote study and research in painting, sculpture, architecture and the applied arts. The Sangeet Natak Akademi was inaugurated on 28 January 1953 to foster dance and music and through them promote the cultural unity of India.
8. Nehru was Chairman of the Sahitya Akademi from 1954 till his death in 1964.

there is such a movement. It is absolutely wrong and all of us are to blame for allowing things to come to this pass. I want to tell you that you should differentiate between respect and loyalty to a language and making it a basis for the formation of a state. Generally speaking, there will be one language belonging to one province, like Bengali in Bengal.

The danger is that if the principle of linguism is adhered to too rigidly in the formation of states, then instead of coming closer, they will grow apart. There will be less and less of intellectual exchange between the states. Language will become a major barrier. Whether you like English or not, you must remember that it is English which has given a superficial unity to the diverse regions of the country during the last 80-90 years. There is no doubt about it. People of different states found a common medium of expression and work. In spite of the harm that English education did in those days, it did a great deal of good too. It was harmful in the sense that it set the educated intelligentsia apart from the common people, which was wrong. But we benefitted too because English education gave an opportunity to the various parts of the country to come together. So far we have been doing most of our work in English, including the work in the Congress because there was an acute need for a common language which was understood by people of different regions. Therefore it would be extremely dangerous to break the links which bind us together. Everyone must understand quite clearly, and particularly the protagonists of Hindi and Urdu, that we must not even hint that we want to suppress the other Indian languages, or that we want to force Hindi down everyone's throat. Hindi is growing and there is no doubt about it that it will continue to do so. But we must make an effort to help the other languages also to grow. The moment there is a suspicion in the minds of the people that they may be coerced to have Hindi, it will have just the opposite effect and everyone will be at loggerheads in the name of language.

Well, anyhow, our eyes were suddenly opened to where the idea of linguistic states was taking us—towards fissiparous tendencies and violence instead of unity. Then came the terrible events which rocked Bombay and some other parts of India. It was extremely painful that people should go to such lengths that they were prepared to kill others because some decision of Government was not to their liking. There have been riots and police firing all because of a decision about state boundaries. After all, the Government decision was based on the recommendations of the Commission made after a couple of years of inquiry and Report. We have the right to reject their recommendations. But why should we throw away the labour of three men for two years, wasting everyone's time? So, generally speaking the recommendations of such Commissions are accepted unless something is wrong. We did just that except for minor changes here and there with the people's consent. There were two or three major issues. One was about Bombay. In my personal opinion, the

Commission's suggestion was a good one. But since it was not acceptable to a large number of people, we agreed to change it. Several suggestions have been made and we have consulted a large number of people to find a solution acceptable to everyone, particularly those who had opposed the recommendations of the Commission. There were at least three proposals which seemed on the point of being accepted but were finally rejected. Finally, what we recommended also seemed to be acceptable though perhaps they may not have been completely satisfied. In spite of all this, trouble erupted. Perhaps we had been too cautious. If we had arrived at some decision sooner, it would have saved us all this trouble. After all, no decision is final. It could have been changed at a later date. There is provision under the Constitution to change any decision by democratic methods. The people have the right to ask me to step down from the post of Prime Minister. So there are proper methods for everything which do not include lathi-charging and violence and chaos. If such methods are adopted, then the bullies and the strong-arm men will succeed. Then we will have a military dictatorship. Hooliganism will push India in that direction. I am telling you what could happen if such tactics are allowed to persist.

Take Orissa, for instance, where there were riots though no new decision was involved. I do not know whether their demands were justified or not. But Bihar was completely opposed to them. So it is obvious that it was a question of displeasing either Orissa or Bihar. What is to be done when people attach so much importance to a district? The Commission had made no recommendation about Orissa. It was to be allowed to remain as it is which angered some people that their demands were not acceded to. Undoubtedly if they had been, it would have displeased people in Bihar. What kind of a decision is possible under such circumstances? It is obvious that the problem is not nearer a solution by some youths stopping trains or burning offices. The same thing would have happened in Bihar if the decision had gone against them. It has become totally childish. I regret to say that responsible people who ought to know better are at the bottom of all this.

In Orissa, the age group of most of the demonstrators was between ten and fifteen. It is absurd to use young children and college boys for such activities. I am not going into whose claims were justified. But the path that the people are following is wrong and extremely dangerous. It will lead the country to ruin. There can be no way of solving this problem except that Orissa and Bihar should fight it out as to which side should get this district or that. Isn't it absurd? It will lead to civil war except for the fact that wiser counsel prevails elsewhere and there is a Government at the centre. But the whole course of events has been painful. It has suddenly exposed our internal weaknesses unmercifully.

We are the citizens of a big country but very often give the impression of

being men of small stature. We are quick to anger against our neighbour and indulge in petty quarrels. These are signs of small men. We have seen this specially in Bombay and elsewhere too. Bombay is a great city, famous for the role it played in the freedom struggle. It is a great centre of trade and people from all over the country live there. Now, in such a grand city if the picture of Gandhiji is burnt what does it show? How is Gandhiji concerned with the Commission or its report or the decision taken by the present Government of India? It shows that the forces at the bottom of all this have some ulterior motive apart from whether Bombay goes to one state or the other. I agree that there are a large number of Maharashtrians and their demand is legitimate. I respect that and am prepared to talk the matter over. But what I cannot tolerate is that some people should use this as an excuse to incite people to riot and loot and burn Gandhiji's picture and his effigy.

You may remember that eight years ago, on this very day Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead. You may call him a mad man but it was the nation which suffered by his act. Why do we go wrong so quickly? Why are we led astray in a fit of passion and anger and kill our neighbours? When even Gandhiji was not spared, who is safe?

This is something that all of us must be concerned about. It is a strange quirk of fate that just as we are on way to achieve something worthwhile, we slip backward and fall. It is something that we must combat. We cannot allow ourselves to be overcome by them. A long time ago, we had challenged destiny. There were a great many ups and downs and we often stumbled and fell. But ultimately won. So the people of India will not go under. We shall fight and overcome them. We cannot allow major decisions to be influenced by hooliganism. That would lead to a total breakdown of law and order. There will be no democracy but only mobocracy. It is obvious that the bullies come into their own at such times and cause great harm. Are we prepared to give up our country into the hands of such hooligans? Such tactics weaken a movement and do not strengthen it any way.

This day belongs to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi. We pay homage to his memory and refresh our minds about what he stood for, worked and ultimately gave up his life. The story of Mahatma Gandhi has become immortalised in the history of India and the world. His life as well as the manner of his dying is a beautiful story. He stood firmly by his principles and never deviated from the truth. So we observe this day to pay homage to his memory. But to what purpose is this if we forget his teachings and are easily led astray in our pride, bitterness, enmity, narrow-mindedness and vulgarity? We only succeed in destroying something valuable. There are great tasks ahead and we are trying to lay the foundations of a new India. But there can be real progress only when we get rid of our narrow-minded way and petty quarrels and bitterness.

I have tried to paint a picture before you so that we may clarify our thinking. Even if there are differences of opinion, there can be no question about whether we ought to try to solve our problems by violence and hooliganism. There is nothing complicated about this for there can be only one answer. But we must try to create an atmosphere in which others are also prevented from doing such things. Only then can we progress. Otherwise, it is obvious that the reins of the country will go into the wrong hands. I said somewhere that in this age of nuclear weapons, all other conventional weapons are useless. You cannot use guns or tanks or swords against nuclear weapons. So a different method has to be found. Hooliganism will take us nowhere. I am becoming more and more convinced that the only way to combat nuclear weapons is the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. It would make it difficult for the opponent to use nuclear weapons under such circumstances. But Gandhiji's path was not one of cowardice or keeping quiet in the face of aggression. It requires great courage to follow Gandhiji's path. He was opposed to violence. He said that he did not want anyone to nurture the serpent of violence in his bosom. Nor did he encourage cowardice of any kind. He said that he preferred one who did violence to a coward.

You can imagine the implications. He led the nation to non-violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience which required strict discipline and sacrifice, peace and orderly behaviour, not hooliganism. This is something the youth today may not be aware of. The enemy would be right there. An Englishman could walk through a crowd of Indians and not a finger would be lifted against him. This is what Gandhiji taught us. This is how we acquired great strength which had a profound impact upon the world. What does looting shops, burning and killing prove to the world except that Indians are a stupid people who make a great show of superiority but fall apart in a crisis. This is something to be borne in mind and particularly on this day which is sacred to the memory of Gandhiji. I hope that all of you will think about these things because ultimately it is we who have to run the country. We cannot accept defeat because of mistakes and shocks. As I said, we have pitted our strength against destiny and cannot draw back.

I expressed the desire some time ago to give up the office of the Prime Minister.⁹ I was the Congress President then. But people did not understand why I was saying this. They thought I was afraid or defeated. I did not want to give up working but only wished to change the field. I was beginning to wonder if I could not work better in some other field. Then, as you know, the

9. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 312-316.

Congress presidency was given to Dhebar bhai who is a very able man.¹⁰ He does not have any faults and his qualities are many. I tend to raise my voice sometimes but he never does so. He speaks in a soft voice but with firmness and strength. He has added a new lustre to the Congress and in fact the entire nation. He has done excellent work. I continued as Prime Minister and felt reassured by giving up the post of Congress President. Still, there is plenty of work to do. Well, anyhow, the question of giving up my office has not arisen in the last two years. I am not about to hand in my resignation. What I wanted to tell you was that the effect of incidents like those that have taken place in Bombay is just the opposite. I feel that there is a great deal of work to be done yet. So even if I think of resigning, it has to be shelved. There is much to be done and I have not learnt to run away from responsibilities or difficulties. If things go smoothly, I might hand in my resignation and do something else. So long as there is breath in my body, the question of taking a pension and retiring does not arise.

I was giving you an example. What I meant was that when things are going wrong in the country, we must put all our strength into putting them right by explaining things to the wrong doers. It is the duty of every one of us to do something. We cannot leave it to a handful of people with the wrong intentions to turn the country topsy-turvy. We must bring them round to our point of view. I do not mean that we too should adopt wrong methods. Therefore, on this day, we should again take a pledge to be vigilant and guard against the evil of provincialism which is rampant in the country today.

You must have heard about the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee.¹¹ We have been deeply disturbed about what has been happening in the country. If any organization has laid great stress on unity, hard work and sacrifice, it is the Congress. There is need for the continuance of the Congress because it is a cementing force in the country. It was pointed out in the Congress Party that such terrible and extremely painful things could happen in the country and Congressmen should participate in them. Two of our senior members of the Congress Working Committee, the Chief Ministers of Bengal and Bihar, where there is some dispute over some districts, made a suggestion that it would be better if Bengal and Bihar should be merged into one.¹² I do

10. U.N. Dhebar became the Congress President in January 1955. For his nomination as Congress President, see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 27, pp. 316-317 and 322.

11. The Congress Working Committee resolution, adopted on 23 January 1956 condemned the violent demonstrations. For the text of the resolution see *post.* 210-212..

12. On 23 January 1956, a joint proposal was issued by the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar proposing the merger of the States of West Bengal and Bihar. See *post.* 212-214.

not even know who suggested it first. As you know, Bengal is no longer what it was before. A large part of it has gone to Pakistan. Bengal is one of our famous provinces which played a leading role in the freedom movement. Bihar is also a first-rate province. Earlier Bengal and Bihar were one. Anyhow, it was suggested that the two provinces should be merged into one. They said that they would make their colleagues agree. Anyhow, it is obvious that a decision could not be taken merely by a verbal assurance. The Chief Ministers could only make a suggestion. It has to be put to the public and debated in the Assembly. But even the mere suggestion has acted as an electric shock and awakened the people.¹⁴ There has been great anxiety about the way things are happening in India with provincialism rearing its head all over the country. Now the attention was immediately diverted. It was a grand thing that the Congress Working Committee could show that we are capable of overcoming petty problems. I hope that it will have an impact elsewhere. The states reorganization will be completed and we will go on. All the national languages must be encouraged. There is no question of suppressing any of them. If there are any administrative problems, a solution can be found and if necessary, the map can be changed again. After all, India is not going to run away. But whatever we do, it must be by the right means, not by using threats and violence or killing and bloodshed.

On this day the blood of a great man was shed for the sake of India's unity. If we forget this, we will prove ourselves a useless people who cannot learn anything from experience. I hope that we are not so useless. We can learn from our mistakes and rectify them. Even if we stumble and fall, we can pick ourselves up and go on. With this hope in our hearts, we must think about Gandhiji's teachings and the ideals he gave us. We have a long way to go and so it is even more important to remember his teachings. *Jai Hind*.

14. Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the Communist Party in Rajya Sabha, and Jyoti Basu, leader of the Communist Party in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, in a joint statement on 23 January 1956, described the proposal to integrate West Bengal and Bihar into one state as "nothing short of an outrage in the cause of the linguistic states." In Bihar, demonstrations and hartal took place on the same day. On 24 January, about two hundred students paraded on the main roads in Patna shouting slogans denouncing the merger proposal.

BUILDING NEW INDIA

I. ECONOMY

1. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

2 December 1955

My dear T.T.,²

As you know, we have fixed 5th December at 5 pm for a general Party meeting to consider the Karve³ Report⁴. This will, of course, be a general discussion and it will be good for us to know what the views of Party members are. We shall take no decision then. Even the Planning Commission has not formally considered this Report yet, though I hope they are going to do so fairly soon. We may also consider it in the Economic Committee, if necessary.

2. Even though this is going to be a general discussion, something will have to be said on behalf of Government. This need not contain any definite commitment but a broad indication has to be given of Government's policy. I find that there is much argument going on among MPs, as among others, over this Report and, more particularly, about the Ambar Charkha⁵ and spinning

1. File No. 17(49)/56-PMS. Also available in JN collection. A copy of this letter was forwarded to G.B. Pant, Union Home Minister.
2. Union Minister for Commerce and Industry and simultaneously for Iron and Steel.
3. D.G. Karve (1896-1967); Economist, Director, Programme evaluation, Planning Commission, 1952-55; Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1954-55; Chairman, Village and Small-Scale Industries Committee, 1955; Vice Chancellor, University of Pune, 1959-61.
4. The Karve Committee, in its Report submitted on 1 November 1955, recommended development programmes costing Rs.25,961 crores for village and small industries under the Second Plan, which would provide employment opportunities to four and a half million people. To achieve this, the Committee had recommended: (1) expansion of handloom production to meet the increased demand for cloth; (2) creation of a separate Central Ministry for small-scale and village industries under a Cabinet Minister; (3) transfer the entire increased production of rice to handpounding; (4) imposition of excise duty on rice mills and to use the proceeds for better equipment and organisation; (5) reservation of production of matches and crushing of edible oilseeds for small-scale and cottage units; (6) inclusion of village and small-scale industries within the scope of Cooperative Development and Warehousing Corporation for marketing; and (7) operation of development finance through institutional channels. The Committee also stressed the need for a decentralised economy built around cooperatives, growth of city within a prescribed limit and development of industrial activity around a group of villages having its natural industrial and urban centre, similarly related to bigger ones.
5. The Ambar Charkha, invented in 1949 and later improved upon, was made mainly of wood with four spindles at the cost of Rs.100. Spinning on Ambar Charkha did not require any special skill, the average output of yarn being 16 hanks of 20 counts in eight hours.

and weaving mills. In fact, I think that it is because of this argument that about thirty MPs have asked me to convene this meeting. The broad point of this argument is that we should not add to our mill spindles or looms in order to encourage the Ambar Charkha and cottage industries.

3. I wrote to you about this matter some time ago and indicated how my mind was working in so far as the broad principles were concerned. You replied that you agreed with me entirely.⁶ So far as I remember, I wrote that we must aim ultimately at utilising the latest techniques. We cannot hold on to out of date methods of production. At the same time, we have to bear in mind the vital problem of employment. We are not only committed to providing employment but, indeed, circumstances compel us to do so. If we fail in this, the best of our schemes will fail, and difficult social problems will face us.

4. Thus, we have to balance these two considerations, and there is likely to be an intervening period when we have to encourage older methods of production, even though they might not be economical in the literal sense of the word. As other opportunities of employment grow, they will displace the older methods. We have also to keep in mind that production of cloth is adequate. We can take no risks about that.

5. The Ambar Charkha may not be a final solution of our problems, though I can quite conceive of some small cottage machines like the Ambar Charkha but an improved one, working with electric power, being able to compete quite successfully with the big mills. Even from the strictly economic point of view, this would be worthwhile, and it will avoid transport costs, etc., apart from giving employment to a considerable number of persons.

6. The Ambar Charkha at present is not likely to come up to the standard but from all accounts it is a great improvement and bridges the gap considerably. One such Charkha is working in our house now. I have seen some reports of its working, and these are fairly satisfactory. Probably, we shall have a full technical report on it within a few months. What is even more important is the practical experience of having it worked by some thousands of persons. I understand that it has been distributed to some thousands already.

7. The point being argued is as to how far it is necessary to have additional spindles in our mills. The Karve Report has suggested that we should wait for about six months or so and then we will be in a better position to judge the capacity of the Ambar Charkha. Meanwhile, they have suggested that no further increase of spindles in mills be made.

8. I think, you gave me to understand that the estimate of the Karve Committee about future consumption of cloth is much too conservative, and it will be a risky matter to rely on the Ambar Charkha to fulfil the growing demand. If the supply cannot keep pace with the demand, then prices will rise

6. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 176-177.

and other unfortunate consequences will follow. Therefore, it is necessary to prepare from now onwards for greater production of cloth in mills also, apart from the Ambar Charkha.

9. There is no principle involved in this argument. It is really a factual question as well as of an estimate of our future needs and productive capacity. I have no doubt that we should not take a risk, if there is a risk, of our demands outstripping our supply.

10. Today, the Planning Commission discussed this matter. I was not there, but I have received some papers which they had before them. Later, the Planning Committee of the AICC met and also discussed this on the basis of the same papers. These papers indicate that the spindles actually being used now are capable of producing far more than they are actually doing now. There are two shifts mostly, and sometimes there is a third shift. If the first shift worked with ninety per cent spindles, as it well might, this itself will add considerably to the production. Similarly, if the second shift worked a little more, this will also add a good deal, and then there is the third shift. I am not going into the figures which were provided to us but, according to them, it should be possible with the present number of installed spindles to increase our production very greatly. In fact, we can reach the target set.

11. Then we were told that a large number of spindles have been licensed during the past few years but have actually not been installed. If these are installed in future and their production taken into consideration, then our production will exceed the total target set for the Second Five Year Plan, even calculating it at a much higher figures than the Karve Committee has done.

12. I cannot judge about the correctness of the figures supplied to us from the Planning Commission but I gather they have come from your Ministry. The inferences, if correct, will indicate that, so far as our cloth production is concerned, it can be easily met by the present number of spindles in the mills and, in fact, that cottage production has not a very big field to cover. If new spindles are installed in the mills, as is suggested, then there will be no room left at all for the Ambar Charkha or cottage spinning.

13. I should like these figures to be examined carefully because our decision must depend on these facts. If the argument that is advanced is correct, then obviously the question of having additional spindles now does not arise. In fact, it will go against our general policy to encourage employment in cottage industries.

14. This line of reasoning should also apply to the looms. I have no doubt that our looms should gradually be driven by power. But, in the best of circumstances, electric power will not be available for a number of years, and it will spread only gradually. As it spreads, we should use it. But a large number of looms will still remain hand-worked.

Anyhow all this argument tends towards the conclusion that:

- (1) the Ambar Charkha is a fairly satisfactory instrument, though it has to be more fully tested;
- (2) the Ambar Charkha can be improved and made into an even more effective instrument;
- (3) it can ultimately be driven by power and at this stage it should be able to compete on practically level terms with the big mill, that is, taken together with the power-driven handloom;
- (4) the existing installed spindles, if fully worked in three shifts, can produce as much cloth as we need and more, allowing for much greater consumption. Indeed, if they are so used, they can even invade the region which we have more or less reserved for the handloom industry;
- (5) if additional looms are installed, then there will be hardly any room left for the Ambar Charkha and even the handloom industry will have to shrink considerably.

I should like all these facts and figures to be considered carefully by your Ministry and later in the Planning Commission and in the Cabinet if necessary, because our decision will largely depend on a factual appraisal of the situation, keeping in view always the question of employment. I am told that the Ambar Charkha if properly spread out, may ultimately give employment to a vast number of persons, estimated as I think thirty-five lakhs. It may be that this figure is exaggerated, and the same question of spreading out in a big way will be terribly complicated. But even if we have this figure, it is still a very considerable one, and it will not only give employment to all these but also distribute money and purchasing capacity over a wide field.

I am writing to you so that we might be prepared to consider all these aspects when the matter comes up for discussion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Ambar Charkha¹

If you permit me, I will say something about the Karve Report, because it

1. Speech at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 5 December 1955. From *Towards a Socialistic Order*, published by the Indian National Congress, July 1956.

seems to me there has been a great deal of misunderstanding, misapprehension and confusion on this issue. The differences of opinion may come in, as regards certain emphasis at a certain time. Now, what are our basic approaches? One is that we want, naturally, to add to production, to add to the wealth of the country, to make the country more and more industrialized. I do not think that we can advance in a big way without having industry on a big scale and without adopting the latest techniques. By big scale I mean not only big industry but also more widespread industrialization. If we want to develop iron and steel plants, we must have the latest type of iron and steel plants; if we have a locomotive factory, we must have the latest type; if we have anything, say, cement factory, fertilizer factory, defence factories, or the most basic, and most important of all, machine-making industry, they have to be of the latest type. We cannot have out of date techniques and be able to compete or be able to produce as much out of them. That is one line of approach.

The other and equally important line of approach is about employment. We cannot afford to have unemployment in the country, specially, large-scale unemployment. To provide employment is not only a duty but a social necessity. If we do not, there is trouble, either way. Now, we have to balance these two, and in balancing them, there are many other factors too. There are many other social factors to be considered. Of course, a big objection to the old capitalistic form of industrialization is that it does not care at all for the social unhappiness caused by it, although finally it increases the production of the country. In fact, the whole of Marx's *Capital* deals with the growth of industrialization in England and the terrible misery it caused. The whole basis of the communist outlook is based on what happened in England in the 19th century. It is rather out of date. One cannot repeat that, and one does not want to repeat that in any country. We cannot afford to repeat it because people just do not put up with it. And, of course, we do not want to. Therefore, while adhering to the principle of adopting the latest technique, we have to temper it all the time, by considerations of its effect on the employment situation. If something causes unemployment, then we have to think what we have to do, because looking at it even from the capitalist point of view, it should be our business to give a dole if we cannot give employment. That is what countries like England and others have to do. Out of the abundance of their production, they give a dole to their unemployed. We just cannot afford to give a dole to ten million persons. It is also a bad thing to give a dole. It is far better to provide work than give a dole, even though the work may be uneconomical. We cannot have lower techniques and compete in this world; and we cannot have high techniques in our big industry and our middle industry and out of date techniques in some other industry. But it is worse to pursue a policy which does not help us in solving, not suddenly, but as far as we can, our unemployment problem. Apart from the social unhappiness caused and even from other points of view, it is

far better to have employment spread out. Purchasing power makes the economic system go faster. Agreeing to these principles, how are we to balance them? We have to do that all the time.

So far as the Ambar Charkha is concerned, it has not been, if I may say so, finally appraised. There are two ways of appraising it. One is that experts should work it for a few months and give their opinion. The other, and perhaps a better way, is that hundreds and thousands of persons, ordinary people, should work it; and we should find out how they have done it, because that is the real test. Now, this is being done. The results thus far obtained are, on the whole, satisfactory. As I said, we are in the middle stage. But they give hope, a fairly good hope. The Ambar Charkha is being distributed to some thousands of persons and their experience of it and their reports would be very helpful. Apart from the technical reports from some technical people who are examining it, even now it does appear to be a hopeful thing and, indeed, if I may say so, somewhat better thing than we expected. But the Ambar Charkha is not the last word on the subject. As it is, even the Ambar Charkha, when used, can be improved. Obviously improvements can be made with practice and use, and it can be made a more and more effective instrument. There is no reason why the Ambar Charkha or any such small household machine should not use electric power when the time comes, so that gradually technical efficiency is achieved in that small machine too, subject always to other considerations of unemployment. It is quite conceivable, indeed possible, that with somewhat slightly improved design of the Ambar Charkha, if not with the present one, we can really approach the big production technique. There is one advantage in the small production technique, that is, we do not have to transport goods, and thus the cost of goods is lessened. Undoubtedly, it will be less efficient, I mean to say, economically less efficient than the big machine. We shall have to balance them. It really becomes a question not of arguing in the air but of considering all these factors and seeing and giving the highest precedence to the employment factor. The Khadi Board has made out some kind of a programme for the next five years.² It is a good thing to have a plan before us to discuss, to have some idea. But, as a matter of fact, it is based on a number of uncertain factors. As time goes, say, in the next six months, we shall be in a much better position to talk about the Ambar Charkha. Next year, having

2. The pilot scheme, prepared by All India Khadi and Village Industries Board to study the potentialities of the Ambar Charkha, envisaged the opening of fifteen training centres for 400 instructors; a hundred production centres with the provision for 60 charkha sets engaging two persons each and training facilities for 150 workers; and six functional offices at various places for coordination work, manufacture of charkha sets, distribution of yarn, training of workers and an inspectorate office. The scheme would be executed through organised agencies such as the Sarva Seva Sangh.

known its productive capacity over large areas, and how it can be improved technically, we shall be in a still better position. The programme we make now will only be a tentative programme which should really be appraised and varied after twelve months or two years. In effect, we should see two years ahead and judge from year to year.

There is another aspect. It relates to estimating the consumption of cloth in this country. The consumption of cloth is going up in this country—going up fairly fast; even if it goes up slowly, in the totality it becomes big. If we make an appraisal—whatever our appraisal may be—and calculate accordingly, it is all very well. If the demand is much greater, there is a lag. Then, prices go up and difficulties occur and inflation occurs. We want to avoid that. We do not want to take a risk in that matter and allow demand to outstrip supply of both sides and thereby create other conditions which affect not only our cloth position but our whole economy. Therefore, it is to be considered how rapidly the Ambar Charkha can produce. In regard to the Ambar Charkha, the main difficulty is not the working of the Ambar Charkha. It may be good. But the main difficulty is in spreading it out over thousands of villages. The difficulty is with regard to its organization. It is relatively easy to organize a huge iron and steel factory, but it is difficult to organize something which is spread over more than fifty thousand villages. The servicing of it, if something little goes wrong, is another problem. The giving of raw materials and the collection of yarn is a tremendous job. If this machinery does not work satisfactorily, as one might expect, then there might be a lack of production. Therefore, one should rather err on the side of over-production than of under-production. It is from that point of view, therefore, that one has to think of what spindles might be required in the mills or elsewhere. If by calculation we have enough, then there is no difficulty. If we have not enough, then one has to consider as to what extent we should encourage them. All these matters, thus, become questions for careful consideration of the facts and not of theoretical arguments or principles. It was indicated to us that there is quite enough capacity at present in the mills, plus, if necessary, a third shift, plus, if necessary, the spindles that are standing idle. It is a matter that has to be considered. My point is that the question is not one of high principle, but of careful consideration in detail of the position so that we may spread the Ambar Charkha as rapidly as possible, see its results, and go on spreading it, and at the same time see to it that no risk of shortage arises because of the growing consumption and demand in the country. I do not want merely an argument about high principles, because, so far as I know, there is no difference in our basic approach. There might be differences like emphasis here and there. We have to proceed by method of trial and error, keeping these principles before us and not taking any major risk in the operation.

The Ambar Charkha must be given every possible opportunity to develop. To develop in both ways, the present Ambar Charkha should first be tried in

the widest possible way. Secondly, to develop it all necessary technical improvements should be made. That is necessary. Having said that, another point arises, how far one should encourage any additional spindles in mills? That is a matter of calculation and appraisal of estimates. Our calculations will become more and more accurate as we know the functioning of the Ambar Charkha. It is no good discussing it in the air. With principles I agree, and one of the principles is that we have to push the Ambar Charkha to the utmost. The argument that is advanced is: what is the good of pushing the Ambar Charkha if you cannot absorb the yarn that is produced by it? That is a very valid argument. We must obviously guarantee the absorption of the good yarn produced by the Ambar Charkha, and then spread the Ambar Charkha.

Further, we are fortunately at the present moment having what is called an expanding economy, but we are apt to think in terms of a static economy. The expanding economy means more wealth, more purchasing power and more goods production. If we think in terms of the static economy, then we put a check on the expansion of economy. All these difficulties arise. It is no good merely discussing some rather vague approaches. Vague approaches are all right, but we must also get down to hard facts and figures.

There is one other factor I may mention which we should not forget. There is a great strain on our finances in spite of our growth because of our big development schemes and there is a big gap between our estimated resources and what we intend to spend. Well, normally one looks to a gap to fill it, may be, by some greater effort and possibly and largely by some external assistance. The external assistance may come, but I do not think we should be too sure of relying on external assistance. And, as various developments are taking place in the external world, it may possibly become not desirable for us to ask for external assistance.

3. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

16 December 1955

My dear V.T.,²

I have received a note from Tarlok Singh³ about the allocations for the public

1. File No. 17(5)/56-PMS.

2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

3. Joint Secretary, Planning Commission.

sector.⁴ It is not quite clear to me as to how much you have provisionally provided for mineral exploration and exploitation.⁵

As I said at the meeting of the Planning Commission,⁶ the two things that appear to me to be basic for our future progress are the building up of a heavy machine manufacturing plant or plants and the full exploration and partial exploitation of our mineral resources. Both these are basic and I do hope that adequate steps will be taken in regard to both of them.

I realise your difficulties but it is better to feel the pinch now than to permit delay in regard to these two matters.

It was said at the meeting that in practice it would be difficult for much money to be spent on oil exploration. I am no judge of this. Anyhow, this could be ascertained by enquiring as to how much is the minimum necessary. If the basic minimum is not reached, then work will hardly go on satisfactorily and present delay will affect our future progress.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The total outlay of the Second Plan for the public sector was Rs.4,800 crore, out of which Rs. 565 crore were allocated for agricultural and community development, Rs. 898 crore for irrigation and power, Rs.891 crore for industry, Rs. 1,384 crore for transport and communications, Rs. 946 crore for social services, and Rs.116 crore for miscellaneous.
5. Rs. 691 crore, allocated for the sub-head 'mineral' under 'industry', had the following tentative distribution—Rs.70 crore for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Rs. 350 crore for Ministry of Iron and Steel, Rs. 172 crore for Ministry of Production, Rs. 50 crore for Ministry of NR & SR, Rs. 16 crore for Ministry of Finance, and Rs. 33 crore for industrial scheme in states.
6. On 14 December 1955.

4. Nationalization of Coal Industry¹

5... The Prime Minister said that the general policy was that the coal industry should be 100 per cent in the public sector. If due to lack of finance we had to compromise on this issue and allow the private sector to have more of the additional production, it would only mean that we were fortifying the private

1. Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 22 December 1955. File No. PC(V)/M-VII(25)/56, Planning Commission. Extracts.

sector in a branch of industry, viz., the coal industry which should ultimately be in the public sector and thus create more difficulties later on. It would mean going in a direction, retreat from which would be more difficult. He felt that in the long run it was bad policy to let the private sector have a larger share of the additional production. In regard to new mines in the public sector, he did not know why the cost of production should be more...

6. The Prime Minister reiterated the principles enunciated in the Industrial Policy Resolution. He felt that coal industry a profitable concern and it was, therefore, desirable that we did it ourselves. If there were insuperable difficulties in doing it ourselves, we would have to take steps to see that the total target of production was achieved. He felt that we had not yet fully assured ourselves that the private sector could really do more than what had been allotted to them. In view of the financial difficulty he wondered whether the ratio of additional production between the private and public sectors at present fixed at 8:15 could not be changed to say something like 12:11.

...The Prime Minister thought that the position had to be cleared up by consultation with the private sector. He said that without indicating a definite limit they might be asked to indicate: (a) how far they would be prepared to go beyond eight million tons, (b) an estimate of the investment that would be required and whether they would be able to do it without financial assistance from the Government, (c) the areas from which the additional production would be raised by them, and (d) the areas which they might not be interested to develop. On the suggestion of Dr Ghosh,² he said that the Production Ministry and the Planning Commission might jointly meet the representatives of the private sector to discuss these questions and that the consideration of the question of allocation for coal production in the public sector might be postponed for the present and decided finally by the Cabinet after the reaction of the private sector had been obtained.

2. J.C. Ghosh, Member, Planning Commission.

5. Strike by Bank Employees¹

I have learnt with deep regret that some Bank employees have been taking part in what are called pen-down strikes, and in demonstrations against the implementation of the Bank Award decision.² Bank disputes have had a long history and have come up for consideration repeatedly in various ways.³ Ultimately, Justice Gajendragadkar⁴ was appointed to examine the Appellate Tribunal's award in the light of the conditions then prevailing. His recommendations were accepted by Government in toto and later by Parliament. They were given effect to by the Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Act which came into force recently and is to remain in force till April 1959.

Perhaps no other industrial or like dispute has been so carefully considered in all its aspects as these Bank disputes and every aspect has been considered with the greatest care. Government fully accepted the impartial and careful recommendations of Justice Gajendragadkar, and I would have thought that there was no room left for any further dispute in this matter. But to my surprise and regret, some people have again continued this conflict. Quite apart from the fact that Parliament has, after full consideration, passed this Act and strikes

1. Statement on the Bank Employees' strike against the implementation of the Bank Award decision, New Delhi, 31 December 1955. File No. 26(104)/51-PMS.
2. On 27 December 1955, the All India Bank Employees Association gave a call for a two-day strike on 6 and 7 January 1956 on the issue of the proposed cut in the emoluments of bank employees under the Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Act. The Act, passed in August 1955 to give effect to the Gajendragadkar Award on the pay scales and service conditions of bankmen, came into force on 21 October 1955.
3. The bank disputes were considered by the Sen Tribunal in 1950, which was declared void by the Supreme Court in April 1951 for technical reasons; the Sastry Tribunal in 1952; the Labour Appellate Tribunal in 1954; and the Gajendragadkar Committee in July 1955.
4. P.B. Gajendragadkar (1901-81); joined Bombay Appellate Side Bar. 1926; Judge of the Bombay High Court. 1945-57; Chairman, Bank Award Commission. 1955; Judge, Supreme Court, 1957-64 and Chief Justice of India, 1964-66; Vice Chancellor, Bombay University, 1966-71; Chairman, Dearness Allowance Committee, Government of India, 1966-67. National Commission on Labour, 1967-69 and Jammu and Kashmir Commission of Inquiry, 1967-68; member, UGC, President, Law Reforms Commission, 1971; author of *The Constitution of India: Its Philosophy and Basic Postulate* and *Secularism and the Constitution of India* among other books.

over matters which had been adjudicated upon are illegal,⁵ this new agitation strikes at the very base of the system of adjudication. I think, this is a serious matter and there can be no industrial peace if all of us do not recognise the value of this approach by adjudication to industrial disputes. At any time this would have been undesirable. At the present moment, when we are on the eve of launching the Second Five Year Plan, industrial peace and cooperation in this great effort are peculiarly necessary. I think, therefore, that it is very unwise of some Bank employees to participate in any action which challenges the authority of Parliament and imperils the whole approach to these problems by adjudication. I have every sympathy for Bank employees as for other workers and wish them well, but I think that the contemplated action is wrong and I would strongly advise Bank employees not to participate in it.⁶

5. The strike was considered illegal under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 as section 23 of the Act prohibited workmen from going on strike "during any period in which a settlement or award is in operation, in respect of any of the matters covered by the settlement or the award."
6. The strike was largely successful.

6. The Second Plan: Scope and Resources¹

Jawaharlal Nehru, the Chairman, observed that the draft memorandum on the Second Five Year Plan which had been circulated to the Chief Ministers and state governments was a draft for consideration.² In view of the various uncertain factors it would be unwise to treat any five year plan as rigid. It could only provide a broad framework which could be added to or subtracted from in the light of experience and in the light of further information—technical,

1. Summary record of the meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 6 January 1956. File No. 17(18)/56-PMS. Extracts.
2. The draft memorandum, prepared by the Planning Commission, embodied the proposals which emerged out of the discussions held at Central and state levels between July and December 1955 on three documents—Mahalanobis' 'Draft Recommendations for the Formulation of the Second Five Year Plan' (referred to as the Plan-Frame); 'Tentative Framework for the Second Five Year Plan' prepared by the Economic Divisions of the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Commission; and 'Memorandum on Basic Considerations Relating to the Plan-Frame' drawn up by the Planning Commission's Panel of Economists in April 1955. These papers were published by the Planning Commission in July 1955.

statistical, and otherwise. Precise details could be given only in the annual plans.

2. The Chairman observed that before the draft memorandum was prepared, the Planning Commission had placed certain papers before the Panel of Economists which discussed the subjects in full and had raised certain matters of principle.³

3. The Chairman mentioned that after repeated discussions about the scope of the Plan and the resources for financing it, the conclusion had been reached that the size of the Plan should be Rs. 4,800 crores. There were still several gaps to be filled but it was felt that a Plan beyond this figure could not be thought of. Necessarily, therefore, planning had to be done within the limits set by this figure. One could not be certain about what might happen two or three years later; conditions might be better or worse. The whole question of foreign aid was an uncertain factor. In spite of allowance being made for all this, a gap still remained to be filled up. In short, we had stretched ourselves to the utmost in fixing the Plan at Rs. 4,800 crores.

4. The problem for consideration was how to use these resources to the best advantage. There were important demands made by Ministries such as Education, Health, etc., but one had at the same time to think of doing things which would build up the economy and increase resources. The principle that the greatest stress should be laid on heavy industry had been recognised by all.

5. The Chairman referred to the criticism which had been advanced about the amount allotted to the Railways. Under the allocation made, no railway extensions except those which were required for iron and steel factories and other approved projects could be thought of. The question of the adequacy of the provision for Railways was a technical matter which should be examined fully, with reference to the condition of the tracks and of the carriages and locomotives. The Chairman also referred to the importance of the proper exploitation of the country's mineral resources, especially oil, to save foreign exchange. In this connection he mentioned the possibility that India might be fairly well off regarding oil resources....

9. The Chairman enquired whether in view of the various uncertain and changing features, the Finance Minister would not agree that it would be better to concentrate on the first year's Plan. The Finance Minister observed that it would not be proper to bring out a Plan before we realised its full implications. In other words, there should be no commitment and it should be understood by the Ministries and the State Governments that all these matters required

3. B.R. Shenoy of the 21-member Panel said in his dissent note that he could not wholly subscribe to the views of his colleagues on (1) the size of the Plan, (2) deficit financing as a means for raising real resources for the Plan, and (3) certain policy and institutional implications of the Plan-Frame.

examination. Commitment could be made only for the first year. The Finance Minister indicated that by 15th January, the states would be informed of the assistance which would be available from the Centre....

11. The Chairman said that the points mentioned by Dr Roy⁴ were important but he did not agree that the suggestion could be carried out only under totalitarian conditions.⁵ The Chairman added that if political democracy was to maintain itself it had to become economic democracy as well. In the economic sense capitalist democracy was more likely to be totalitarian than a socialist democracy. There was no objection to the private sector functioning in a controlled way except in strategic positions such as heavy industries, etc....

15. The Chairman observed that within the domain allotted to them, the private sector should be given a certain freedom and initiative subject to overall planning and regulation. The point for consideration was what their domain should be; obviously, that domain should not extend to certain strategic points which had an essential bearing on the Plan or which would set in motion trends against the direction in which the country wanted to go. Prof. Gadgil had pointed out that the disparities in income and concentration of wealth had increased during the last few years and one major object of any planning should be to have no such disparities. It, therefore, followed that certain basic industries which were of high importance to the Plan should be run in the public interest only. The aim should be to spread out the distribution of money and power; any development of a monopoly went against not only socialism but against all other ideals which were important for the community. One such ideal was the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth.

4. B.C.Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, referred to the excellent work done by the private sector and emphasized the need for necessary training in the system of management, knowledge of trade etc., before the Government took over the private undertakings into the public sector. He opposed ceiling on income because it killed initiative. He also felt that another member and noted economist D.R. Gadgil's suggestions could not be implemented unless there was totalitarianism.
5. Gadgil had urged that the public sector had to be progressively expanded as the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 was inadequate for establishing a socialistic pattern of society. The real surplus was in the fields of foreign trade, banking and insurance. Gadgil also emphasized the need to train the necessary personnel to run efficiently the industries owned by the Government.

7. Towards a Socialist Structure of Society¹

I think the discussion we have had since yesterday, which was initiated by Prof. Gadgil, has been very helpful in bringing out certain important considerations and bringing out also different approaches. The measure of agreement is considerable even though the emphasis may vary. It is agreed by all—and indeed that is our firm policy—that we should go towards what is called a socialist structure of society. We say that not because of some emotional feeling but for very practical considerations, that is, you cannot meet the social problems of the day without going in that direction. I do not want to generalise about other countries because each country has its own background and laying down high principles to be applicable to everybody seems to me rather a risky policy. But taking India as it is, I think we have the background here, the urge and the necessity for going in that direction. Now I hope everybody realises that to achieve socialism or indeed to achieve any kind of really high standard in this country is a long-term process. It is no good deluding the public that we can achieve it quickly. Even in China, Chairman Mao repeatedly talks of achieving socialism in twenty years in spite of all the authoritarian powers that they have and the tremendous capacity of the Chinese people for working.

We talk of Russia, but we forget that it is thirty-eight years since they have been at it, apart from communism and other things. I asked the Soviet leaders who were here as to when they thought they would achieve their objective of a communist society and they said that from now it will take, say, fifteen to twenty years more—whatever their idea of a communist society may be, perhaps it means abundance for everybody. So, in spite of every effort, all these things do take time.

Naturally, we have to go fast, both because we desire to go fast and because of the compulsion of events, for if we do not, other things, and may be undesirable things, happen. But in going fast, we have to be clear about the objective—not of course, some rigid objective—but the broad objective, subject to variations that may be necessary here and there. That objective has been laid down. And we have to be clear that everything that we do, apart from being advantageous to us in an economic way, is on right lines, that the right trends are encouraged and not the wrong trends which come in our way.

All this seems to me to indicate the great importance of what I would call

1. Speech at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 7 January 1956. File No. 25(30)/56-PMS. Also available in File No. PC/CDN/47/3/56. Coordination Branch, Planning Commission and JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.

long-term planning—in general terms, of course, not this detailed planning—because then one can see whether what the country does in the next, say, five years, fits in with our objective of, say, ten or fifteen years hence. It is not enough merely to test it by some broad concept of socialism, though, of course, that may be done. But it becomes necessary to have some clear idea of what in fifteen years time we hope to achieve.

It is most necessary that we must have this and then we can come to the shorter plans which must fit in with the broad general scheme; then we come to the shortest plan, the one year plan or the annual plan, which also must fit in and it would be a very detailed plan. Difficulty comes because our minds are not clear about what we want India to be, say fifteen or twenty years later, and that is perhaps the reason why we get rather mixed up even in regard to our shorter plans.

From that I conclude that two things are necessary. One is this long-term planning, in the broader sense, of course. Secondly, the concentrated planning for relatively shorter periods, that is, for the moment, a year, so that we might not get tied up before we get clear about the fifteen years' programme, by something which we would not do, if we had this fifteen year plan in view. So this Five Year Plan, whatever it ultimately is, should not only be flexible, but should be something even more than that. It should be a broad framework, subject to suitable changes, not only because of our resources, but because of the ultimate long-range picture that we may develop, and we may develop it in the course of the next year or so. It would be easier to adopt the shorter plan when we have the fifteen years' objective before us. Obviously we take up many schemes in the plan for the year, schemes which may take four or five years. And we have got to take them up, and in that we do plan for the next four to five years or more.

Now, production is obviously essential and more particularly the right direction or the right trend in production. If I may also mention, there is the projection of internal policies on international affairs. I am not talking of India so much, but broadly speaking, I think that the whole of this cold war in the world today is a projection, not merely of communism and anti-communism—it is that in a sense, of course—but in a sense it is the culmination of industrialization and the conflict between the big power groups. Previously these conflicts took place between the Western powers, for instance, between Germany and England for colonial territories. But now it has moved on to the world plane. This is the growth of industrialization which may be typified by the hydrogen bomb or the atomic bomb and this has brought us to a certain crisis which requires very deep thinking as to where the world is going and where we are going. I am not prepared in the least to copy either Russia or America, because both may be, from India's viewpoint, utterly and absolutely wrong. Both may succeed in a narrow plane, and they have succeeded, in reaching,

say, a very high material standard of comfort. America has succeeded and Soviet Union, no doubt, will also succeed, provided America and Soviet Union do not collapse before that, in war or something like that. Of course, we have to think about material issues, because they are very important and basic. But we need not take for granted all the other things that have happened in the other countries or in these highly industrialised countries, because we have seen that they have led them in a direction which ultimately may bring about ruin, in spite of the high state of civilisation that they have produced.

Now I do not mean to say that India is spiritually developed and all that. Other countries have so developed, or they may not have developed, but talking of India's spiritualism does not help us; it just confuses the issue. But I do think that India, situated as she is, has a chance of developing, on her own lines, a relatively high standard of living without getting into all the difficulties and dangers which this mad race for economic or other power has brought about. I am not anxious that everybody in India should have a motor car or, say a washing machine or a refrigerator. But I am very anxious that the right trend should be encouraged.

The whole problem of modern civilization is that all this industrialization leads to concentration of power. After all, ultimately the man who has the atomic bomb has got every power; it does not matter what parliaments you have, he has got all the power. And that power means a diminution or restriction, obviously, of national freedom and individual freedom. How to reconcile this inevitable concentration, this inevitable centralization, with individual freedom is the problem of modern civilization. Whether it can be done or not, I do not know. But that involves psychological changes and ultimately psychological changes can be brought about by the structure of the society we live in as well as by other pressures. Therefore, ultimately we should develop that structure of society which encourages the right impulses and not the wrong impulses, the right trends and not the wrong trends.

I think that capitalism has done a great deal of good to the world, even though it involved suffering to many people. It is absurd to be always cursing capitalism, as to my mind this is completely wrong and it just confuses the issues. But capitalism and that type of society has had its day, in the broad sense of the word. And indeed, capitalism even in England and elsewhere is different from what it was in the 19th century. It is changing in England, may be it is not changing fast enough, but it is changing. Now, should we go through the same old process and then ultimately try to reverse it and come back and try to change it? We have got the choice before us and we have the experience of others. Why not take the benefits of the higher technological and industrial experience, without necessarily getting the wrong trends which will create difficulties and cause international and external conflicts?

Also I believe in our capacity in India—and may be elsewhere too—in

winning over people rather than fighting them. I think, on the whole, we can do that. Of course, we can only do that when we have, apart from the friendly attempt, the pressure to win over. If we settled the Indian states problem, it was not only by goodwill, but also by the pressures that were exercised, whether by the new Government of India or the people of the states. Also there was the friendly approach to settle it in a friendly way, not to crush them. Between these forces, we came to conclusions and we arrived at settlements, in which no doubt, we paid heavy sums of money as privy purses to the princes—which probably was not logical from the point of justice, but was nevertheless justified in the circumstances, because we thus brought about a very major political change without conflict, without the tremendous expenses of a conflict. I think that can be applied to our social changes too. We can bring about social changes and developments, under pressure of events, by the pressure of democracy and also by friendly cooperative approach rather than the approach of trying to eliminate each other and the stronger party winning. I think, we can do that even in the industrial field.

I think that even in the industrial field, the reaction of Indian industrialists as a whole—I am not talking of individual people—has been rather good, and I do not see why we should not utilise that. It creates an atmosphere of cooperation for going ahead. We can get the benefit of experience, ability, etc., of many people.

As I have said, I do not want wrong trends. Now we talk of the public sector and the private sector. Obviously land and cottage industries are in the private sector, although there too I should like to see—and I think it is essential—the cooperative element coming in more and more. As a matter of fact, it is the only way you can succeed; the only way to meet high level centralization is to have cooperative centralization. There is no other way, whether it concerns land or anything else. It cannot survive against the big unit ultimately, unless it is tied up with the cooperative system which gives it the same advantage as the big unit with the centralized apparatus.

I am not against the industry which may be called the medium-sized or the big industry. As I conceive it, in future, I think all really big industries, all basic industries should be State-owned completely, all mineral resources and heavy industries and the like. The medium and also the small industries, I hope, will be cooperatively owned.

That will be a gradual process. In between, whatever that period may be, even in regard to the medium industries, private enterprise should have scope. If you give any enterprise scope, I think, you should really give it adequate scope. If you allow them to function, you should give them scope. What should be the State-owned area is a matter apart from what you want to reserve for the State, because a particular thing may be strategic, i.e., of basic importance, since through its ownership you can control other things. If there is private

ownership, it affects industries, for example, minerals. Of course, they are basic and they should be owned by the State and so also heavy machine making plants. Only if you have control of these can you really develop the country. Of course, you cannot start everything but the wrong trends have got to be controlled. Therefore, such things as heavy machine making plants, minerals, etc., I think, should be owned by the State. There may be an intermediary period. I do not believe in nationalization as such because when you nationalize, you have got to pay compensation. I just do not see why we should waste our resources compensating unless something comes in our way and we have to change it. I am not referring to the services like banking and insurance because they are basic and you may have to take them over but, as regards the factories, I would rather put up a new factory and compete with the private factory. If any private owner comes and tells me, "You are invading my realm" or that "I suffer from it", I will say; "Well, I am sorry. After all, in a State activity if we set up some plant and if somebody suffers, it is the State's interest which is more important than the private owner's and that is why we have decided on those lines". No field of activity is sacrosanct for the private owner but certain fields of activity should be sacrosanct for the State. The rest is an open field and there we should give every opportunity and freedom for the private enterprise to grow. I do feel that we should increase and encourage every element to produce and to help in nation building, subject always to wrong trends being not brought in.

Now, take our Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948.² That has been referred to and I think Prof. Gadgil said that it does not go far. Possibly it does not; we can revise it but I really feel that we have not acted up to it fully. Take, for example, coal. Many state governments have gone about distributing licences widely to private owners and we find that we are all tied up by these licences. Of course, we can acquire them but I am quite sure they never realised the consequences of this; they went on in the old way. They thought it was the best way. There was no clear realisation of it. That way, our coal policy is being affected today very much by the fact that the state governments have proceeded in certain terms in regard to coal. Even if the 1948 Resolution was not fully acted upon, we do not want now to do something—either the Centre or the state governments—which will come in our way.

Someone suggested that where the government gives aid or money to the private industries, to that extent government could assume some kind of a control

2. In the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, the industries were classified into three categories: (1) key, basic and heavy industries in the strategic sector under State monopoly; (2) certain privately owned industries to continue in private ownership but initiative for their future development to lie with the State; (3) certain other industries to be the responsibility of private enterprise, subject to central regulation and control.

over it. I do not personally see why it should not be done. I think, the government should be represented. I am not an expert enough to express any opinion about this matter but the idea seems to be good and when we give money which really strengthens that business, there is no reason why we should not also profit by that.

Much has been said about lack of technical personnel. Of course, it is important but I do not think it is quite so important provided we move. I do not think there is going to be real difficulty about technical personnel. We have able persons and there is no doubt about it that, given a chance, we can train them up. There may be a year's delay but we are starting to train them up. I go a little further. I think that the scientific and the technical personnel should be introduced not only in the technical processes but in the administration also. The administrator is an able man and does a good deal but his thinking is on different lines than that of a technical man. I think there should be greater inclusion of that type of thinking even in our administration. They should come in and I think it is better to mix the pure administrator with the technical man and the scientific man. After all, all the problems today are problems of science and technology. An able administrator or an able politician, just like an able lawyer, can grasp the main problem to argue this way or that but it is one thing to argue from the broad outline and another to have grown up with that idea in the process. I think, therefore, the scientists and technicians should be associated more and more with our various processes including administration and planning.

I am quite convinced that we should adopt the highest technique possible in anything that we may do. We cannot have low techniques but the highest technique does not mean throwing people out of employment. Your aim should be the introduction of the highest techniques but we should also keep in mind the other factor. If we do that, then the problems become easier of solution in the future.

I entirely agree about our giving social amenities. We are constantly being faced with the question of higher salaries, higher wages, etc. We sometimes give, and rightly, higher wages. I think if we spend half the money that we give by way of higher wages for social amenities of that character, it will be much more satisfactory than merely giving an increase of five or ten rupees. It will cost the state less. Therefore, we should really think in terms of providing greater amenities. Obviously, the first things are education and health, that is, free education, free health services, etc. There are other amenities too, which are very expensive like housing and slum clearance. We are going in for slum clearance and all such amenities but they are all terribly expensive and sometimes we have to put up even with the slums, because we have to do something else first. I believe, in Germany where they have made tremendous progress, they have been concentrating mainly on the factories. They continued

to live in bad houses, but they built up their factories. I really cannot understand what has happened in Germany and I would like somebody to explain to me how they have absorbed ten million refugees and yet, they are short of manpower. Yesterday, the Foreign Minister of Italy³ was saying that they were sending 100,000 Italians to Germany for construction work. This is the first batch and I do not know how many more they will take. It is an extraordinary thing and I do not understand it. It is a capitalistic country and they are having big industries. Of course, they have greater resources.

Some people mix up democracy with capitalism. I really do not understand it. Simply because democracy has grown up in some capitalistic countries, it does not mean that democracy is an essential part of capitalism or vice versa. They imagine that any kind of socialism necessarily means authoritarianism. It does not, at least in theory; in practice, I do not know how the country will develop. Democracy must mean removal of disparities. That is quite simple.

There is another aspect in regard to the private sector and that is the association of foreign capital with the private sector. I am not against foreign capital coming in but what I say is that when foreign capital comes in, it produces a certain effect. The State borrows on its own terms and gives it to the private sector; there, we know where we stand. It may be that if foreign capital is associated through the agency of Indian capital, it may play a greater and bigger part. It is only a warning to see that it does not do so. I am not saying that it should be kept out of all this but all these complications arise.

There are one or two matters that I want to refer to. Some two or three weeks ago, a Chinese expert⁴ on agrarian cooperation was here and addressed our Planning Commission. The Planning Commission was much impressed by what he said and by the way China had developed her agrarian cooperatives with extreme rapidity. It may be, of course, that they can do things more rapidly because they have got a big club with them in their hands. It may be true but I do not think this explains away the other thing. I understand the Planning Commission is sending a team to study agrarian cooperatives in China. There is no doubt in my mind that our whole system of cooperatives helps only the bigger people; instead of encouraging the poor people, it discourages them. It takes time to get a move on and also it does not seem to apply to the poor man who has no resources. The cooperative system should be such as to help the poor man and encourage him. I do believe that development of the cooperative system is most important and essential.

Apart from anything else, I think, that the minerals and heavy industries are naturally the bases of your future development. Mr V.T. Krishnamachari referred to this Second Five Year Plan being the basic preparation for the third

3. Gaetano Martino.

4. Dr Chen Han-seng.

Plan. That way, it becomes a long-term plan. Therefore, we have to see that at any rate by the time the Third Five Year Plan comes in, we are progressively in a position to build our own machines. You may not be able to do it fully, but it is a question of making the attempt. It is an aim which you should put in the forefront. We may do it in four or five years, I have no idea. We have been talking of having three more steel plants but nothing was done in the First Five Year Plan. Even if we had put up one plant then, what a tremendous difference it would have made and what a saving of foreign exchange! Now, we are buying steel from all over the world. Is it not better to be prepared? I do not want that lag to occur in regard to the machine making industry.

8. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

14 January 1956

My dear V.T.,

I must apologise to you for not being able to attend the meetings with MPs except on the morning of the first day.² I have been completely tied up with this unfortunate SRC matter and other engagements.

Now that these meetings are over, I should like to know what your programme is. Presently the NDC will meet.³ What is it going to do? Is it just going to survey the whole field rather vaguely, as the Standing Committee did,⁴ or will it be given some revised material to consider?

I suppose that all these various meetings we have had thus far have indicated to us that certain changes are desirable in the draft plan. We considered these at the Planning Commission meeting at which I was present recently and, generally speaking, this was accepted. I suppose therefore that some paper will be prepared for the NDC meeting to this effect.

It would be better, of course, if the paper that is prepared was, as far as possible, specific and not vague. That would help a discussion and clarify matters.

1. File No.PC/CDN/48/55, Planning Commission. Also available in File No.17(17)/56-PMS and JN Collection.
2. Nehru inaugurated the proceedings of the Consultative Committee of Parliament on 12 January 1956 which met in New Delhi to consider the draft memorandum of the Second Plan.
3. On 20 January 1956. See *post*, pp. 83-90.
4. See the preceding two items.

Among the various matters stressed during these recent discussions have been the enlargement of the public sector and more attention to heavy machine making industry, mineral exploration etc. Also, a revision of the 1948 Industrial Policy Resolution. This latter revision, of course, can only really take place at the Cabinet level and will have to be placed before Parliament later. But some indication of the lines of its revision might well be indicated.

As for the heavy machine making plants, the papers we have considered, including a note from the Commerce & Industry Ministry, are rather vague. We are going to import machinery on a big scale during the Second Five Year Plan. It would be interesting to know how far we will be in a position to make our own machinery in the Third Plan, more especially the heavy machines. Without being too definite, some rough figures ought to give us some ideas of the progress we hope to make. This will of course, affect our foreign exchange position.

Then there is the question of a more precise plan for the first year and a general framework for the next four years. Also the question of long distance or perspective planning in its broadest features.

What I want to be clear about is how we are going to approach this question in the course of the next few weeks before producing the draft plan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To M. Visvesvaraya¹

New Delhi
18 January 1956

My dear Shri Visvesvaraya,²

Thank you for your letter of the 16th January. I have read the note you have attached to it.

Education

You are quite right in criticising the present educational set up in the country. This matter has attracted a great deal of attention, more especially the

1. File No. 17(5)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to V.T. Krishnamachari.
2. Former Dewan of Mysore State and President of All India Manufacturers' Organisation since 1940.

question of giving technical training. In fact, the Planning Commission has paid special attention to this and numerous new institutions have been started or are going to be started.

There is pressure and legitimate pressure for both higher education as well as primary and secondary education. The demand for all these types of education is tremendous. We have made some progress, but I realise we have not gone as far as we ought to have done. The question of finance comes up before us at every stage as education is an expensive business. Primary and secondary education are essential to lay the foundations of higher education. These involve vast sums of money which can only come from other developmental plans. We are continually giving thought to this matter and trying to balance these various important demands.

So far as scientific education is concerned, we have made marked progress. Indeed, the development of our national laboratories on a big scale as well as special institutes has been commended by many authorities and experts from abroad.

Industries

The basic approach in our Second Five Year Plan is to develop industries including, of course, defence industries. We are laying great stress on the manufacture of machine tools and machinery. We are laying the foundation for this by three new big iron and steel plants and we hope to make considerable advance in the machine making industry. So far as machine tools are concerned, we have already made good progress.

You have quoted Julian Huxley. I think, I can say with some truth that the development of science has been very considerable and, what is more, it has gained the understanding and interest of our people. The Soviet leaders who were here recently were much struck by this and congratulated us.

You refer to what you call traditional wrong policies such as favouritism, nepotism, corruption, lack of discipline, etc. These are hardly policies because there are no two opinions about the policy to be pursued. They are, as you say, evil practices which everyone agrees have to be eradicated. I rather doubt if any country, apart from the communist countries, has taken so many steps to control, and, as far as possible eradicated these evil practices as we have done in India. Some three years ago a very eminent expert in Public Administration from the Ford Foundation carried out a lengthy inspection in India.³ Naturally he pointed out some of these evil practices, but he added that he was surprised to find the high tone and integrity of our administration as a whole. In fact he

3. Paul H. Appleby was consultant to the Government of India on public administration in 1952 and had submitted his report in January 1953.

said that India was among the few top-ranking countries as regards integrity and high tone of the Services.

It is true that these evils persist not only in Government but in business. Our Government have taken many measures to control these evils in business also. They have met with some success.

You refer to cases of corruption in various river valley schemes. This itself will indicate that Government are vigilant in detecting these and taking steps against them. You must remember that Government is functioning now in a very large way in the social and industrial sphere.

Statistics

Our statistical information is certainly far from complete. But, again in this matter we have made very considerable progress and India is supposed to be now one of the countries which is developing well in regard to statistics. I think that we are likely to have a good deal of essential information through the statistical method in the course of the next year or two.

Scrutiny Committee

Apart from what the Government does, the Planning Commission has paid special attention to scrutiny of the public works undertaken.

So far as I know, there is no monthly journal giving all the information that is necessary. But we have numerous publications which give an account of important developments in the country in regard to irrigation, education, industry, etc. They are quite attractive publications.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Helping the Less Privileged¹

There is a Biblical saying: "To him that hath, more shall be given and from him that hath not, even the little shall be taken away."² Among the many

1. Speech at the opening of the new building of the Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University Campus, 18 January 1956. From the *National Herald*, *The Hindu* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 19 January 1956.
2. Matthew: 13:12.

problems of economics is the difficulty of getting round that saying because somehow or other the progress we are making here and elsewhere tends to give more to those who have and less to those who have not. It is necessary to close the gap between the favoured and the disfavoured and between the privileged and the underprivileged if the trouble and the conflict between nations and within nations is to be ended. Unfortunately, the gap is tending to grow wider. It should be our objective to lessen this gap and ultimately close it because it tends to create trouble and conflict. It is a dangerous precursor to disaster. I am referring to the problem in the special context of India. Nations profit by the knowledge and experience of other countries but they have to face their problems in their own context and to do their own thinking and action.

If we become pale reflections of others' thoughts and actions then we do credit neither to ourselves nor to others. This is important in our political and even more so in our economic thinking. We should think for ourselves in the context of India and of the experience gathered here.

The Delhi School of Economics should do its thinking in the particular context of India and her problems. How does a rather underdeveloped country develop peacefully and without upsets? That is the problem India has to face. India's problem is how to develop peacefully, cooperatively, without creating big upsets. When we consider this development naturally we lay stress on the material aspects which can be measured in terms of national income, production, consumption, and others. These are important yardsticks to measure a nation's advance. Nevertheless, behind all that there is something deeper if we think of the progress of the people. You should consider this matter from the spiritual standpoint also. It would be nobody's desire to have material progress and nothing else. Human needs and urges require all round progress—moral, spiritual and material.

Every individual and much more so a nation has to think for itself and act for itself. If an individual or a nation thinks that others have to do the thinking and the action for it then it has lost grip over things. And if you lose the grip it is not clear where you land yourself. Each one of us plays two roles—the role of an actor and the role of a spectator and both the roles we play simultaneously. Sometimes we become actors and other times we become spectators. The terrifying picture of conflict and trouble in the world is symbolised today in the atom and the hydrogen bombs and we have all become spectators of this extraordinary unfolding panorama of life. But we can act too. A nation has to find ways and means of going fast ahead and without losing its foothold.

The economists have a greater role to play in the Second Five Year Plan than many who are in the public eye. I hope that in this nearby admirable building, the economists will keep the social objective always in view during

their research and studies. They should study India's problems through various methods, test them by the experience of others and then decide for themselves what paths they should pursue. I hope the School would do the thinking in the context of India and of the other countries which are more or less placed as India is today—underdeveloped industrially and with a large agricultural population.

11. Basic Approach to the Second Plan¹

Friends, it is almost exactly two weeks ago that the Standing Committee of the National Development Council met here in this room,² and for two days they considered the draft plan that had been prepared, and made many criticisms and offered many comments on it, which we, speaking on behalf of those of the Planning Commission and the Government, welcome. We welcome them because we want your guidance, your help, in the drafting of this Plan, and afterwards, obviously, in the implementation of this Plan. The whole idea of planning, and certainly of democratic planning, always involves a degree of cooperation and if any cooperation is lacking, then the Plan, to that extent, cannot function properly.

You will see that during more than a year—I think much more than a year now—there have been talks and some work done on this Second Five Year Plan. There has been work done, of course, in the Planning Commission, in its various Departments, in all the states, and in the Indian Statistical Institute near Calcutta and the Central Statistical Organisation in Delhi, and in a number of other places. Much thought has been given; many arguments have taken place and innumerable discussions. It does not mean, of course, that the more we talk, the more we arrive at the truth. That does not necessarily follow; or that because we work hard, therefore, the result is necessarily the right one. But it does follow that the will to achieve a common purpose is there, the will to find out what is the right step to take, through consultation, and this has been present throughout, to an extraordinary degree. That is, we try our utmost, by consultation in the largest domain possible, to find some solution for India's

1. Speech at the meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 20 January 1956. File No. 17(17)/56-PMS. Also available in File No.11. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML; File No. 6-65/1956, AICC Papers. NMML, and PIB files.
2. See *ante*, pp. 68-78.

problems. It has been our privilege, of you and all of us, and our great responsibility, to be in positions of responsibility in the present governing structure of India; and therefore, it becomes our duty and obligation to face these problems and to try to solve them to the best of our ability and strength. And we have come to realise—not only we but I think the country as a whole—that this can best be done by planning, by the planned approach. And so, as I said, the consciousness of planning being necessary and desirable has spread throughout the country. I think it is true.

Opinion may differ about the nature of planning, or the objectives which planning should have. But everybody, I think, or most people in India are conscious of this plan.

Secondly, they have seen during the last five years, the successes that have come out of this planning. Those successes may not be startling, but they have been very substantial and they have been spread out, in a sense, all over the country, chiefly, not because of some decision of the Planning Commission or the Government of India, but because all the great states in India have worked to that end. And so it has become a tremendous cooperative adventure, a genuine adventure, not something on which we come to a decision and it is all over. It is a genuine adventure and it is something which becomes more and more pervasive in every department of national activity. It is spreading, as you know. I do not mean to say that our present planning is all pervasive; but it certainly affects every department of activity. So we feel, and the country progressively feels, the high importance of this business.

Now, as I told you, for over a year, the Second Five Year Plan has been in the air and in people's minds, certainly in the mind of the Planning Commission, certainly in the mind of the state governments, and certainly in the minds of the Indian Statistical Institute which, you will remember, almost exactly a year ago, produced a certain Plan Frame, as it was called, which itself was the result of many months of hard labour of a large number of persons.

Since then there have been ever so many consultations between your representatives and the Planning Commission and the Central Government and between experts and others. And, then, finally, we had the meeting of the Standing Committee of the NDC.

The NDC suggested many things which, naturally, we had noted down very carefully. After that we had a series of meetings with a large number of Members of Parliament—there were 70 or 80 of them, belonging to all parties. And during these two or three days' meetings with them, often the same points were emphasised which had been emphasised in the meeting of the Standing Committee, and many new points were also emphasised. After that, the Planning Commission during the last few days or so, sat down to consider all these criticisms that had been made. They were friendly criticisms, all of them,

attempts to find out what is the more effective way of dealing with a problem, where the emphasis should be laid and so on.

After the Planning Commission had considered that afresh we meet here. Now, the Planning Commission was, or is in agreement with many of the suggestions made at the meeting of the Standing Committee at which some of you at least were present and at the meeting with the Members of Parliament. Obviously, it is difficult, in the course of a few days, to put that into compact shape now, that is, incorporate it in the draft Report or vary the Report wherever it is necessary to be varied, but, broadly, some of the principles that were stressed then had been accepted and an attempt will be made to bring them out in the Report. You have that Draft Report. That Draft Report is the result of considerable labour and much of the information that it contains will necessarily remain.

Nevertheless, after the discussions we have had, the previous ones and no doubt the present ones, changes will have to be made in the Report, additions, variations, subtractions, whatever they are, so that this Report is very much a Draft for consideration, remember that.

I wish to lay stress again, as I have just said, on the approach we have made to planning, meaning the approach of consultation with as large a number of people as possible from all over India because, in the very nature of things, planning requires that approach, much more so, democratic planning. Secondly, the approach depends more and more upon not only the broad objectives which of course are there but it has to be a statistical approach, that is, an approach based on statistical information, not on vague ideas and vague ideals. Hence the growing importance of statistical data, sample surveys and calculation at every stage of the results of the action you contemplate. You have to calculate naturally about your actual resources, about the resources you expect and about all kinds of things connected with it also, also the employment potential of some work you do, because employment is an essential thing, about the production rate, about the surpluses you may produce, etc., but above all, if it is to be a Plan, we have to calculate how it interlocks and how it affects every sector. It is not a question, as everyone knows, of putting up a factory here or a factory there; that is not planning. It may be a good thing or a bad thing but it is not planning. Planning is an interlocking of production, consumption, employment and a large number of other things, like transport, social services, education, and health. The whole thing has somehow to be brought together. Naturally, you cannot deal with this complicated scheme of human relationships in a vast country of three hundred seventy million of people in a mathematical way. Nevertheless, you approach it in that systematic way and with experience, gradually you get to know a little more and your approach becomes more and more correct, though always there is a large element of uncertainty and error as there are large elements of uncertainty and error in the coming of the

monsoon—you cannot plan for the monsoon, and yet you can reduce the element of error and even reduce the error from the monsoons by your planning and by providing for anything that may occur. I know you know it, but I want the country to realise how this scheme of planning is becoming broadbased. It is not a question of a dozen persons or two or three dozen persons sitting in the Planning Commission, producing a report and throwing it before the public or the Parliament. That report itself is the result of innumerable activities in your states, the Statistical Institute, all over the country and in our Ministries. That is a matter to remember because it is the essence of planning, still more the essence of democratic planning, to have this knowledge, statistical and otherwise, and consultation.

The second issue or point which was emphasised at the meeting of the Standing Committee was the question of objectives being clearly stated in this Report, preferably right at the earlier stages as a preliminary chapter. Broadly speaking, of course, we all know our objectives and, so far as our Parliament and the Congress organisation are concerned, they have laid them down very precisely as the socialistic pattern of society. Now, that is a broad indication, broad enough and yet precise enough about the direction in which we look. That is so, but even that can be interpreted in various ways. At any rate, the policies which may be laid down may be interpreted in various ways as to whether they are leading to that goal or not. Now, it becomes important that while on the one hand we do not wish to be doctrinaire about these matters—we have not, neither the Government nor the Congress, laid down any doctrinaire system of socialism, we have only accepted the broad principles of socialism, whatever they are—I need not go into them because all of you know—we do not want a rigid approach or people referring to some sacred text and saying, “We must do that because socialism means that”. That is not our approach. At the same time, it is quite necessary that our approach should not be just a vague and muddleheaded use of the word “socialism” without any content in that socialism. Nor is it to be just a mere expression of opinion. There has got to be some precise content about the goal, about the methods and about the means by which you seek to achieve that goal. At the Standing Committee meeting, this was emphasized and it was said that this should be clarified more. There have been many arguments, arguments which seemed to me to be totally unnecessary or arguments proceeding from a total misapprehension of our position. Arguments appeared in the press, in the course of the last year, as if there was a fierce tussle and a fight going on between this method of planning or that. Of course, some people charged us with coming under the influence of the communists or communist planning; others charged us with coming under the influence of somebody else; people never imagined that we were trying to come under the influence of our own mind and thinking while we were profiting



SPRINKLING FLOWERS ON THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NAGARJUNASAGAR DAM,
10 DECEMBER 1955



OPENING A NEW BUILDING OF THE DELHI SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, 18 JANUARY 1956

by other peoples' minds and thinking and experience. There were arguments about the physical approach to planning and the financial approach, as if these represented opposing and contrary tendencies and as if we were out fighting to death in the ideological sphere. Of course, that is all wrong and only depicts the confusion in the minds of the people who brought in these issues in the public, newspapers or elsewhere. Obviously, in considering these matters, you have to have clear ideas, emphasis, etc.

In the meeting of the Standing Committee, as I said, stress was laid first on a clearer enunciation of our objectives and our methods; secondly the public sector was given greater importance than apparently it was thought it had been given and, thirdly, greater stress was laid on the heavy machine making industry being encouraged as that was said to be the basis of industrial growth. If you do not do that, then naturally industrial growth is delayed. There is one approach which has sometimes been put forward, that you should build up your consumer goods industries and gradually save money thereby and build up something else, thereby getting some more employment. That, I believe, from the point of view of planning, is a discarded theory completely. In fact, ultimately it may take you away from planning. Of course, it does some good here and there; I would not enter into the details but that approach is not a planned approach at all. If you want India to industrialize and to go ahead, as we must, as is essential, then you must industrialize and not potter about with odd little factories producing hair oil and the like—it is totally immaterial what the things are, whether they are small or big consumer articles. You must go to the root and the base and build up that root and base on which you will build up the structure of industrial growth. Therefore, it is the heavy industries that count, nothing else counts, excepting as a balancing factor which is of course important. We want planning for heavy machine making industries and heavy industries; we want industries that will make heavy machines and we should set about them as rapidly as possible because it takes time. If we set about them today, as we no doubt are doing in various ways, they will bear results four, five or six years later. If we do not do it now, then we have to wait for another five year plan period. Therefore, stress was laid at the meeting of the Standing Committee on these two factors.

You will remember that there was a Resolution of the Government of India, passed in 1948 which was called the Industrial Policy Resolution and which is supposed to have broadly governed industrial policy. That Resolution was good, as far as it went; it was somewhat vague in some particulars but I am not quite sure that it has been followed very closely in the last few years. However, broadly speaking, it has been before us. A question has arisen now as to whether that Resolution is adequate or not, after the more precise formulation of our objective as a socialistic pattern of society and the experience we have gained

from planning. Broadly speaking, I believe we know what we are aiming at but probably it will require a little careful thinking to formulate it in the shape of a Resolution or otherwise.

There were many other points raised in those discussions. Much was said, I think, about minerals, the importance of the state owning minerals. Many of the states in the past have been lavish with giving out leases for mineral exploration, etc., and this is coming in our way at the present moment. Obviously, whether you talk about socialism or whatever it is that you talk about, the first essential is for you to control the essential minerals and if they

want to reach in twenty years in view of the social structure you are aiming at, and other matters. It is only when you keep these broad pictures in view that your immediate current planning fits in. Otherwise if we are lost in so-called current planning without that long-term picture, then you may go into wrong directions and may have to come back and difficulties arise. Therefore we must have long-term planning. What we are aiming at is at least fifteen years and possibly more, so that one should keep that in view and then judge from that, what your immediate objectives are, what progress you have made and whether we are going in the wrong direction or in the right direction. For instance, there is much talk of the public sector and the private sector. We have both sectors obviously and we have said repeatedly that the public sector will grow, must grow. Forgetting the words 'public sector' and 'private sector', the main thing is that economic power should not be concentrated in private hands, that vested interests should not grow up in regard to any important matter, strategic matter or socially important matter, that there should be dispersal of economic power and therefore there should be an avoidance of the development of monopolies of any kind. If that is done, the extent of the private sector does not matter provided it does not touch your strategic points, it does not develop into concentration of power, economic power and various other things.

Inevitably, if we are aiming at a socialistic pattern, the major things must be in the public sector. That is obvious. Now, this morning you would have seen in the newspapers an important decision of the Government of India in regard to life insurance.³ That is a big step, as you no doubt realise. It has come after a good deal of thinking. Even at the last meeting of the Standing Committee many members referred to insurance being dealt with. Naturally, the Finance Minister had it in mind but he could not tell them that he had in his mind for some time past. This kind of thing cannot be gradually let loose on the public; it has to come out as a full blown decision. So, that decision has been taken, and I think it is a good decision, not only from the point of view of our five year plan, etc., but also from the point of view of our objective of a socialistic pattern of society. So we take steps, one by one, consolidate them and prepare for the next step, in a practical way, not talking too much about nationalizing everything and socializing everything, not talking too much in terms of slogans, but in terms of the steps that we are actually taking.

3. The Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance, promulgated on 19 January 1956 provided that all life insurance companies, Indian as well as foreign, doing business in India, would be placed under the Central Government management and control with immediate effect. A bill for completing the process of nationalization was to be brought before Parliament during the forthcoming budget session, according to an official communique.

Now, I wish you to realize that, in spite of all kinds of distractions, political and other, that are taking place in the country we are moving and we are moving continuously from the political plans to the social and economic plans. Planning represents essentially our moving, our thinking, and our action. A backward country is constantly preoccupied with purely political problems. Other countries think more of social and economic problems, and so this business of making the five year plans becomes more and more important, in the whole concept of national economy, and in the innumerable activities of the nation. The beginning of a five year plan and the ending of a plan are vital and significant dates in the nation's history. If not today, they will become so. They will become vital and significant because they represent each major step forward; you see how much you aim at and what you are achieving more or less of what you aim at. Then, you think afresh of the next step forward. Of course, this is a continuing business. You are constantly thinking and you are constantly achieving and implementing. The whole thing is a state of becoming a state of flux. It is a state of becoming something more and more, in the economic sense, in the philosophic sense, so that the nation's history begins to revolve more and more round this concept of planning and five year plans. I should like you to think of this Plan in this major context and not forget this context because of some political distractions or troubles of the moment.

12. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi

26 January 1956

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th January which I have just received.

I do not think you need to worry about some misreporting in newspapers. This has constantly taken place about me and others. Our industrial and commercial classes are not so delicate as to be upset by statements in the press of this type. Where there is a doubt, it can easily be removed. As you perhaps know, some of us are meeting a small group of industrialists on Sunday, 29th

1 File No. 17(5)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

January to discuss matters concerning them.² Such a meeting was fixed long ago when we promised to have periodical meetings of this type.

I have not your previous letter by me at present. But, so far as I remember some matters were mentioned in it which no doubt have been discussed, but no decisions have been taken. Certainly it can be stated that no decisions have been taken in regard to such matters. V.T. Krishnamachari can do so or you can do so. But, in saying this, we cannot obviously say what the result of a future discussion might be.

You have referred to certain changes in the allotment for Bengal. I am afraid I do not know much about this in detail. I am therefore sending your letter to V.T. Krishnamachari.

I do not see why you should be despondent. We have undoubtedly to face a very difficult problem. It is because of that difficulty that one has to think hard about the policy to be adopted. One thing is perfectly clear that the so-called laissez-faire policy is not only quite out of date but cannot solve our problems.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. During an informal discussion with Nehru, some Cabinet Ministers, B.C. Roy and Morarji Desai, some leading industrialists including G.D. Birla and Kasturbhai Lalbhai, offered cooperation of the private sector in the Second Plan and presumably sought clarification of the Government's policy and attitude towards the private sector.

II. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. Building Links with Common People¹

The Governor,² the Vice-Chancellor³ and friends,

I am happy to be here for a variety of reasons. First of all, I am not only

1. Speech while inaugurating the Water Resources Development Training Centre for Asian and African countries at the University of Roorkee, 25 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru first spoke in English and then in Hindi.
2. K.M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh.
3. A.N. Khosla.

interested in but, I am convinced that the growth and development of India, the building up of 'New India' depends upon the growth of engineering talent in this country. Engineering and engineers are going to be basic elements in this building up of 'New India'. Indeed, we see them even now in charge of great schemes of a national importance in various parts of the country, some of which are known even outside.

The second reason is that when I came here five or six years ago⁴ I had suggested a few changes in this old building, a hundred years old, and I wanted to see whether they had been made.

The third reason and the most important is that this International Training Centre for Water Resources Development is connected with a promise we made at the Bandung Conference at the beginning of this year to promote cooperation between the countries of Asia and Africa and to offer opportunities of training, as well as other help, within our capacity, to our sister nations of Africa and Asia. This particular matter was also mentioned then at Bandung. So I am happy that in inaugurating this formally today, we are fulfilling a promise made earlier this year at Bandung and thereby taking another step forward towards the cooperation of these countries of Asia and Africa and ourselves.

All these countries are facing problems more or less similar to ours. Broadly speaking, all these countries are underdeveloped in an economic or industrial sense. Compared to many of them, India is much more developed. It is our good fortune to be so and we have made good progress even in the last five years or more. And now we stand on the threshold of much more rapid progress in the development of the country. Indeed, I believe that the changes that are taking place, or are going to take place in India in the next few years are in the nature of revolutionary changes in our economic, industrial and social set up. Because these revolutionary changes that are taking place come rather quietly, rather peacefully without much shouting, people do not quite realise how they are changing the face of the country, not only by way of the big schemes but the community development schemes, which are really changing India from the grass roots upwards. In India, change can only be measured ultimately by the change in the Indian village. It does not matter how many factories you put up, how many high and noble buildings you put up, if you want to measure the change in India, you have to measure the change in the village for the simple reason that 75 to 80 per cent of people live in the villages. There is no special virtue in a village. The virtue resides in the people living there—whom

4. Nehru delivered the convocation address at the Roorkee University on 25 November 1949. For his speech on the occasion see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol.14 Pt.1, pp. 223-28.

we have to raise. We must not think only of a few persons living in towns, we leave out the large numbers of people in the vast village population. It is they who matter. Let every engineer remember that. If our big schemes are important, it is because they affect or are going to affect the villages.

Now, I shall proceed to speak in Hindi.

You are all gathered here today, most of you connected in some way or the other with the Roorkee University. Some of you are old students because Roorkee students are spread all over India. Wherever I go in connection with the big projects which are under way as part of the Five Year Plans, I find students who had studied in the Roorkee University. Roorkee made its mark quite some time ago. In the new and changing times, we must move forward with even greater speed. The burden that will fall on engineers will be much heavier. So it is obvious that places like the Roorkee University and other engineering colleges will have to shoulder a very heavy burden. How are you going to meet the challenge? It is obvious that the demand for engineers will continue to increase in India. It is my opinion that we will need many more engineers than what is being envisaged today because when a nation is developing, it grows in all directions. The demand for engineers will be at every level, and in every specialization. Even now perhaps we have an adequate number of engineers in some areas, but not enough in other. So we have to train mechanics, overseers, and engineers in large numbers. This is not a matter of learning things by rote or passing examinations. They have to be trained properly, otherwise a mere diploma or degree will be of no use. No man can take on a responsibility without proper training. We cannot have someone building a house or a bridge if it is going to come tumbling down. We cannot take such a risk.

We have large projects, huge river valley projects in Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, etc. It is not that we do not have good engineers who can implement a plan. But, in spite of that, the projects are so large and our engineers do not have the necessary experience. They are gradually acquiring the experience but it is obvious that we do not wish to take the slightest risk of even a small mistake because that can have far-reaching repercussions. There can be no question of not doing the job to perfection because any shortfall in standards can affect the nation adversely. Take, for instance Bhakra-Nangal, it has been in the making for about seven years and it might take another four to five years to complete. The eyes of the world are upon us. Crores of rupees have been spent. If a fault were to develop or the dam were to fall, apart from the financial loss, the real loss will be to India's morale. It will deal a terrible blow to the nation after all the hard work that is being put in. Therefore, we cannot afford to take the slightest risk. Either we should not undertake anything big and if we do, it should be first-rate, which means that the best people should be put in charge even if we have to bring them from the sun or the

moon, from England or Russia or somewhere else to make sure that we will have the best possible result. There is no question of a national view in this—we do not wish to push second-rate people. Yes, we should train first-rate people but we cannot have second-rate people doing first-rate jobs. That is of the utmost importance. There are various other areas in which even people from the second rung can acquire experience and become first-rate.

Therefore, we should have first-rate education and training in engineering and then people can learn from experience, because these skills are not something that can be acquired merely through book learning. It is not enough to pass examinations—a major aspect of education, technical education, is practical training. In scientific education, the important thing is how much time is spent on practical learning and how much on theory. I think, it used to be forty and sixty per cent. Now the proportion is gradually changing to sixty-forty because everyone realizes the importance of practical training over book learning. It is when an individual learns through practical experiments that learning makes an impact. This can be applied to every field.

We talk about basic education for children because they will grow and learn only by doing things and observing from what they do and see. One big problem in practical training is that we do not have enough equipment in the universities. We must rectify that. In an engineering institute, everything depends on its equipment and how much time students spend in the laboratories. I think Roorkee is very well equipped and you should take advantage of that. But even after you do that, in my opinion you will not become really trained as a full-fledged engineer in spite of your degree, until you have acquired some experience in working in the field. There are two aspects to that—one is to actually help build something, a bridge or a road, a house, or help in implementing the five year plan. The other equally important aspect is public relations, whether you can get the people's cooperation in whatever you do, whether you can make the people understand what is happening in the country. You must be able to create the right atmosphere so that people come forward to help because public works are for the public. Therefore, the public has to understand what is being done, and it has to be explained to them as to what is being done, and they have to appreciate it and they have to cooperate in it. This must be understood clearly.

So, what is your public approach? If you feel that you are a great engineer and that you have to work away from the crowds then your approach is not right. The public can help you in a hundred different ways, if they understand what is being done and how it will benefit them. They will be happy to help in various ways. But if you work in a bureaucratic manner, you may complete your job to your satisfaction but you would have missed out an important aspect of nation building.

I was asking your Vice Chancellor just now whether you had a museum

here. He showed me a room, a geological museum I think, where demonstrations are held. It seemed very small to me for a museum. Perhaps my leanings are more towards geology because I had studied the subject in the university. But, what I really meant was that our students should have all the facilities and equipment, but apart from that there should be a museum so that the public can also be educated gradually. School children from the surrounding areas should also come and learn. Apart from geology, there should be models of machines, the students can make them and learn how the machines work. There is no better way of learning than by actually doing something with your hands. Only book learning is incomplete. If you build a model of a machine, it will become indelibly imprinted in your mind. It could become a kind of a game and you could learn while playing as children do. So you should construct models and keep them in the museum—working models of machines, scientific experiments in physics, and chemistry and so on. Gradually you would have built a museum which will benefit not just the students of the university but school students and college students from nearby areas. I would say you should invite people from the neighbouring villages. Let them also see and learn what all these machines can do because we are entering a machine age now in India. It has been going on for some time but it is now gathering momentum. Therefore the people must understand that machines can help them, that they are not their enemies. The common man should develop some empathy with machines and understand that they can learn to use them. They must not remain isolated from what is happening in the world at large.

Therefore, I say that in every field, apart from education and training, we should draw the public mind towards us and make it a part of the learning process. They must go to Bhakra-Nangal and see how the water will be dammed. They can understand things easily by seeing and observing at first hand. Bhakra-Nangal is a complex project, it involves electricity being produced, canals being built etc., and the people can learn how they are going to benefit by all these in the future. Similarly, in whatever you do, you must try to explain to the people, talk to them, tell them what their role in all this is, how they and their villages will benefit. In this manner, your educational process benefits the nation.

Remember, we want that soon a day would come when every child in India would get the opportunity to be educated. From pre-basic, then basic, that is for seven years, up to the age of 14, there should be free and universal education of a high standard. After that those who wish to go in for higher education can go to the university, to a technical institution and so on. We want to do all this but the problem is that we cannot do it immediately. We do not have the resources or the infrastructure and trained personnel. All this will come gradually. It is the duty of every educated human being to teach others in the course of their work. I am not talking about school education. That is separate. But as I told you, you can teach in different ways by making them

participate in whatever you are doing. In this way, you will be creating bonds, links with the people. We cannot do our work in isolation having nothing to do with the common people, because ultimately, even if you leave aside the question of principles, after all it is the common people who have to decide what we do or don't do in this country. It may be through elections or some other method, but it is they who will decide.

A large number of people in this country have not been able to grasp what the climate in independent India should be. They are doing good work but their methods continue to be outdated and bureaucratic as in the colonial days. Even if their performance is excellent, the basic weakness in it is that it does not create links with the people, of explaining the work to them. And a day could come when the gap between them and the people becomes so big that the people may reject them.

Please forgive me if I may sometimes take credit for myself and my colleagues, though we are not here to praise ourselves. I can tell you quite objectively that, whatever has been happening in India in the last seven years, I think, has benefited the people. The people at the Centre and in the states who have taken on responsibilities in the government and in the other areas, have had a great deal of experience of working with the masses of India and their thinking. They have had links with them. Though I am not one of the masses, I am a little different in a sense but they understand me and I understand them. I am not talking about capability, though it is a good thing and we have the best and ablest people working in the government. We could not have done without this important bond during the last eight years when the change over from colonial rule took place. The British had a large chain too but it was not a democratic one. We could not have continued like that.

Now we have established a democratic bond and unless we understand one another completely, we cannot function. The people have put their trust in us because they know us from the days of the freedom struggle, when we had forged strong links with the masses. Therefore, it is very necessary for our bureaucracy to understand the importance of having a link with the masses. Otherwise nobody knows when they may call a halt to our plans through their representatives in Parliament or Assemblies.

Therefore, I want to tell all of you young men who are reading here that you must maintain this link and understand your responsibilities. You have been given the opportunity, just as I had of being educated, which is not available to a large number of people in India. At the moment, millions of human beings in India are deprived of the opportunity for education. Therefore, it becomes our duty to try and fill that lacuna wherever we can. We may not be able to do very much but even a little by every one of us could have an impact. The real impact will be that a feeling of belonging is created, a link is forged, which is a very good thing. It is a fundamental requirement that there

should be such a link among the people. A bond of unity should be established. I want you to think about all these things.

Let me say again how happy I am to be here once again in the Roorkee University. This is my first visit since Professor Khosla came here as Vice Chancellor. We have worked together elsewhere and so I was happy to learn that he was coming here. I feel reassured by coming here and seeing how the Roorkee University is progressing, and I hope that this new international training centre which is being set up will draw young engineers from all the countries of Asia. They will get training here and apart from that, it will forge links between their countries and ours.

Thank you. *Jai Hind!*

2. To K.K. Datta¹

New Delhi

4 December 1955

Dear Dr Datta,²

I have seen your letter about the Eighteenth Session of the Indian History Congress.³ I am sorry I cannot send you any long message, but I do send all my good wishes.

The coming of independence to India has opened out many fields to our people and released their energy in many directions. A subject people can never think rightly. They are too oppressed to have a balanced outlook. We are, I suppose, adjusting ourselves mentally to the new conditions that we live in and the new problems that we have to face. A process of adjustment from old to new is often a little difficult and painful. But it has to be done.

This applies to historians as much as to others, and they have to get out of the old ruts and look at the past as well as the present in a balanced and objective way. Also, if I may say so, they have to make writing of history not only scholarly but also interesting to the reader. Heavy scholarship has its virtues but in a democratic age, we have always to think of large numbers of people and not of the small elect.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/148/55-PMS.

2. (1905-82): Professor of History, Patna University; Secretary, Indian History Congress, 1955-58; Director, Bihar State Archives, 1960-62; Vice Chancellor, Magadh University, 1962-65 and Patna University, 1965-71.

3. Held at Kolkata from 30 December 1955 to 1 January 1956.

3. Books for Common People¹

The Federation has not made a happy choice in asking me to inaugurate their meeting, for I am an author. Every author regards the publishers a bad lot. There is always a potential war between the author and the publisher. This is not only in India but in every country. In certain countries authors are advised never to go to the publisher directly but through agents who know all about this business. I know of several reputed authors being treated badly by publishers. Some of the finest writers and poets have been treated very badly by some Hindi publishers who, taking advantage of their distress, gave them paltry sums and exploited their books and made enormous profits. This kind of thing does not always happen, but even an individual case of this kind is a bad thing and it affects the reputation of the profession.

These practices should be deplored and healthy relations should be developed between the author and the publisher, for it is the author who makes the creative effort. Without the author's creative effort, there would be neither the publisher nor the bookseller. It is clear that the publishers and booksellers depend on the author in the sense that they publish and sell the author's books. The creative effort comes from the author and therefore, ultimately, it is the author who has to be encouraged. The rest is very important. But the rest, nevertheless, is secondary to the effort. The creative effort must be encouraged in every possible way.

The great publishing houses in Europe encourage authors and have developed most intimate relations with them. This relationship between the world of authors and the world of publishers and more especially of booksellers is very important as it is to their mutual advantage. All the three should respect each other and more particularly the publishers must protect authors and must not exploit them. Unless there is cooperation between the publishers and the authors, it would not be possible to have the best out of authors and to have large scale consumption of books on all types of subjects.

The other point is, making books available for a large number of readers. This is advantageous both to the authors and to the publishers and booksellers. But this should not be done at the expense of the author as it sometimes happens. The plea put forward is that the price of a book could be reduced by not

1. Speech while inaugurating the second annual general meeting of the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations in India, New Delhi, 7 December 1955. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu*, 8 December 1955.

paying the author his due or his royalty. Nobody thinks of reducing his profits.

There are certain institutions which are in the nature of trusts and the like—non-profit making—which never think that the author, who has written a book with his blood and tears, also has to be supported. Some of my own books have been published in translations by some of these institutions and I have been told that it is not their custom to pay royalty. It does not make much difference to me but I take the strongest objection to the principle of not paying the author his due. These institutions who claim to have some social purpose may say that they must not exploit the public and so the author should not have anything. You might as well say that the printer might not have anything for the high social purpose and the bookseller also should have nothing. But nobody dare say that to the printers or others. I do not understand this kind of thing. I think, this must be done on a strictly fair basis and the labourers—the author and the printer—must get their dues. Because ultimately—I do wish to impress on you this particularly—the whole book-selling and publishing trade, apart from your translations of books from England, Germany, Russia, America, or even Tibet, depends on the author.

Two things are important in India today—growth of libraries throughout the country and larger editions of good and cheap books. At least there should be 100,000 libraries in the villages of India and the number could be increased to 250,000 to cover 500,000 villages in the country.

The publishers should not be dismayed by the prospect of the growth of libraries in the country, for the growth of libraries will increase the basic demand for books. Besides assuring a basic minimum demand for books, the libraries will develop the reading habit among the people who would like to buy more books. There is an enormous market to capture in the country. The vast masses of India are hungry for books and the growth of libraries in the country can meet their needs effectively. The publishers can easily tap this potentially vast reading public by making available to them worthwhile books written in simple language and at cheaper prices.

The publishers and booksellers should show initiative and enterprise and bring out large editions of good books which can be made available cheap. They must encourage authors. This is very important for the production of good books. The publishers should treat authors fairly and publish in cooperation with them simple, good, worthwhile books for the common people.

I have received many telegrams and letters from Bombay and elsewhere asking me not to associate myself with this function as the Federation is not a truly representative body and that it has even stopped giving discount to the Library Association of Bombay, which buys books for mass consumption. I am not interested in domestic quarrels of the Federation, but I would certainly like it to go into the question of giving discount to the Association.

I have often said in public that nothing is more distressing in India than the fact that very few people read books here. It is a disgraceful thing for any country. The percentage of book reading public in India—I am not talking of the percentage of literacy in India, which is low, but which is increasing no doubt—is very low. Why, then, in a large country like ours is the reading public so small in India compared to almost any country in Europe or America or elsewhere? The reading habit among people in other countries has been inculcated in the people through libraries and this should be done in India also.

Perhaps you know that the Government of India has decided to come into the publishing line in a tremendous way.² It has no desire to come in your way but I have no doubt that its coming in the publishing line will affect you. It is proposed to set up a body which will mostly publish books with a special purpose. These books normally will be classical books or translations of classical books from other countries or translations from one Indian language into another. The whole purpose is to see that good books are published mainly in large editions to be priced cheaply. This will be done in a business like way to make this publishing economically self-sufficient and not through the aid or subsidy from the Government. The Government may give subsidy for an art publication and the like. But the whole purpose of this will be to encourage the reading habit in India and reach the vast public. Honestly, the Government cannot wait for publishers in India to bring out cheap books in large numbers. You are much too slow or cautious and we want to reach our public quickly. Publishers and booksellers will have to wake up.

I remember the time when some of my friends were intimately connected with a firm in England that brought out the Penguin books. This was a revolutionary project and these books were sold even at the shops of grocers and tobacconists. This proved a great success and has been adopted by other publishing firms.³

2. To encourage the production of good literature at a moderate price, the Government decided to set up the National Book Trust which came into being in 1957. The Trust was to publish standard works on education, science, culture and humanities and classical Indian and foreign literature.
3. In 1935, Allen Lane, the managing editor of the Bodley Head, London, founded Penguin Books Ltd., which published paperback reprints at six cents. This venture provided high quality books at low prices, thereby creating a new reading public. Encouraged by its success, other paperback series were also started such as Pelican, Puffin Story Books, etc., by the same publishers. The Fontana and Picador series came later.

In USA, there are firms publishing cheap edition books in vast numbers. They have a "book hospital" where a book is examined if it does not achieve the sale expected of it. Sometimes, even by changing the title of the book, large sales are recorded. This happened particularly in the case of a cheap reprint of Plato's *Republic*. The title did not catch and it remained unsold. But when it was given a more attractive title, 100,000 copies of the same book were sold.

I want publication of cheap books on a cooperative basis, but this is a bit difficult as, in a competitive and acquisitive society, each man is out to cut the other man's throat, in a business sense, of course, and take advantage of the other man.

Why is it that this enormous Hindi-knowing public does not read more whether it is Hindi newspapers or Hindi books? The malady from which Hindi newspapers and books are suffering is the difficult language used in them. Take the circulation of any Hindi newspaper or Hindi book. The circulation is so poor, because, apart from other causes, the language used in these newspapers or books is above the head of an average Hindi-knowing person. Hindi enthusiasts should change and simplify the language to reach effectively the vast potential of Hindi-knowing public in India. The gap between literary Hindi and Hindi understood by the common people must be narrowed down.

Change and simplify the language. I believe this is more important because the enthusiasm runs in making the language more and more intricate and difficult making it out of reach of the common man. It is this gap in Hindi, between the literary language and the common language, which is developing and which comes in the way of the spread of that very language that you wish to spread.

A tremendous factor in the growth of any language is that the literary aspect of it is not above the common man. The difference between literary Bengali and common Bengali is not so wide. Tagore's Bengali is generally understood in Bengal. I am not competent to judge other languages like Tamil, Telugu and Marathi, but even in these the gap between the literary language and the common language is not so great as in Hindi.

In suggesting that the language should be simplified, I do not want that the standards should be lowered. I do not want what is written for the common man to be in bad language, but I want it to be in simple language. There is a world of difference between badness of language and simplicity of language—simplicity in making it very fine and noble.

Even in judging a classical language the biggest test is its simplicity. The more ornate and intricate it becomes the more it loses in greatness. It might have certain beauty like the beauty of a richly carved temple, but this kind of

intricate beauty is for the elite. Real beauty does not lie in the carving but in simplicity. So also in language there should be design and nobility about it and that nobility comes only from simplicity of language.

The biggest reading public potential in India is the Hindi-reading public for the simple reason that there are more Hindi-speaking people in North and Central India than those speaking any other language. This potential is very great, yet probably the sale of Hindi books and newspapers is far less than the sale of books in other Indian languages.

The patent fact is that Hindi has been declared in the Constitution as the official language of India. But in this capital city of Delhi—I do not have figures—I think that Urdu newspapers have a far larger circulation than Hindi newspapers.

We shout a lot about Hindi in Uttar Pradesh and say we shall not have Urdu as one of the state languages. But Urdu flourishes in UP, Punjab and Delhi and is widely prevalent and rightly it should be so. In Punjab there is a controversy between Hindi and Punjabi but the argument there is being conducted by both parties in Urdu. If the Hindi enthusiasts write a book they usually think of their scholarly friends who would read it. Their appeal therefore, is necessarily to the elite and the select.

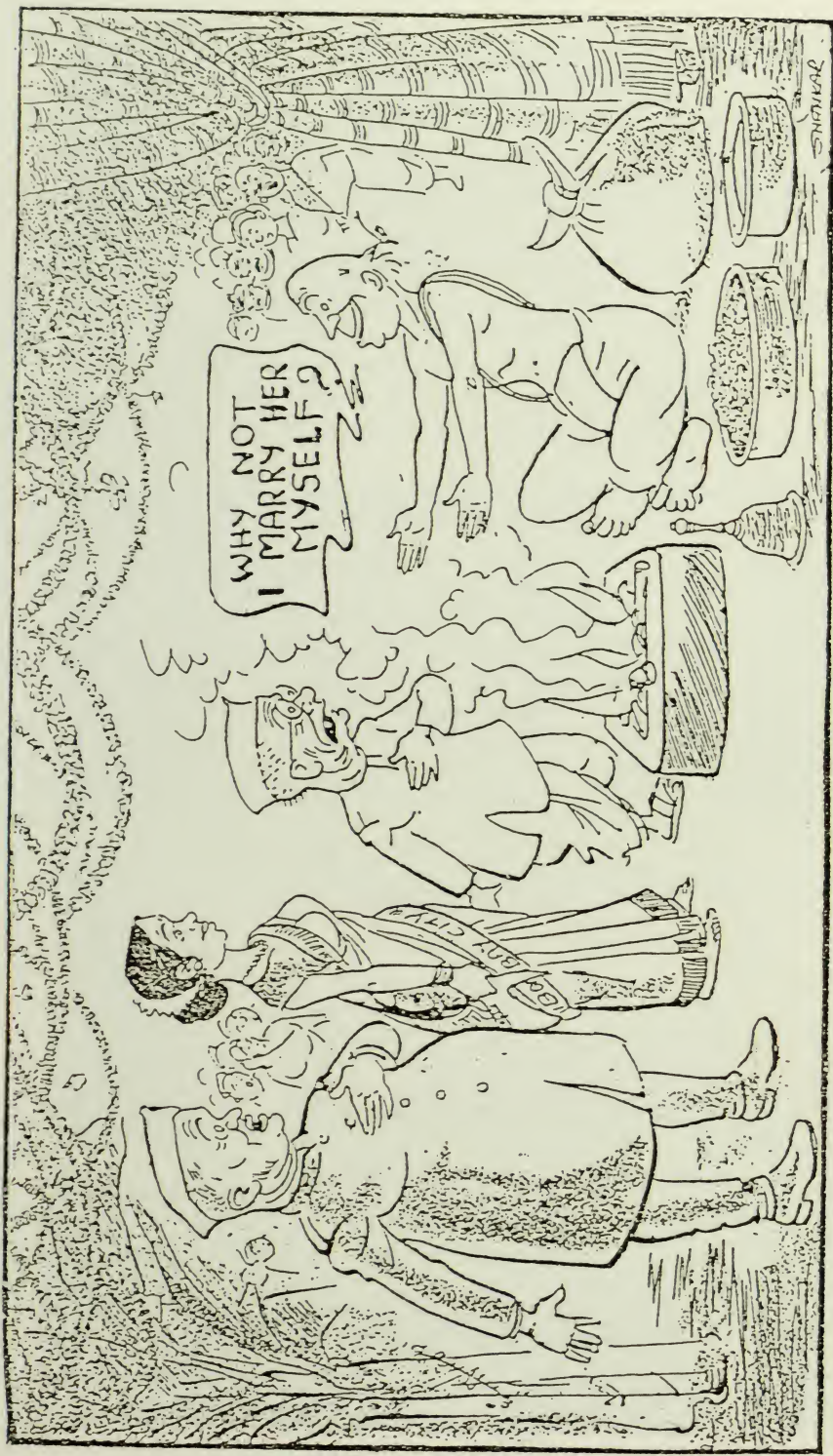
When I address a large audience I do not think there of the kind of language that I should use. I think of only one point, how to get inside the minds of my audience. It does not matter that I speak in English, Urdu, French, German or Hindi. My object is to make myself understood and to give my message to them. As to speaking pure Hindi, if I do that I might be applauded but will not be understood and my main purpose will be lost.

I am quite certain if some really enterprising man starts a weekly or daily in the language of the common man, it will have a vast circulation in north India. But, he really must forget the scholars in Hindi. If he does that, then his paper might not be very scholarly but it would carry the message of Hindi to a vast numbers of people. This had happened in countries like England when mass education came in. Mass education brought in a new public, rather people who could read and write, but who were not highly educated in any sense. Their desire to read and write could not be met by heavy newspapers and scholarly books and it was then that the penny newspaper came out fifty years ago or more, and simple books came out. Sometimes, of course, if I may say so, very wrong type of newspapers came out in England and other countries. But the point is that they were catering for a public which had recently learnt reading. Therefore, I want the writers and newspapers to adopt a simple language and a simple style to reach the vast masses of people who are hungering for knowledge and learning.



AT THE ENTRANCE OF KERALA KALAMANDALAM, CHERUTHURUTHY, 25 DECEMBER 1955

Pandit Proposes



A solution suggested for the dispute over Bombay is to make the city a second capital of the Union Govt. under its own administration.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 1 JANUARY 1956

4. Preserving the Remains of Nagarjunakonda¹

This morning I performed the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the great dam of Nagarjunasagar.² This function took place on the Andhra side of the Krishna river. Later I crossed the river and went over the Hyderabad side. On both sides of the river large crowds had gathered. On the Hyderabad side a pylon had been put up to commemorate the occasion. This pylon was attractive and full of dignity.

2. Afterwards, I went to the site of the excavations of the ancient cities of Sripavata and Vijayapuri. Nearly all this vast area is going to be submerged when the dam is built and which will be called the Nagarjunasagar.

3. This site of excavations is one of the most important and vital in India. The idea that this place, where so much of our ancient history and culture lie hidden under the earth, should be lost for ever under the new lake has distressed me greatly. Yet the choice had to be made for the sake of the needs of today and tomorrow.

4. The question arises as to how far it is possible to carry out these explorations and excavations and remove almost everything worth removing from there to some safer place before the waters of the Krishna river engulf the whole area. There can be little doubt that this can be done provided we apply ourselves to it with energy and determination. The Director-General of Archaeology, Dr Ghosh,³ who showed me round, agreed with me that this was possible. Shri Subrahmanyam,⁴ the officer-in-charge of excavations there, also agreed, but of course this requires work done on a much more extensive and intensive scale than has taken place till now.

1. Note to Abul Kalam Azad, Union Minister for Education, Camp Guntur, 10 December 1955. File No.PC(NR)/II(11)/55, Planning Commission. Also available in File No.40(21)/56-63-PMS.
2. For Nehru's speech on this occasion, see *ante*, pp. 9-14.
3. Amalananda Ghosh (1910-81): Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India, 1953-68; member of various international societies; UNESCO consultant on archaeology and museums to the Governments, of Qatar, 1968, of Bahrain, 1968, of Saudi Arabia, 1968-69, of Yemen, September-December 1970.
4. R. Subrahmanyam (1923-81): Archaeologist-Historian; worked under Mortimer Wheeler at Arikamedu-Marappa excavations, 1946; supervised excavations at Hampi (1947), Salihundam (1953), Nagarjunakonda (1954-60) and Amaravati (1958); Head of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Nagarjuna University, 1976-81; author of *The Suryavamsa Gajapatis of Orissa*, *A Catalogue of Ikshvaku Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* and *Salihundam, A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh*.

5. I need not point out the high importance of this site. Already we have discovered very important remains of the ancient city and university. Evidently, the river Krishna, two thousand years ago, was navigable up to this place, Sripurvata or Vijayapuri. There are the remains of a wharf. There are mighty stupas. There is, what is called, the university structure with a very large hall and numerous small rooms. One part of this building was apparently some kind of a school of art or at least of sculpture. It was interesting to find many line drawings on stone in that school which appeared to be the efforts of students preliminary to making the sculpture itself. Some implements for this purpose were also found, and there was a higher seat for, presumably, the teacher with other implements.

6. A unique site was that of an open air amphitheatre or, as it is called now, stadium. Presumably, this was used for discourses. There is no such thing in India elsewhere.

7. Thus far, very little work has been done. Even so, there have been valuable finds of statuary. Probably, all the hillocks round about cover remains of this ancient city. In particular, mention is made of a great palace which has yet to be discovered.

8. One interesting find was a *vihara*—which, according to inscriptions, was specially meant for people from Ceylon. It appears from the inscriptions that there were other *viharas* probably meant for people from China and Japan and Burma. This place became a great centre of Buddhist culture in the first century A.D. under Acharya Nagarjuna, whose fame spread as far as Tibet and China and Japan. Indeed, most references to him have been found in China and Tibet. He was a great exponent of the Mahayana doctrine of Buddhism.

9. From the historical and cultural as well as from the archaeological points of view, this site is very important. Buddhists, of course, attach great value to it, and there have been protests that the new lake will cover it up. A relic, supposed to appertain to Buddha himself, has been discovered there and sent to Sarnath.

10. The question now is what we should do to remove everything that can be removed from this site before it is submerged. There is a hill nearby which is itself part of the old city. The top of this hill will remain above the level of the water in the lake. On top of the hill there is a plane about a mile and a half in length and about half a mile in width. This hill will become an island after the dam has been constructed. I think, that this hill top will be an excellent place to keep all these remains of the old city. Indeed, an attempt should be made to reproduce them there as they are now, including the stadium. The whole hill top may be made into a national park. All this, however, can be considered later.

11. At present, the question is of carrying on excavations and explorations with great rapidity. It is said that the dam will be ready in three to four years'

time. Thus the time available for excavations and removal is limited. The present rate of progress is very slow and has to be expedited greatly. It is true that the work of excavation of this kind has to be done with great care. We cannot use bulldozers for the purpose. Every bit of digging has to be done cautiously lest it damages some valuable article.

12. The present staff is a small one. The officer-in-charge, Shri Subrahmanyam, appeared to me to be bright and intelligent and greatly interested in his work. I was told that the allotment for this work had thus far been about Rs. 93,000/-. An addition of Rs. 50,000/- had recently been made. Apart from this, it had been suggested by the Education Ministry that the Department of Archaeology could divert money from some other work to this work. As archaeological research is already at a low level in India, any diversion is hardly desirable. Therefore, some fresh money should be found for this particular work. I do not think that any very large amounts are needed. I would say that all this archaeological work of excavation and removal might even form a legitimate charge on the Nagarjunasagar Project. In any event, wherever the money comes from, it should be found. We cannot afford to lose this precious asset by delay or for want of money.

13. I should imagine that an expenditure of about Rs. 5 lakhs a year could perhaps be adequate for the next four years, but I am not sure, and this matter can be gone into more carefully.

14. Apart from money, we require trained personnel. The process of getting this personnel through the Public Service Commission is rather a slow one. It may be resorted to, but something should be done more expeditiously also. What usually happens is that people are chosen who have no acquaintance whatever with archaeological work. They spend a year or two in training.

15. There are some universities and institutes where archaeology is taught. It might be possible to engage senior students or the like from them. Anyhow, early steps should be taken to add to the trained staff.

16. Another rather ridiculous difficulty has been that the land in question is privately owned. The process of acquisition, etc., is a slow one. Of course, all this land will ultimately have to be acquired for the purposes of the project. But the point is that the land should be available now for excavation. The peasants naturally object. But I am sure they will not object if compensation is given to them properly. The area, after all, is not very big. The work should not stop because of these legal difficulties.

17. When I went to the site this afternoon, the Governor of Andhra⁵ and the Chief Ministers⁶ and other Ministers of Andhra and Hyderabad accompanied

5. C.M. Trivedi.

6. B. Gopala Reddi and B. Ramakrishna Rao, Chief Ministers of Andhra and Hyderabad respectively.

me. They were all greatly interested in preserving these ancient remains. While the exploration and excavation must necessarily remain in charge of the Archaeological Department, it seems to me desirable that there should be the closest cooperation between this Department and the Central Board as well as the engineers in charge of the Nagarjunasagar Project. It may be that the engineers can often help. In any event, the phasing of the work is to be coordinated, so that there might not suddenly be a bottleneck, or some hold-up of the project because the archaeological work has not been completed.

18. I have spoken to Governor Trivedi about this and he is anxious to help in every way. I think that he might be requested to bring about this coordination.

19. I trust that the Education Minister will give special and early attention to this matter and direct that additional staff should be forthwith engaged. I am sure that the Finance Minister⁷ will be anxious to help in every way.

20. I have asked Dr Ghosh, the Director-General of Archaeology, to discuss this matter very soon with the Ministry of Education.

21. I am sending a copy of this note to the Finance Minister, the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission and to Governor Trivedi of Andhra.⁸

7. C.D. Deshmukh.

8. In a note of 19 December 1955 to the Education Ministry (not printed). Nehru enquired about the additional steps to complete the excavation work in the next three years. He also asked for periodical reports.

5. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi

19 December 1955

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th December about the Madras Record Office.²

1. File No. 168/55. President's Secretariat.

2. Rajendra Prasad had written that he was very much impressed by the Madras Record Office where records of public interest from the year 1680 had been carefully preserved. These papers related not only to Madras but to other provinces as well. He suggested that the state governments should create Record Offices to rescue such old papers and scrupulously preserve all important records and train the staff for classification, indexing and preservation of documents.

I entirely agree with what you say and I hope that the Ministries concerned will take steps according to your suggestion. I am asking the Cabinet Secretary³ to deal with this matter through the Ministries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Y.N. Sukthankar.

6. Responsibilities of the Young¹

I regret very much that I am unable to be present at the convocation of the Visva-Bharati.² I need not tell you, however, that my thoughts will be with you on this occasion and that you have all my good wishes.

Eight years ago, India attained Independence. That was a historic moment for us. But it brought with it tremendous responsibility. That responsibility is not confined to the top leaders of the country but, in a democratic set-up, has to be shared by the people. In particular, it involves the training of young people for the great tasks ahead. Those tasks increase in number and in complexity as we march ahead.

Our schools and colleges and universities have the primary function for training the younger generation for this purpose. It is not by the number of degrees that are given that this training can be judged, but by the development of character, culture and specialised ability. There is a general feeling in the country that there is something wrong with our educational system and all kinds of suggestions are made to improve it. It was perhaps inevitable that during this phase of rapid transition, the old methods of training should prove inadequate. They are inadequate even from the point of view of the numbers that demand and deserve training. They are inadequate also in the content of that training because the type of man or woman required in future for the service of the country and our people is different from the old type.

1. Message to the Vice Chancellor of Visva-Bharati on the occasion of the annual convocation, 20 December 1955. File No. 40(117)/50-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Held on 24 December 1955.

I have no doubt that we shall overcome these difficulties of the transitional phase. Meanwhile, we have to face them and do our utmost to solve the new problems that have arisen. In this task every university has a special function, and every teacher and student has to realise his own place in this larger scheme of things. The present is difficult, but the future is bright with hope and achievement. Even the present has demonstrated that we can achieve great tasks if we set about them in the right way and do not ignore the basic principles that should guide us.

I earnestly hope that Visva-Bharati will remember and uphold the ideals of its great founder and live up to the expectations and demands of India today.

7. Excavations at Nagarjunakonda¹

I think, I have indicated previously that there is no difficulty at all about the extra money required for this scheme.² I have spoken to the Finance Minister about it and he assured me of this. I do not understand, therefore, why the Education Ministry is going so slow still in the matter of sanctioning expenditure. To tell the Director-General of Archaeology that he can spend upto another Rs.60,000/- which will be found either from savings under other heads or by a supplementary demand is hardly helpful. That means that the other excavation work must suffer. If we had to make this choice, then perhaps this might be done. But this question does not arise as we are prepared to find the extra money independently and we are prepared to find it at least to the extent of Rs.5 lakhs a year and more if necessary.

2. My suggestion that the expenses on excavation should be a legitimate charge on the Nagarjunasagar Project might be considered. But really, for the present, these questions need not trouble us and we should go ahead. Subsequently we shall have to spend much larger sums of money in removal and reconstruction elsewhere, apart from having to put up buildings. I think that it would be desirable to ask the Nagarjuna Project people to share this expenditure.

1. Note to the Education Ministry, New Delhi, 21 December 1955. File No. (21)/56-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In a note on 20 December 1955, Humayun Kabir, the Education Secretary, informed Nehru about the expenses required for the excavations at Nagarjunakonda.

3. For the present it should be clearly understood that money is not coming in the way and far more than the sum suggested can be made available at short notice. I want the Director-General of Archaeology to realise that he has to go ahead as fast as possible regardless of money.

4. You can certainly ask the geologists to examine the hill.³ But I do not quite understand why the hill should give way under pressure of water. When I was at this place, I had the engineers and others with me.

5. The question of removal and reconstruction will have to be considered very carefully, but removal should not take much time. At present we must concentrate on exploration and excavation.

3. Regarding Nehru's suggestion for removing the museum and monuments to the top of the hill, Kabir had asked the Geological Survey of India, the Ministry of NR& SR and the Ministry of Irrigation and Power to carry out examination of the hill from the point of suitability for this.

8. Settlement with Rathindra Nath Tagore¹

Shri Rathindra Nath Tagore² came to see me today. In the course of our talk, he mentioned that nothing had been settled yet about his house Uttarayana etc., in Santiniketan. I thought that this matter had been settled long ago. You will remember my writing to you about it, and your reply was that you agreed with the proposal made by the Vice Chancellor.³ The Vice Chancellor is apparently waiting for some indication from your Ministry. Will you please look into this matter and have this affair settled soon?

2. Shri Rathindra Nath Tagore also mentioned to me that he had left over two hundred paintings belonging to him with the curator of the National Library here. He indicated that he would like to make a gift of about a hundred of these (including fifty by Rabindra Nath Tagore) but that, in view of his straitened

1. Note to Humayun Kabir, 22 December 1955. File No. 40(8)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1888-1961); first Vice Chancellor of Visva-Bharati after its transformation into a Central University, 1951-53; author of *Prantatwa* and *Avinyaktibad* in Bengali and *On the Edges of Times*.
3. P.C. Bagchi.

circumstances, he would like to sell the others. He seemed to dislike the idea of somebody sitting in judgement on the price of these paintings, especially those of Rabindra Nath Tagore. Apparently, his idea was that a lump sum should be given to him.⁴

3. I have no idea about the value of these paintings. It would certainly be desirable to keep Tagore's paintings. Perhaps, informally you could have some estimate made of their present value.

4. On 4 January 1956, Nehru suggested in a note (not printed) to Humayun Kabir: "Considering all the circumstances, perhaps rupees fifty thousand might be adequate. This should not be considered as the value of the collection."

9. Literature—a Civilizing Process¹

Mr President,² Poet Vallathol³ and friends,

I am very happy to be here for a variety of reasons and I am grateful for the very generous words in which the poet Vallathol has just referred to me. I am happy because this beautiful corner of India always attracts me and soothes me. I am happy because, for the moment, you have asked me to come to a literary assembly away from the normal problems and tasks of politics which tend rather to overwhelm one. I do not quite know what exactly you expect me to say in inaugurating this Kerala Kalamandalam⁴ conference. There are of course many things in my mind which struggle often for utterance, because to me literature and art are not something living apart from our normal life, not something in an ivory tower, but something connected intimately with all our activities. Indeed, without the healing and ennobling touch of literature and arts, life would be dull indeed. But, then, what function does literature play or should play today in India?

1. Speech at the inauguration of the silver jubilee celebrations of the Kerala Kalamandalam. Cheruthuruthy, 26 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. K.M. Panikkar.
3. Vallathol Narayana Menon (1878-1958); eminent Malayalam poet, considered as the best representative of cultural renaissance in modern Kerala; member, Sahitya Akademi; author of *Sahityamanjari* (ten volumes) (1917-50), *Anirudhan* (1913), *Bapuji* (1950).
4. Kerala Kalamandalam, a cultural organization, was founded by Vallathol to promote and popularize Kerala's traditional dance and drama.

Now, I think you will agree with me that even during the past eight years, since our Independence, there has been a very considerable, what shall I say, growth and advance in the field of literature and arts in India. I do not mean to say that some or many mighty men of literature have suddenly appeared on the scene but rather there has been widespread fervour all over India and out of it one can see the advances being made by the various languages as well as in song and dance. I think, one of the most fascinating things today is this very great interest all over India in our old arts of dancing, music, and the like. More particularly in folk dancing. Now, folk dancing represents much more than any kind of higher class of dancing, a movement in the people. And it is that that you notice in India today. It is this wide foundation of these movements and I think that it is not only a healthy sign but it indicates the true inner revolution that is taking place in Indian life.

Of course, that revolution is taking place not in one direction, but dozens of directions. Some of us may think that the pace is not fast enough. Some of us may imagine that because there is not a great deal of shouting and head breaking, it is no revolution at all. But the fact is that in every aspect of national activity there is movement in India, by and large, considerable and fairly fast movement. After all, this is a great big country with great big problems with enormous variety in spite of and in addition to its unity and the problem always before us is, not for some corner of India, to do something or a select coterie of intellectuals to do something, but rather for the people of India to do something. I always think of India today as a vast concourse of people, millions and millions from the north to south on a great journey, on a pilgrimage. It is not a question of an individual or a group having a keener mind or faster legs running ahead of the others, but rather of this entire group marching step by step and hand in hand and thereby of course, there is the danger that your pace is set by the slowest. That is bad. On the other hand if some people isolate themselves and run ahead, they lose touch with that vast multitude. That is bad too. So, we have to find some common measure of pace which will help people to come forward, or the great majority of them and at the same time keep them in movement as fast as possible. Those who have fleeter feet or keener minds should apply them to influencing the others to move more fast and not to run ahead and arrive somewhere by themselves. Now I see India today in movement, and if I may use the word, in a kind of some revolutionary movement, because revolution is not merely a political change. It has to be an economic change, a social change in all the aspects of our life and it has to be or it has been and it is likely to be in India a peaceful change over. We seem to have developed a way, a tradition to do things and even big things peacefully. I do not mean to say that we are some kind of superior people, superior in intelligence of other ways, to other countries. That is a very dangerous way of thinking. Each country thinks that it is the elect of God or the chosen—it is not that. But all

I mean is that there is something in our traditions in India which make it somewhat easier for us to bring about peaceful changes. And we have in the recent past brought about numerous, very considerable changes by agreement and by peaceful methods. And today if there is any kind of message that India offers to other countries, it is this, of using peaceful methods to solve any problem, however, difficult it might be. It might not be solved quickly. It might take a little time. But nevertheless it is only solved, ultimately in essence, by peaceful methods. I say in essence because sometimes we think we have to solve the problem by some method of violence only to find that it has left far more difficult problems behind, apart from the trail of bitterness. That is no solution.

The Great Wars that took place, World Wars, solved the problem of gaining victory over certain countries; but you know how the moment the War ended, new problems and greater problems arose. But having realised more or less that war should be ruled out, they do not rule out the causes of war, the temper of war, the atmosphere of war and we see what is called cold war. Now, what exactly does the cold war mean? If I can understand cold war as something preparing for, keeping the temperature ready for a hot and shooting war, that is understandable. But if you rule out the hot and shooting war, where does the cold war lead you, nowhere, except accidentally to the hot war. But it serves one purpose and that is to keep you away from solving any problem. Obviously you cannot solve problems and have a cold war atmosphere. So we land in this peculiar position, that while one can understand war, however much one may deplore; that is, shooting war, one can understand it is a folly. It is amazing stupidity in the world today, apart from moral reasons against it. But if you rule out hot war then the only other course left for you to solve your problems is by peaceful means and peaceful means do not mean a negative absence of shooting down the other person or hitting him on the head. It means a different type of approach. Now the cold war prevents that approach. So it leaves you high and dry, war ruled out, peace ruled out. So, you hang in the air doing nothing at all and feeling more and more unhappy, and possibly if this goes on for long, all of us become neurotics and land ourselves in a lunatic asylum. Now, as I said, India, not because of any feeling of superiority, but in all humility, has put before the world this message of settling problems peacefully. We have our problems which irritate and anger us very much. But in spite of our irritation and anger, let us say in regard to Goa or some other problems, we restrain ourselves even to the extent of becoming unpopular with many enthusiastic young men and young women. We behave, if I may say so, like a mature people not swept away by gusts of passions, but thinking of the consequences of our acts taking a long term view. Now, you might think that I have strayed into the domain of politics in this gathering which is meant to promote literature. But I did so deliberately because to my mind there is no

dividing line between the two. I do not think, I do not wish, to rule out what is called art for art's sake, or science for science's sake. Certainly the door should be left open, completely wide open.

But the fact remains that art which is unrelated to the problems of the day, the life of the people, to the thought of the people, is something isolated which does not, well, have a great effect on the people. Art must represent some living things, whether in the minds of people, or in the actions or in the life of people and art surely, and literature more especially, must have some, well, some kind of active vital urge. This art may be, literature may be, and to some extent is, a mirror of what is happening, your mirror, the good and the evil, the strife and the conflict and the peace and everything. That is true. But unless it has some active message it remains rather negative. More specially when the people or a country are being vitalized as they are today and when great movements are affecting them and they are marching forward then even more than at other times, literature and the other arts have a vital part to play, not a negative but an active vital part. Now, what is that vital part in India today? I do not wish by any means to limit our field of arts and literature but I am merely pointing out to you what I think are some of the directions in which literature and other arts should move today if they are to play, to have their rightful place in this great forward movement of our people. First of all, according to this world situation of war and peace they obviously have a great part to play. Now what do I mean by that? There is a great deal of talk of peace and sometimes this word peace is hurled at you as if it was a rock or a stone to hit you on the head and knock you down. I do not call that peace at all. A repetition of a word like a mantra does not mean anything to me. Therefore, if peace is to be preached it has to be in the actions and methods of peace. Peace sometimes is now considered—some people get very angry at the word peace, because, well, I do not know why, because they think it is a word meant to undermine them. Other people use the word peace as if it was a strong agitational weapon to knock down the adversary. Now I think that both these approaches, whatever political or other values they may have, they have nothing to do with peace. There is something else. Peace essentially must be peaceful, that is obvious. Peace cannot be warlike. It is not peace then. That is to say, the approach has to be a friendly approach to win over the other person. Not the aggressive approach to irritate and anger. That does not mean that any person should, or any country should, surrender its principles or its position which it values. Of course not. If it does so, then that people or that country will lose its real worth, because a country or a people or an individual has to have a certain standard, if it gives them up, because of fear, because of threats or because of other unworthy feelings, then it has lost ground. But surely it is possible to adhere firmly to your principles and yet try to be friendly. Well, it may not be possible for all of us to succeed in that way, because we are frail

human beings. But at any rate we have had examples in our country, the latest of them being Gandhiji, who was firm and unbending, who was steel or whatever might be stronger than steel, and yet who was always trying to win over his opponents and adversaries and those who opposed him, and what is more remarkable, succeeded in winning them over, or if not quite winning them over, weakening them in their opposition, undermining their hostility. That surely is the civilized method of dealing with a problem.

Now, literature therefore being itself a civilizing process should adopt the civilized method of dealing with problems whether they are problems of peace or other problems, many problems today. We are getting very excited today about the reorganization of states. It is an important matter of course. But, however, important it is, it is not important enough to lose our temper and break our heads. So, literature first of all should represent this vitality, this movement of the people, should encourage it, should give it a lead. Secondly, it should represent this peaceful and civilizing process to our people. Thirdly, of course all these things are not, in sort of order of merit or importance. I think one of the primary duties of literature should be to help in every way in bringing about the unity of India. I should say the unity of the world certainly. I do not look upon the unity of India as something opposed to the larger world. But obviously we have to set our own house in order before we talk about the rest of the world. Now, we talk about the unity of India. It is of course politically united and in many other ways too and not today, but throughout almost history there has been strong cultural bonds uniting India. That is true. But in the world today we cannot have these vague cultural bonds. They have to be something deeper and that is why I often talk about the emotional integration of India. We integrated the old Indian States and brought about a political unity. That is a big thing. That itself leads, of course, to common working, common sharing of joys and sorrows. Our struggle for freedom all over India was a very powerful factor in creating this feeling of emotional unity among different parts of India and those of us who had the high privilege of participating in that struggle, well, we have this close comradeship with others who participated wherever they might live in any part of India. In fact, we became a kind of large family, and if I may say so, that feeling of close kinship, and solidarity among people who have participated in the movement for the freedom has helped tremendously in these past eight or nine years since freedom, in solving many problems which otherwise would have been difficult to solve. I have found others, able men, patriotic men, and women who had participated in that struggle for freedom in the same way as we did, finding it rather difficult to come to agreements with others. They, if I may use the word, they are more strongly individualistic. They are able, clever, patriotic but incapable of cooperation with others. And therefore, we may forget that capacity always to keep the main end in view and come together in spite of differences. Now, in

all these matters literature can be very helpful. It ensures the right way. It can be and it should be. I do not want our literature to be a namby-pamby thing, something soft to everybody and without any ultimate vitality or will of its own; that is not much good. But nevertheless it can lead people throughout this emotional integration of India. I am convinced that both by our past history and certain conditions that we have a strong foundation for them and that we will build on that this mansion of new India.

Take our languages. Nothing surprises me so much as any controversy as to the relative merits of our languages. It is a silly controversy. By our Constitution we have recognized almost all of our great languages. In fact we have gone a little further apart from the Constitution and in practice, over areas of North East India, we recognise and use and encourage dozens and dozens of local languages of which perhaps you have not even heard, because we believe in the value of encouraging the language which people use in their education, in other work. If we do that, even the small languages which serve only a small area sometimes only twenty or fifty villages and no more in the North East obviously like the great languages of India, we have to do everything to nourish them and encourage them and they should serve the vehicle of the people's life and the people's progress. There is no conflict. Hindi as you know has been made by the Constitution the official all India language or the all India language for official purposes.⁵ Why? Not by any inner virtue or anything; because it is the most convenient tool for that purpose. And by no means that does not lead to any conflict between Hindi and other great languages of India. Nobody must think, it is unfortunate of course, that some protagonists of Hindi use aggressive language and rather ignore the great position of the other languages, just as it is unfortunate that some people in the South of India talk about Hindi imperialism and the like. Both are absurd. The fact is that we have to develop all these languages. And here literature comes in, brings them nearer to each other, not forcibly, by literary contacts, other contacts, translations, then words will flow from one to the other. Each language will no doubt take its separate identity as it should and there is no question of submerging it. But it would come nearer to the other and will grow and it will draw, each language from the other, some inspiration, some help, so that its outlook will be widened, its cultural and even linguistic outlook will be widened. Indeed we must widen our outlook by knowing foreign languages, as I said the other day. If by any chance India with all its great languages remained confined to her own languages completely and forgot foreign languages, that is, non-Indian languages, I say, I am afraid, that India will become a second-rate nation. I am not talking about

5. On 14 September 1949, Hindi was declared as official language of India by the Constituent Assembly of India.

the distant future. Because there is so much for us to learn, so much for us to know from other languages. If we close that door and put a wall against that, then our progress is limited. We become all rather surrounded by these high walls of our building. We have had enough walls round our country in the past. We do not want any more. We want as much fresh air from abroad to come in as possible. That is all right. We have to learn foreign languages but obviously foreign languages do not serve our purpose in India for doing our work. We have to do our work and our thinking, our activities generally in our own languages. That is obvious. I see no conflict between these two approaches. Now, therefore, these great languages of India, which, as we know, are closely alike to each other and even your language Malayalam, because of its contacts with Sanskrit is closely alike to many of the Northern languages. There is no difficulty about this and I think that every Indian should know at least two or three Indian languages apart from a foreign language.

So, all this exuberance that is coming in our literary world in India and various places, various language areas is to be welcomed, not only welcomed by you in Malayalam or by the Bengalis in Bengali but the Bengalis should welcome your literary growth. The Hindi speaking people should welcome Bengali or the Malayali or the Tamil growth because all this is really parts of our national growth which help each other. They are not against each other; they do not come in the way of each other; and those who think they come in the way have a very narrow and limited view of both language and of culture. Therefore, I am happy to see this, to learn of the activities of your Kalamandalam, how they are encouraging your language, your great language, your art, your famous dancing which has invaded India and made a powerful impression on other parts of India as well as some parts of the world. And I thank you and specially the Poet Vallathol for your welcome and your kind words.

10. Secret Records for Scholarly Scrutiny¹

I agree that we cannot place our secret records at the disposal of foreign scholars. It is not clear from the Soviet letter as to whether secret records are referred to

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 29 December 1955. JN Collection.

or only such as are available to the public in our libraries. In the latter case there can be no objection on principle, though there might be difficulties and some embarrassment might be caused.

As a matter of fact, our Government has already taken some steps for the writing of the history of the National Movement.² This will include the rising in 1857-58. Apart from collecting a great deal of material, they have not done much. The Education Ministry ought to know the exact position now.

Apart from this, the All India Congress Committee has decided to celebrate suitably the Centenary of this rising. They have offered a prize of, I think, Rs.10,000/- for a suitable history. I do not know how far this matter has gone. Presumably if some good scholar takes up this matter in India, these records will be made available to him.

2. In 1952, a Central Board of Editors was appointed with Syed Mahmud as Chairman and S.N. Ghose as Secretary, for writing an authentic and comprehensive history of India's struggle for independence.

11. Permanent Industrial Exhibition¹

The success of the Industries Fair² has been so great that I think it is desirable for you to consider having some kind of a permanent exhibition. Naturally, that permanent exhibition will be much smaller than the present one. Annually it might be added to. But the hard core can remain permanently. This means that the land at present occupied by the Exhibition should be reserved for it and not utilised for building or other purposes. Also, that many of the structures erected there might well remain, unless they are too temporary to last.

2. I should like you to give consideration to this matter in consultation with the Minister of W.H. & S.³ to whom I am sending a copy of this note.

3. As you probably know, the Planetarium and the figure of a man in plastic were presented to me by the German Democratic Republic. These two

1. Note to the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, 1 January 1956. JN Collection.
2. Twenty-two countries participated in the week-long Indian Industries Fair, the first of its kind, which began on 29 October 1955 in New Delhi.
3. Swaran Singh.

exhibits have attracted very great attention and there were long queues waiting to see them. Thousands returned disappointed. I had asked the Ministry of N.R. & S.R. to take charge of the Planetarium and the Ministry of Health to deal with the figure of the man. I had also suggested that they should get their people trained for the purpose. I do not know what they have done about it. I am enquiring into this matter.⁴

4. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 471-472.

12. To J.C.Ghosh¹

New Delhi

8 January 1956

My dear Ghosh,²

A few days ago you wrote to me and sent me a note which you had sent to Maulana Saheb containing some suggestions for the programme of education in the Second Five Year Plan.³

2. I am glad you have sent this note and made some suggestions which, I think, deserve consideration. I feel more strongly than ever that this problem of education in India is tied up with the rate of expenditure on our schools. It is essential that education should spread out more, and more particularly, that primary education should cover the whole of India.⁴ In regard to higher education, improvement in quality is more necessary.

3. How can we possibly spread out basic schools all over the country with our present resources? Whatever importance we may attach to it, we just cannot do it now or in the near future because that would absorb practically all our resources. The only course left open to us is somehow to reduce the cost of a primary or basic school. There is no other way.

4. How can we do this? You have suggested in your note reduction in

1. File No.17(118)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and File No.Plan/84/4/55, Planning Commission.

2. Member, Planning Commission.

3. Ghosh had pointed out the need for a well-balanced educational programme, more allocation of funds, higher targets, for different branches of education and reasonable salaries for teachers.

4. Ghosh had written that by the end of the Second Plan, every village with a population of 300 or more should have its own school.

building cost, developing a shift system and educating boys and girls of lower ages in the same schools and classes. I entirely agree with all these three suggestions. As you know, I have been stressing the reduction in building cost repeatedly. In fact, we should try to do without buildings even. The building can come gradually later. It is better to have an open air school than no school at all. I would much rather give the money we have for higher salaries to teachers than in buildings. If there are any local buildings available, of course they might be used. But, broadly speaking, we should do without building, in spite of the disadvantages.

5. The shift system should certainly be adopted. It might be possible to give a higher salary to a teacher if he is at all trained and let him work a little longer. Probably he would like this too. As for educating boys and girls of the lower age groups in the same schools and classes, this is obviously desirable.

6. We cannot build up any education on a mass scale by going much beyond present standards in India. That is a basic principle we must accept. If so, then we must adapt our village schools to the village standards, though no doubt we should try to improve on them where possible. I should imagine that this would result in a considerable saving which can be used for other purposes such as higher salaries.

7. In travelling about in India, I come across large numbers of school children. There are many new schools. I cannot judge of the standard of education there. But it has given me enormous pleasure to see these school children with some discipline in them and learning something at least even by coming together for some hours daily. I feel therefore that this must be expanded to include more and more children, even though perhaps the standards are not what we desire them to be.

8. We are spreading out our community schemes and by the end of the Second Five Year Plan they should cover at least seventy per cent of the rural area. Surely schools are essential in community areas and should be made a part of the programme.

9. You have suggested casting the responsibility for providing education on the local community.⁵ The principle is good and, indeed, in keeping with Indian tradition. How far a special cess will be possible everywhere, I do not know. The state governments will have to be consulted. Even without this cess, it might be possible for some of these community areas to undertake this responsibility, in part at least. It will be risky and perhaps wrong to cast the

5. Ghosh suggested that each state should enact legislation for a cess for rural area if the elected local body passed a resolution by a simple majority favouring such a step to achieve the desired progress in ten years.

burden of the teachers' salaries on the local community directly. The teacher might not even get his salary sometimes and the teacher should not be at the beck and call of every person in the local community. Teachers' salaries should therefore come from outside, if possible from a cess or otherwise. But other expenses of the school might come from the local community.

10. Certainly the principle that teachers' salaries should be raised should be accepted. Indeed, it is accepted as a principle. The difficulty is in giving effect to it. I do not think it is right or safe for the Central Government to take upon itself the responsibility for raising teachers' salaries all over India. If possible, it may help of course. But the responsibility must rest with the state governments.

11. I am not quite clear about your proposal that all teachers should be employed by the state and should form a state service.⁶ I doubt if this will be desirable in the larger municipalities, though perhaps in the rural areas, it would be advantageous.

12. I agree with you that the whole approach to this question of primary education should be viewed afresh from the points of view you have suggested.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Ghosh had argued for providing satisfactory salaries for teachers consistent with the local pay structures with all the benefits under the state governments and for making their services available to local bodies and private institutions on approved terms making the teaching a career comparable to other careers in states.

13. Integrated Idea of India's Past¹

In many ways, Indian sculpture is unique. It is the embodiment of the Indian cultural tradition and is a reminder to us of the days when the creative spirit of India functioned with amazing strength. This is generally recognised now, and many photographic reproductions of these sculptures have been published. Generally speaking, however, these reproductions are expensive and only a limited number of persons can see them, and even smaller number can see the actual sculptures.

1. Foreword to *Ancient India* by Radha Kumud Mookerji, 9 January 1956. File No. 9/2/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. This book was published by Indian Press (Publications) Private Limited, Allahabad in 1956.

It seems to me very necessary that there should be a much wider knowledge of them among the growing generation in India. I should like our young students to have a chance of visiting and seeing these sculptures for themselves. That, perhaps, is not possible for any considerable number. In any event, we should have good and cheap reproductions of our famous sculptures in every school and college. I hope that some attention will be paid to this matter so that our boys and girls may develop an intimate knowledge of these examples of India's creative energy and artistic sense.

Dr Radha Kumud Mookerji's book will go some little way to popularise India's cultural tradition. I am glad this book has been written and that it has covered a wide field. I hope that many will see it and will derive from it some idea of the continuity of this cultural tradition in India, which has repeatedly risen to heights of accomplishment. Thus, we shall train our people and try to give them an integrated idea of India's past. In our teaching, there is too much stress on kings and emperors. I wish that greater emphasis was laid on poets, artists and sculptors who ultimately have affected the lives of our people far more than the rulers.

14. Indian Temple Sculpture¹

One of the significant developments, since India became independent, has been the greater interest taken here in cultural activities. Our languages have developed and are showing signs of considerable vitality. There is some stir in our music world. More particularly, both our classical and folk dances have become popular and well known. Even in foreign countries, they have been greatly appreciated. All this is a real index of the new life and creative energy that is visible in India.

In this general movement, the arts of painting and sculpture have drawn some attention, though I wish this was much more than it has been. I feel sure, however, that this interest will grow. There are many bright young artists and sculptors in India who deserve encouragement.

Perhaps, few evidences of India's creative impulse and energy in the past are more significant than our sculptures. Most of these are connected with temples. The more one looks at these sculptures, the more one is impressed by

1. Foreword to *Indian Temple Sculpture* by A. Goswami, 12 January 1956. File No. 9/2/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. This book was published by Lalit Kala Akademi in 1956.

their power and beauty. It would, perhaps, be true to say that till fairly recently, relatively few persons in India took special interest in them from the artistic point of view. Probably, foreign visitors were more attracted to them. This has changed now, and we have awakened to the fact of this great inheritance that has come down to us from our past. Merely to look at these tremendous conceptions of our artists of the past age is to feel not only their beauty but have a sense of power and inspiration.

The subject of Indian temple sculpture is becoming a popular one now both in India and abroad, and a number of books about it have been published. I am glad that this book containing many reproductions of our famous sculptors is being issued and I hope that many will see it and thus gain some idea of the variety and yet the essential unity of this sculptural tradition. I have no competence to discuss it and it is for people more learned than I am, to do so. I can only appreciate its beauty and aesthetic value. It forms an essential part in the cultural history of India and has thus great educative value. Apart from admiring these sculptures as individual pieces, we should see them as a whole, for there is a continuity about them, even though they differ greatly. A study in some historical perspective would give us a deeper insight into our past than perhaps the written word. I hope that this book will help in giving some idea of this long tradition.

III. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

1. Supply of Atomic Reactors¹

...Jawaharlal Nehru: There were no such two proposals there.² For some time past, for so many months past, we had an offer from the Canadian Government about setting up of a reactor here.³ That was not brought at the Singapore

1. Statement in the Rajya Sabha, 22 November 1955. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol. XI, cols. 139-141. Extracts.
2. M. Govinda Reddy wanted to know if there were proposals before the Colombo Plan Committee, one from Canada to give an atomic reactor to India and the other from the United States to establish a research centre.
3. On 16 July 1955, Louis St. Laurent conveyed to Nehru his Government's offer of an atomic reactor to India. For Nehru's reply, expressing thanks to St. Laurent, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, p. 142.

meeting.⁴ After some correspondence and discussions, we accepted this offer gratefully and we are proceeding accordingly. So this matter was not before the Singapore meeting of the Colombo Plan. It may have been mentioned.

The other matter was as mentioned in this answer, about a suggestion or an offer of the US Government to set up a reactor somewhere in South East Asia in connection with this matter. Nothing more definite is known about it except presumably that the persons present there expressed their appreciation of the offer. That does not apply to India, specifically, I mean.

...We have nothing to do with the matter.⁵ I don't know what the honourable Member is driving at.

...We don't go about begging for atomic reactors or anything from various countries.⁶ We come to agreements with various countries about specific items when it is to the mutual advantage of both. There was this Canadian reactor which is a very generous offer of the Canadian Government. The matter came before us—I forget when—many many months, may be seven or eight months ago. There has been much correspondence and in fact our principal scientists discussed it in Geneva, in Canada gradually, it is right....

4. The Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meeting attended by seventeen member-countries, was held from 17 to 22 October 1955 in Singapore where Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, and Irrigation and Power, represented India.
5. Govinda Reddy also wanted to know whether negotiations for bilateral collaboration in nuclear research were going on between the United States and India.
6. S. Mahanty wanted to know whether India had any hope of getting atomic reactors from the Soviet Union as they had offered to exchange scientific and technical knowledge with India.

2. Involvement of Scientists in Planning¹

During the last few days, there has been a Conference of the Heads of our National Laboratories and Research Institutes.² I have spent some time with

1. Note to V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, 7 December 1955. File No.17(372)/55-PMS.
2. Several recommendations on the "Making of a Science Policy for India" and other aspects were made by the Directors, Deputy Directors and Assistant Directors of National Laboratories and Research Institutes at the Conference.

these people who are an able and interesting group. Among them are the cream of our scientists.

2. It has long struck me that we do not take full advantage of the knowledge and experience of our scientists in drafting our five year plans. It is true that they are likely to look at these problems from their own point of view. That applies to many others also. I feel that they can make a useful contribution and, therefore, the Planning Commission should keep in touch with them.

3. I suggested to them to elect a committee which could offer its services to the Planning Commission for consultation, etc. They are likely to choose this committee soon.

4. I suggest that you might devise means of utilising them not only for the draft of the Second Five Year Plan but subsequently also. You might perhaps have a talk with Dr Thacker,³ Director of the Council of Scientific & Industrial Research.

3. Maneklal S. Thacker.

3. No Delay in Atomic Research¹

Dr Homi Bhabha² gave me the attached note this evening. I think there is great force in his argument. Atomic energy work has to be timed, and any delay may mean waste of effort. In particular, the Canadian reactor requires this precise timing as we have to coordinate our efforts with the Canadians who are coming here very soon.³ I agree that in these circumstances, we cannot proceed leisurely in accordance with routine practice. We should allow the latitude desired by Dr Bhabha in regard to putting up of these buildings.

2. The buildings can be inspected later by our CPWD and, of course, there will be the audit, etc., but there should be no delay in doing the work. Could you please look into this matter.

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 14 December 1955, JN Collection.

2. Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission since 1949, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, Government of India since 1954.

3. On 5 December 1955, Lakshmi Menon, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, informed the Rajya Sabha that the Canadian experts were coming to India in January 1956 to finalise plans for the setting up of an atomic reactor in India.

4. To N.K. Sidhanta¹

New Delhi

15 December 1955

My dear Vice Chancellor,²

I have just received your letter of the 14th December. Your previous letter was forwarded by me to the Atomic Energy Department.

I do not quite understand all your figures because I understand that payments have been made to the Institute of Nuclear Physics according to the arrangement arrived at.

Apart from this, however, the Atomic Energy Department have pointed out to me that the idea was that the Institute of Nuclear Physics in Calcutta was supposed to function as an all-India Institute. Apparently, this aspect has not been borne in mind or given effect to yet. In this matter, I think, probably the Atomic Energy Department will be writing directly.

I might mention to you a fact which surprised and distressed me. A professor of the Institute said something in the Press running down the achievements of the Indian Delegation to the Geneva Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.³ Apart from the fact that his criticism seemed to me entirely misconceived and probably due to ignorance of the work done there, it is normally not considered the right thing to run down the work done by our delegations or by brother scientists. This approach was, therefore, not at all a happy one.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.17(16)/56-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to Homi J. Bhabha.
2. Nirmal Kumar Sidhanta (1894-1961): taught English at the School of Oriental Studies, London University, 1922-1923 and Lucknow University, 1923-51; Member, Union Public Service Commission, 1951-55; Vice Chancellor, Calcutta University, 1955-60 and Delhi University, 1960-61; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1959.
3. The Conference, held from 8 to 21 August 1955 under H.J. Bhabha's presidency, was attended by delegates from seventy-two countries.

5. Scientists and an Integrated View of Life¹

Mr Governor,² Mr President,³ Friends and Comrades,

You have been welcomed on behalf of the Agra University and on behalf of the Uttar Pradesh Government.⁴ I should like to add to that welcome, not only on my own behalf but on behalf of the Government of India. More particularly, I should like to extend a warm and cordial welcome to the distinguished scientists who have come from other countries to participate in the labours of your Congress.⁵ It has become a very agreeable and helpful feature of this annual session of the Indian Science Congress to have these distinguished visitors from abroad, to give us the benefit of their learning and experience and to build up the bonds of scientific cooperation between India and the other countries, many of whom are more advanced than India in scientific work.⁶ We welcome that not only because, in a selfish way, it is helpful to us to have them here and have the benefit of their experience, but also because it is fundamentally a good thing to develop this scientific cooperation between different countries, as all kinds of cooperation between different countries is to be welcomed.

You meet here at the beginning of the year, and in the course of the last ten years or so, almost every year I have had the privilege of being present at your session. It is a good thing to meet early in the year and give, perhaps, some new direction, or some additional direction to people's thinking in this country. As we are at the beginning of the year, I wish all of you a good year. I did not say 'Happy New Year', though I hope you will have your due measure of happiness. But, somehow, to talk about happiness seems rather inane. We all want happiness, and I hope we shall deserve and get it. But what is more necessary is a year of certain achievements, of taking some steps forward towards the great causes that we serve and, I hope, science serves.

1. Speech at the inauguration of the forty-third session of the Indian Science Congress, Agra, 2 January 1956. AIR tapes. NMML.
2. K.M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh.
3. M.S. Krishnan.
4. Over 1,200 scientists and technologists from India and abroad attended the seven-day session.
5. Fifty delegates from other countries including B.A. Houssay of Argentina, Liu Chung-lo of China and D.M. Fedotov and A.V. Topchiev of the Soviet Union, attended the session, the largest number being from the Soviet Union.
6. The Polish, Chinese and Soviet delegations presented their latest scientific papers, medical journals, scientific books and periodicals at the Indian Science Congress.

One small matter, if I may mention, that this Science Congress almost always meets on the 2nd of January, thereby making most of the delegates travel on New Year's Day and spend the New Year's Day in railway trains or aeroplanes or wherever they may be. Perhaps, it might be better to allow the delegates to rest in peace on New Year's Day wherever they might be and come a day or two later. Let them think on New Year's Day, think of what they have done and what they propose to do, and have a quiet time. Well, that is for you to decide. This is a very minor matter.

In the old days, long long ago, I suppose that learned men and high priests used to gather, from time to time, to share experiences and to try to probe into the mysteries of nature. It may be that modern scientists, or some of them, may rather look down upon those ancient efforts, though I hope very few do so, because after all even those, what you might consider from your modern standpoint as unscientific efforts, were the basis for further advance, even though they might have dealt with alchemy or metaphysical research or something with a much broader basis, that is philosophy. Anyhow, the high priests of those days, presumably, dominated the scene, and they may sometimes have exploited their position and misled the multitude; they may have tried to instil the fear of certain mysteries in the multitude, so as to keep up their vested interests as high priests. Nevertheless, basically, that was a search for truth, to understand the nature of things, the nature of the practical world, as well as to explore the nature of some other worlds, if there are such, or wherever they may be. Now, gradually those times led, through many many steps, to the beginnings of science as we see it today and science developed, and now it overshadows the world, not only in its external achievements but in men's thinking, and the scientists of today now occupy the position of the high priests of the mysteries. It is true that the true scientist does not function, and does not want to function, in a mysterious way and science and knowledge is largely an open secret to those who care to see and understand it, as it should be. Nevertheless, it becomes so complicated that few people, perhaps, have the capacity to understand it, or have the will to take the trouble to understand it, and for most it becomes some kind of a mystery which is beyond their reach. Nevertheless they profit by it, of course, or suffer from it, or both, and the world as we see it becomes, essentially something that has grown out of science or its application, and science is likely to dominate us more and more in the future. Therefore, it is a thing of the highest importance, what scientists do, in what atmosphere and temper they work, how far scientists help a certain direction in the world's development, in the world's thinking, and how far they give it a wrong direction.

Scientists, presumably, are searchers after truth and truth is a difficult thing to aim at. And if you search after truth you must not be afraid of the consequences of that search, even though it may sometimes force you to look

down into the pit of hell. If you are afraid of the consequences of your search then you cannot go too far. That is so. You search for it, whether it is good or bad. Nevertheless, I take it that such a thing as pure objectivity in any individual, even in a scientist, is not quite possible or, if I may say so, desirable. You cannot isolate yourself from the life of the world, from the joys and sorrows, from the possible dangers to the world or the possible benefits that might come to the world from your activity. You must have some function in life, to aim somewhere, not merely to look with wide open eyes at what is happening, in fact, to give some turn to events where you can. The moment you become functionless, any of us, we become rather passive spectators of events, than have any hand in directing them. I do not suppose, that scientists would like to be called merely passive spectators, or anyone for the matter of that. Therefore, some kind of broad ideal has to be before us, apart from, of course, the search for truth. What is that broad ideal ?

Well, there may be many ideals, but obviously that ideal must have some relation to the problems of today—let us put it in the narrowest way: a problem that Indian scientists have to deal with is, the development of the Indian people, the betterment of the Indian people, raising their standards, increasing their wealth, removing inequality, and so on and so forth; planning, if you like, in its widest sense to help in that process, to direct it properly, that is a big problem which takes all our time and energy, or ought to take. Or let us go a step further and think of certain world problems. Now, I am not going to discuss these great world problems, and I think all of us are too apt to express our opinions in regard to them with a measure of arrogance, as if we could solve the problems of the world, if only our views were accepted by the world. That is not a becoming attitude for anyone however wise he might consider himself. Nevertheless, to surrender to the problems of the world and feel helpless is also not becoming. But without considering any particular problem, big as they are, we can, all of us and more especially men and women of science, can perhaps consider the basic approach to those problems. What do I mean by the basic approach? Shall I say, the basic temper in which those problems should be approached; the temper of science, the temper of reasonableness, the temper of finding out the truth or—whether that is a temper of science or not I do not know—the temper of peace. I think that really is more important, the more I think of it, than any positive step that might be taken towards the solution of a problem. That is, the methods employed to consider or to solve a problem. You may put that in a phrase, which has been often used, that means are more important or at least as important as ends; means govern ends. Means are apt to divert you from the ends you have in view, if they are not the right means. That is a basic proposition in which, for my part, I believe. But apart from that, means count. If you and I meet together to settle a problem it makes all

the difference in the world if we are aggressively hostile to each other or if we try to understand each other. Nothing will come if the approach of two individuals or two groups or two nations is that of aggressive hostility, and anger and hatred. Only evil can flow out of that meeting—out of an approach of hatred; while it is possible that if the approach is different, something else, that is good might come out of it. I suppose this principle was good at any time. But when we arrive at a stage that a false step, may lead to tremendous consequences, far reaching disaster, then of course, it becomes much more important for us not to take that false step, not to approach each other with that frame of mind, which is likely to lead to a false step.

We talk about atomic power, atomic bomb, hydrogen bomb, and there is general realization of the tremendous danger to the world in case these are used, or even, many people think, in case that this experimentation of them in the shape of explosions goes on. You know better what that dangers might be. I suppose no one knows exactly. Even the best scientist can largely guess. But everyone recognises those infinite dangers. Do we recognize, quite as much, that the other source of great danger is the kind of atomic bombs that we nurse in our minds and bosoms; individuals and, much more so, nations? It is out of that, that the other bomb comes and is used. That is the source, the origin, and perhaps, that is a more dangerous thing in the final analysis than the other bomb you talk about. In fact, that leads to the other. How then do we deal with this matter? We have seen even in recent political history that wherever the great leaders of the world meet together in a friendly atmosphere and talk in friendly terms to each other, even without doing much else, it changes the whole atmosphere of the world. Tensions are relaxed. People feel better. A burden is off the back of the world, because something intangible—which you cannot measure or weigh—but something that is enormously important took place. That is, the hostility inside our minds, for the moment, if not faded away, it seemed to be much less and the world was happier for it. How important it is, therefore, for us to deal with this atomic bomb in our minds and hearts? I remember my leader, Mahatma Gandhi, saying more than once, that if you have a sword in your heart, have it out and use it rather than nurse it in your bosom all the time, for if that is allowed, if you go on nursing the swords and atomic bombs in your minds and hearts all the time it will corrupt you, it will spoil you and it will spoil others. The Governor, who was just speaking, talked about moral values, spiritual values and the like. Call them what you like, the point is that it becomes increasingly important, it is important what you do as scientists or as people of lesser clay, but it is at least as important, if not more important, as to what you nurse in your mind and bosom, as to what you are ultimately. Maybe the scientist might say that, that is somewhat outside his scope, outside his beat. Obviously, it is not, and if it ever was, it can no longer

be so in the future; and no scientist is worth his salt if he is just a narrow scientist and has no larger view of things. Every scientist, to some extent every human being, has to be a bit of a philosopher, has to think of the consequences of his action. He is not an automaton just working in a particular direction and not caring what happens to his work, or to the consequences of his work. He is dealing with far too serious matters.

Therefore, the present conflict has arisen in the minds of many great scientists, some of the greatest, as to how far they are justified in using their ability towards an end which might perhaps be evil, which might perhaps bring large-scale destruction to the world. It is a legitimate conflict in the mind, and the scientist who does not feel that at all, may perhaps be a good scientist, I do not know, but he is a bad human being, a bad and insensitive human being. We cannot, in life today, isolate life in various compartments. You cannot, even in the purely scientific sphere, isolate the study of one science and remain ignorant of the others. They overlap as life, as every part of life, overlaps. You have to see the whole picture and you have to see life as a whole, as something integrated, whichever way you look. I referred to our Five Year Plan. Whether that Five Year Plan is good or bad, it does not go far enough or goes too far, you may consider that, but if it is any good as a plan it must look at India's life as a whole.

And so, in this larger sphere of the world, scientists have to look at life as a whole and the consequences of what they are doing and direct people's thinking in the right direction. It is important. It is difficult for any one of us as individuals, whatever position we may occupy, however high or important that position may be, it is difficult for us to live in an ivory tower or to isolate ourselves from our surroundings. We can only influence events in a certain individual, however important he might be. He is conditioned, each one of us is conditioned, by a thousand and a million factors within him and outside him. He has to work subject to that conditioning. Yet he has the ability to change that conditioning also and to get out of that shell to some extent. But even if he has that ability to do so, how is he to affect the others' conditioning, the thousands and millions of others? Not the biggest autocrat or dictator can go beyond certain limits. But he can go, but each individual can, to a small extent or to a slightly more extent, help in that process. Of course the amount of effect that his action might have, will largely depend upon the receptiveness of people's minds. A right thing said, when people are not receptive, will fall flat. The biggest truth may not be listened to because people's minds are not attuned to it, are not receptive to it. just as even some discovery, some invention may have no great future till the time is ripe for it. All this industrial revolution which began in the western world, with the fly shuttle, or this or that or steam, it succeeded because the time was ripening for it. Similar things had been done

50 years or 100 years before in parts of Europe and they had fallen flat. Time was not ready for them. So a certain receptiveness was required. Of course one may try to produce that receptiveness. But, anyhow, in order for a truth to be appreciated the time must be ripe. The time must be ripe in your external circumstances and even more so in people's minds. Now, I think that the tremendous developments in science, which might for the moment be considered as symbolised by the hydrogen bomb or atomic energy, of course there are many developments in many directions, but anyhow atomic energy and the bomb have struck popular imagination powerfully. Indeed they had to. Nobody can help being struck. If you are hit on the head by a hammer, you are struck, you think of the hammer, you cannot avoid the hammer. So, people's minds have been struck powerfully by these manifestations of science. On the one hand, there is the reaction of fear at this tremendous destructive power. On the other hand, a hope that this might be used, if properly handled, for the benefit of humanity. So I believe that people's minds are receptive, and therefore it becomes all the more important for scientists, on the one hand, and people like politicians and others engaged in public affairs, on the other, to take advantage of the receptiveness of the public mind all over the world.

It is not only receptive but, if I may use the word, it almost waits for the direction to be given. You may call that the people's, well, active or negative desire for peace. By negative desire I mean, the fear of war has become so great that one negatively tries to shelter oneself and go away from it and wants peace; not the other, it is perhaps something slightly different from the active desire for peace. Anyhow, the desire for peace, the desire rather for the avoidance of war, which might be so terrible. That itself, the shock of these recent events has made people all over the world think a great deal about the ways of how one can avoid these disasters. It is for this reason that I say that there is a certain receptivity in the public mind all over the world.

Now, politicians of course talk a lot, sometimes very good sense, sometimes rather nonsense. They talk so much that it is difficult to find so much good sense. Inevitably, they have to talk about other matters too. Also, they are conditioned by their circumstances a good deal. Nevertheless, I think there is a happy trend even in the utterances of politicians the world over to realise the basic nature of this problem, which in a sense essentially becomes a moral problem, and to direct people's attention. Unfortunately, while they talk, they themselves are too conditioned to act firmly in that direction, because they have to bring up the level of their people's thinking also. But, anyhow, so far as scientists are concerned, they are, I imagine, somewhat freer and not so limited and conditioned in their actions or thinking as politicians are. And, after all, it is the scientists who have given this terrific power, which can be

used for good or ill. Therefore, it seems to me important that they take a lead in this matter and help the people to think aright and not say that their duty is to keep outside these arguments and these basic issues and principles, they only objectively go on making experiments and finding bigger and bigger, let us say, bombs. It is not quite good enough. We have to take a much more integrated view of life, whether it is in the individual or the group or the nation or the world. Manifestly, all these developments in science, not only the atomic bomb, but in communications and so many other things, have made this world a very narrow place to live in and we stumble against each other all the time, and if we do not develop the capacity, not only for cooperation outwardly, but that mental approach to cooperation, inevitably we come into conflict with each other; we are too near each other, we just cannot avoid each other. And therefore, this crisis in the world today, where you have to choose between active cooperation or active hostility, warfare and conflict. The middle stages have somehow gone. You cannot live your lives in this country and that outside the sphere of these big influences and controversies and conflicts. We all realise that.

Now, I have to deal from day to day with the world where politicians function, being myself of that tribe, and naturally I find myself, on the one hand, pushed by my own urges, on the other hand, conditioned and limited by many other factors. The only way, in a sense, for a person, the only place where he can be completely free from the conditioning factors of this human being is if he isolated himself, I suppose, took *sanyas* and went on a mountain top. There, of course, he will be conditioned much more by nature. He won't be conditioned by human beings but he will be a complete slave of nature. One cannot isolate oneself. So one is conditioned by these factors. A person who deals with large numbers of human beings is conditioned, while he may condition them, he is conditioned by those large numbers of human beings. The larger your sphere of action, the larger your sphere of influence, the larger the number of factors that condition your action. That is so. Nevertheless, one can function in a particular direction to the best of one's ability and strength. But what I am trying to point out is, that the scientist ought to have, and I believe, has a somewhat greater freedom of functioning and of directing people's thoughts, because the politician is suspect. He is believed, maybe even as he says or does the right thing, he is believed to have some ulterior motive behind him. If a country's government even says or does the right thing, another country, which is suspicious of this, will believe some trickery about that. Well, we cannot help that and can only get over that by gradually knowing each other better and laying stress on the better aspects of human beings and not on the evil aspects. After all, we are all a mixture of good and evil and this business of any country or any individual thinking that he, or his action, is all good and the other is all evil, shows a certain immaturity of

judgment and outlook, because we are all mixtures of good and evil, and it would be a good thing if we approached all these problems with a measure of humility. The great men always have a measure of humility about them. Perhaps the greatest scientist of this century, Einstein, was a man full of humility, and that, I should hope, is a true sign of a great scientist, the humility he has, or of any other person.

So the thing to aim at, how to counter this hostile approach to each other and, I believe, how to deal with this intangible atmosphere which comes in the way of people finding out the good in the other and which only spots the evil in them, which there is, as there is the good. Science today, after its tremendous victories in the domain of the physical world, physics and chemistry and all that, is dabbling more and more in the inner urges and nature of man. Perhaps that may help, I do not know. Anyhow, it has become very important to know what man is. We have seen what man can do, and no doubt we will see more. But what man is, and how he can, how the good elements in the man can be encouraged and the wrong elements discouraged, becomes one of the important problems of our times. I believe quite firmly, as a matter of scientific truth, though I cannot justify it of course, that every action has a certain consequence; every good action has necessarily a good consequence, regardless of anything else; every evil action has necessarily an evil consequence. Of course that good action may be smothered, the consequences of the good action may be smothered by other things. It is a different matter. Or, the consequences of the evil action may be somewhat improved by other factors in science. If that is so, then evil means utilised must have, as true as the law of cause and effect, evil results, regardless of your motive, regardless of your aim; they must have that result. If that is so, then if you nurse hatred and violence in your hearts, well, you not only spread the area of hatred and violence but you draw out the hatred and violence in the other party and it becomes a conflict of the greater hatred, of greater violence. And there is no end to that conflict. On the other hand, if you give out goodwill and friendship, there is not a shadow of a doubt that you draw out the goodwill and friendship of the opposite party and thereby increase the fund of goodwill and friendship all over the world. In other words, evil can never put an end to evil, or violence put an end to violence. Other methods have to be adopted.

You will forgive me for this dissertation on subjects somewhat outside the problems before you. But I do believe that these are basic and, situated as I am in a responsible position, I have to think about these matters. They impinge themselves upon my mind, and other matters, however important, really take a second place. And therefore I have ventured to place these thoughts of mine before you.

I thank you.

6. To M.N. Saha¹

New Delhi

21 January 1956

My dear Saha,²

I have received your letter of January 15th.³

There was some discussion about our asking for an atomic reactor from the Soviet Union when the Soviet leaders were here. We came to the conclusion then that we should not ask for it at this stage. I need not go into the various reasons for this here. We are already in the process of building up three research reactors, one of which is likely to be ready within six months.⁴

Obviously, this matter can only be dealt with at government level and it has to be considered from a number of points of view. There is no question of your asking Topchiev⁵ as to whether the Soviet Government will agree to give such a research reactor. Because the matter has been mentioned at a higher level, with the Soviet leaders themselves, whatever may have to be done in the future will have to be done at that level.

1. JN Collection.

2. Founder Director, Institute of Nuclear Physics, Kolkata, and Member of Lok Sabha.

3. Saha pointed out that an atomic reactor was absolutely necessary for satisfactory teaching and research in atomic energy. USA and UK were equipping themselves with research reactors, Bulgaria had got one from the Soviet Union and Hungary and Poland were negotiating with the Soviet Union for the gift of such reactors. Saha sought Nehru's permission to handle negotiations with the Soviet Union on behalf of the Government for a reactor as it would require knowledge of specific requirements of delicate nature and as an atomic scientist he could do full justice to the task. He further wrote that if Government agreed, a competent 'Reactor Team' from the Institute of Nuclear Physics could visit the Soviet Union to learn the technique of setting up the reactor and managing it. The West Bengal Government could be persuaded to give land for the erection of the reactor under the supervision of the Institute, which might also be entrusted with its working, he added.

4. The first two reactors, built entirely by the Indian scientists, were "Apsara" and "Zerlina," which went critical on 4 August 1956 and 14 January 1961 respectively at Trombay near Mumbai. The third one was built, also at Trombay, with Canadian collaboration and was inaugurated on 16 January 1961.

5. Aleksandr Vasilevich Topchiev (1907-62); Soviet scientist eminent in the field of Organic Chemistry; Professor and later Director of the Moscow Petroleum Institute, 1940-47; Deputy Minister of higher education, 1947-49; Secretary and then Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, 1949-62; awarded the Stalin Peace Prize, 1949; attended the Indian Science Congress at Agra, January, 1955; invested with the Order of Lenin, 1957.

Although this matter had been discussed and decided then, nevertheless I thought it desirable to send a copy of your letter to Homi Bhabha who had participated in those discussions. Unfortunately, the upsets in Bombay have come in the way of the postal deliveries, and I have had no answer from him. I have no doubt what the answer is likely to be because we had discussed it after the Soviet leaders' visit.

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter. I have been terribly occupied.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV. MINORITIES

1. Regulation of Religious Conversions¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are dealing with a subject which almost inevitably creates some excitement in the people's mind. There can be no doubt that in the name of conversion, in the name of religious activity, much evil is done. It is not confined to the votaries of one religion. Votaries of every religion—not all the votaries, some of them—overstep even the limits of decency. We have numerous instances of that. Only recently a Committee was appointed by the Planning Commission to enquire into orphanages and women's homes. The report of that Committee, some time or other, I hope, will come before this House, because, it is a ghastly report.² Negatively, if I may say so, the members of

1. Interventions during the discussion in the Lok Sabha on Indian Converts (Regulation and Registration) Bill, 2 December 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol. IX. Pt. II, cols. 1110-1114. Extracts.
2. According to the report submitted in October 1955 by the Advisory Committee on Social and Moral Hygiene under the chairmanship of Dhanvanthi Rama Rau, the orphanages, women's homes etc., conducted by Christian missionaries were usually well kept and decent, and those connected with the Arya Samaj and many other Hindu organizations were in a disgraceful state. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 230-231.

that Committee did not find anything wrong or much wrong with orphanages and homes conducted by the various Christian organizations. They found a great deal of wrong in the orphanages and women's homes conducted by others. That does not mean that other religions and other organizations are wrong. It shows that wrong people took advantage of them to make money out of them and stooped to all kinds of low causes. We must separate this question of wrong people misbehaving or taking advantage and exploiting religion and the like for their own advantage. That is obviously so. Somehow or other, it is difficult to draw a line between these two things.

I fear this Bill, that has been proposed in all goodwill and with the most excellent of motives by one of our colleagues,³ in effect, will not help very much in suppressing the evil methods, but might very well be the cause of great harassment to a large number of people. Also, we have to take into consideration that however carefully you define these matters, you cannot find really proper phraseology for them. Some Members of this House may remember that this very question in its various aspects was considered, before the Constituent Assembly formally met, by various Sub-Committees. I think there was a Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights. There was an Advisory Committee.⁴

There was also another Committee.⁵ Quite a number of resolutions were considered. I remember Sardar Patel himself moved that resolution. Then, I think various amendments were moved to it. I think Shri Munshi moved another amendment, and so on. Ultimately, Sardar Patel got up and said, let there be no heat about it—because there was heat—it is obvious that three Committees have considered this matter and have not arrived at any conclusion which is generally accepted; let us refer it back to the Committees to find a suitable formula. After that, they came to the conclusion that it is better not to have any such thing because they could not find a really adequate formula which could not be abused later on.

3. The Bill, moved on 30 September 1955 by Jethalal Harikrishna Joshi, Congress member of the Lok Sabha from Saurashtra, was aimed at regulating conversions and providing for registration and licensing of persons aiding any person to become a convert.

4. On 24 February 1947, the Constituent Assembly appointed an Advisory Committee with Vallabhbhai Patel as Chairman to deal with the rights of citizens, minorities and tribals. On 27 February 1947, the Advisory Committee appointed the Minorities Sub-Committee with H.C. Mookerjee as Chairman to deal with Fundamental Rights and clauses for the protection of minorities.

5. On 24 February 1948, the Advisory Committee appointed a special Sub-Committee consisting of Vallabhbhai Patel as Chairman and Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, B.R. Ambedkar and K.M. Munshi as members, to report on certain minority problems affecting East Punjab and West Bengal. The Committee submitted its report on 23 November 1948.

After all, so far as the major evils are concerned, coercion, deception, etc., one can deal with them under the law. It may be difficult just as it is difficult to deal with many other offences, because you have no proof. That is a different matter. Under the law you can deal with them, and you have to deal with them. You have to devise other methods, public opinion as well as legal methods. But, to pass some such legislation as this, I fear, instead of remedying the evils that we seek to remedy, is likely really to produce other evils and other difficulties. I am anxious, many other Members of this House must be anxious, to avoid giving the police too much power of interference everywhere. I have nothing against the police. I think they are not only a necessary institution, but by and large, they are behaving well. Naturally, in a large force, some do not behave well. By and large, they have behaved well, they have proved that. But, giving power of personal interference everywhere and checking up, is likely to create a fair amount of trouble. Personally, I would not pass such a measure unless it has the fullest support from the principal parties who are likely to be affected by it. If this measure apparently is meant to apply to Christian missionaries carrying on this conversion, I would like the real decision to lie with the Christian Members of this House. Let them decide. In principle, there is no difference. Nobody wants deception; nobody wants coercion. In practice, this attempt to prevent that may well give rise to other forms of coercion. That is my difficulty.

Honourable Members may have read of something that happened a little while ago, I think about two months ago, in a village in Bihar. I doubt if any similar outrage has occurred in India; at least not to my knowledge in recent times. It has nothing to do with conversion. But, it shows how feelings, when roused in regard to religious matters, are likely to take a wrong and dangerous turn....

There was service going on in a small Christian chapel.⁶ I think mass was being celebrated, which is a sacred and solemn moment for the people there inside the Church, when a crowd came outside and belaboured the priest and the congregation, pulled them out and generally desecrated the Church.⁷ I call that a most disgraceful occurrence and absolutely against the spirit and letter of our Constitution and what India stands for. I was shocked tremendously when I read about it. I could hardly believe it. I thought it was an exaggerated account. Yet, when we made enquiries we found by and large it was a correct report.

I am pointing out how these passions are roused. It is quite easy now for

6. When Nehru could not recollect the name of the place. A.M. Thomas said it was Vardhaman Nagar in Gaya District.

7. The incident occurred on 5 October 1955. For Nehru's reaction on this, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 231-233.

our Christian colleagues or comrades here or elsewhere to be shocked and ask for protection against that kind of thing. We should give protection. But the real protection is to create an atmosphere of tolerance, of live and let live, of respecting the other person's religion and of avoiding any coercion, etc.

Therefore, I do submit that though this particular Bill is moved with the best of intentions, and though I completely recognize that there are those evils, which the honourable Member⁸ from the Santhal area who spoke earlier mentioned, we should deal with those evils on a different plane, in other ways, not in this way which will give rise to other forms of coercion, and above all, to a feeling among the votaries of the Christian religion in India—and they are very many, and, as the honourable Member who spoke last said,⁹ “Christianity is one of the most important of the religions of India established here for nearly 2,000 years; we must not do anything which gives rise to any feeling of oppression or suppression in the minds of our Christian friends and fellow countrymen in this country”.

Therefore, I submit that it is not desirable to proceed with this Bill.¹⁰ Let us think of the matter in other ways and deal with it, but not in this way. I hope the honourable Member who has moved it will give thought to this question and not press this Bill.

Nand Lal Sharma: Let the honourable Prime Minister kindly suggest certain methods of protection against these conversion methods.

JN: The first method is not to attack oneself.

Nand Lal Sharma: We have been attacked by the Prime Minister himself.

JN: I am not attacking the honourable Member or anybody. What I am saying is, if I may explain, that an aggressive attitude is not the way to deal with a position of this kind. It should be a firm, tolerant, and friendly attitude. One aggression provokes another aggression both in the international sphere and in the national and even in the domestic sphere.

8. Bhagwat Jha Azad, Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Purnea and Santhal Parganas, Bihar, observed that the Bill was meant for those institutions and persons who in the name of religion, were using force and fraudulent and deceptive tactics to convert innocent persons.
9. George Thomas Kottukapally, Congress member from Meenachil (Travancore-Cochin).
10. When Nand Lal Sharma, Ram Rajya Parishad Member from Sikar, Rajasthan opposed leave for withdrawal of the Bill, the motion was put to vote and was lost and along with it, the Bill was also lost.

2. Telegram to Sri Krishna Sinha¹

We have been very much concerned lately at reports of attacks on and harrassment of Christians in some parts of Bihar. This matter has greatly excited our own Christian population, especially in South India, and I have even had enquiries from other countries. The incident in Gaya District where people praying in Church were attacked, was scandalous.

2. Another incident has come to our notice about a statue of Christ being destroyed in Giridih. I understand this is under investigation but I suggest that, in such very important matters, special procedures should be devised and the Bihar Government should make it clear that it is going to take strong and speedy action against the culprits. Some kind of a public statement should be issued. The good name of India is affected by these acts of misbehaviour.

1. New Delhi, 8 December 1955. JN Collection. Sri Krishna Sinha was Chief Minister of Bihar.

V. TRIBAL AFFAIRS

1. Rani Gaidinliu¹

The Chief Commissioner writes about Rani Gaidinliu as if nobody had ever heard of her.² For the last twenty years her name has been well known and I

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 14 December 1955. File No.13/163/Poll.II/55, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In a letter of 11 December to A.V. Pai, Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Chief Commissioner of Manipur, P.C. Mathew wrote that Rani Gaidinliu, a Naga woman was associated with a person called Jadunang, who started a religious and political cult in Tamenglong area of Manipur in 1930 for the establishment of an independent Naga rule. When this movement came into conflict with the British Government, she was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1933. After her release in 1945 she was given a pension and money to set up a house in Mokokchung in Nagaland. In 1953 she moved to Tamenglong and asked for an increase in the pension and a grant for building a house.

have been personally interested in her as long ago as 1935.³ I wrote and spoke about her often when she was in prison.⁴ I did so in London also.

I think that her pension should certainly be increased and she should be given money for a house. The Chief Commissioner's reasoning for not building her a house seems to me wholly wrong.⁵ Considering that I spent years of my life to build her up, I see no reason why I should be afraid of that happening now. What the sum for such a house might be, I do not know. There is no question of an imposing building but a decent small house. I am prepared to send her some money out of the funds at my disposal.⁶

3. In fact, it was Nehru who first described her as the Rani of Nagas and since then this title had been popularly appended to her. In 1937 Nehru even tried for her release through Lady Astor, a member of the British Parliament. But the request was turned down by the then Secretary of State for India as she was considered a potent source of danger to peace of Manipur State. She was, however, released later on Nehru's initiative.

4. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, pp.501-502, Vol. 9, pp. 647, 671-72; Vol. 10, p. 510; and Vol.12, p.263.

5. P.C. Mathew had recommended an increase in her pension but turned down her request for the construction of a house as he felt that to build a house of a size and type unusual in the area would give her undue prominence among the tribals, who might get attracted to her again.

6. Later, on 30 January 1956, Rani Gaidinliu met Nehru in New Delhi and requested him for a life pension and a grant to the high school at Tamenglong, run by the poor people of the region.

2. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi

16 December 1955

My dear Bidhan,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Dines Chandra Mazumdar.² With this he has sent me a memorandum which he has submitted to Shrikant,³ the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Together with the memorandum, there are a multitude of other letters which I am not sending you.

I do not know what I can do with this matter. I presume that most of his charges are without foundation or greatly exaggerated. But even if there is some truth in them, this deserves enquiry and redress.

I suppose the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes will deal with the memorandum. It appears that the principal grievance is connected with twelve criminal cases concerning the lands of the Scheduled Tribes of Ghashkail, Sunderbans and their cooperative collective farm of the Dhapa Multi purpose Cooperative Society on the Bidyadhari dredging land.

I am sending the memorandum and all these papers to the Home Ministry here. I suppose you have seen these papers or their copies. But should you wish to see them, I shall have them sent to you.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to MHA.
2. On 9 December, Mazumdar, a resident of Kolkata, wrote to Nehru about the plight of some Scheduled Tribe cultivators in the Sunderbans who were mostly from Bihar and were allegedly subjected to social injustice and exploitation by officials, public servants and the local Congress President. The wrongs done to them were: (1) judicial coercion; (2) black marketing; (3) suppression of indigenous language; (4) trafficking in human beings and forced labour; and (5) fomenting provincialism on language basis. The State Government, according to Mazumdar, was inactive and neglectful so that the Sunderbans, once the granary of Bengal had become an area of famine and pestilence. Mazumdar requested Nehru to take effective steps to ameliorate the situation by putting the area under the direct control of the Central Government.
3. L.M. Shrikant.

3. Telegram to Bisnuram Medhi¹

In view of recent activities by Phizo and others and kidnapping and probably killing of Sakhrie,² it has become urgent and essential for immediate action to be taken against Phizo and his new movement.³ We think therefore that Phizo and his lieutenants should be arrested and other necessary steps taken to stop this movement. All possible protection should be given to the moderate elements among the Nagas. It is obviously desirable for full cooperation between the Assam Government and the NEFA Administration in joint operations for this purpose.

2. I hope that immediate consultations will take place between the two with this end in view. Please keep me informed.

1. New Delhi, 25 January 1956. JN Collection. Bisnuram Medhi was Chief Minister of Assam.
2. T. Sakhrie: a moderate Naga leader; General Secretary, Naga National Council, 1946-55; developed a publicity department for NNC; opposed violent methods of Phizo and started Naga Liberal Party in 1955; was killed on 19 January 1956 by Phizo's supporters.
3. For the establishment of an independent Naga state A.Z. Phizo, President of NNC, had incited violence in Tuensang from October 1954 onwards which intensified towards the end of 1955. Sakhrie and other moderates opposed it and asked for holding a General Council meeting of the NNC, which was ignored by Phizo. Hence the moderates, in January 1956, passed resolutions in a series of meetings in various villages demanding Phizo's resignation from the NNC, opposing violent methods and refusing contributions to the NNC Fund so long as Phizo remained as President. Despite Phizo's resentment, the moderates in a meeting on 15 January 1956, endorsed the resolutions and decided to confirm them at a meeting of the Southern Angami Tribal Council on 30 and 31 January 1956. Phizo intimidated the villagers and sent threats to the moderate leaders. Sakhrie, the most important leader of the moderates, was kidnapped on the night of 18 January 1956 and later killed. Thereafter the violent activities spread to the Naga Hills District of Assam.

VI. THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

1. Memorandum on Urdu¹

Please reply to this telegram by letter and say that I have not seen the report in the press to which reference is made. But as quoted in the telegram it is completely incorrect. I said nothing of the kind. I made a casual reference to the memorandum from a large number of persons in the UP in favour of Urdu² and said that Urdu was undoubtedly a language spoken and written by a considerable number of persons, both in the Punjab and in Uttar Pradesh. I did not say that the memorandum was from Muslims only. In fact I said the opposite of this. Also no reference was made to the adequacy or otherwise of the number of persons signing the memorandum.

1. Note to PPS, 24 November 1955. JN Collection.
2. In early 1954, a memorandum signed by two million people, was submitted to the President by Zakir Husain, President of Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi-i-Urdu. It demanded recognition of Urdu as one of the regional languages of UP and its use for specific purposes, namely: (i) as a medium of instruction at the primary level for children whose mother tongue it was; (ii) in applications to law courts and government offices; and (iii) in publication of important laws, rules and notifications. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 91 and Vol. 26, p. 196.

2. All Languages Should Grow¹

Gentlemen,

As you know I have stopped in Hyderabad for a few hours only. But I am happy that you have given me the opportunity to come to this function and join in this debate.

1. Speech while inaugurating the Urdu Hall at Hyderabad, 8 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.
The Urdu Hall, constructed by the Hyderabad branch of the Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi-i-Urdu out of public donations, was intended to house the Central Urdu Library and serve as a meeting place for men of letters.

You must be aware of the heated debate that is raging in the country today. This is about the states reorganization and linked to it is the question of language. The demand is for separate states on the basis of language. Then there are other issues connected with the question of language as though there is a tussle between the various languages. Anyhow, this is not the occasion to go into the question of reorganization of states except that whatever decision is taken, it is bound to have a far-reaching effect on Hyderabad. I have held the opinion for a very long time that it is obvious that the matter of language concerns the people deeply and is connected with the question of their livelihood. So it is necessary to take it into account....

All the languages must have the opportunity to grow. Every individual must get the opportunity to learn to read and write in his mother-tongue and this has been the policy of the Government. In fact, even in the border regions of India, where there is no one single language, effort is being made to provide education in the local languages and dialects.... A different dialect is spoken at a distance of every ten or twenty villages. But to adhere to the principle of educating the children in their mother-tongue, we are trying to have books written and published in those languages. They do not have even a proper script. Earlier the Christian missionaries had introduced the Roman script which continues to be used in some areas and in others, the Nagari script is being used. We had to have some script but the language is their own. They are taught Hindi and some other language too. What I mean is that there is special emphasis on educating every child in his own mother-tongue though he has to learn other things as well. You may remember that in the Constitution of India there is a list of languages which can be called national languages. I think there are 13 or 14 of them including Urdu and all the regional languages. Hindi is not included because it comes under a special category.²

I think, it would have been proper if the list had included English also because there are a number of Anglo-Indians whose mother-tongue is in fact English. I look at this question from the point of view that all possible doors of learning should be open and opportunity given to everyone to learn the language he likes. It is not possible to make arrangements for one single individual but when there are people in large numbers wanting to learn one language, it should be made possible. Even now, I think the corporation schools of Bombay teach 14 different languages. I do not remember which ones they are. But since people from all over India come to Bombay, the effort is to

2. In fact, the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution included Hindi among the fourteen languages of India: the others being Assamese, Bangla, Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. However, Article 343 provide that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.

impart education in the corporation schools through the medium of their own mother-tongue, which is proper. It is obvious that other languages are also taught. This is our principle.

Now, a strange debate used to rage in regard to Urdu at one time as though there is some competition between Hindi and Urdu. Anyhow, it is an old issue and perhaps in the beginning, it had some meaning, that is nearly seventy years ago. It had some meaning because in my province which is now known as Uttar Pradesh, Hindi had no official status in those days. People had a grievance because the majority of the people spoke and understood Hindi but it had no place in official or court work. Therefore, a movement for the use of Hindi started which was all right. But soon it developed into a tussle with Urdu because it was the official language and before that it was in a sense Persian. It was wrong and did harm to both Hindi and Urdu. There is no reason for any competition between the two, even if there are differences, for diversity is a good thing. The fact is that the difference may be fifteen or twenty per cent. Eighty per cent of the two languages are similar. Anyhow, it does not matter how different they are. They must help each other for, if one progresses, it is bound to have an impact on the other. I am prepared to say that the progress of all the Indian languages is bound to have a beneficial effect on the others. That is how it should be if the matter is properly understood, especially languages like Hindi and Urdu which are akin to one another. But unfortunately this debate started.

You may be aware that nowadays there is a big debate about Hindi and Punjabi in connection with the issue of states reorganization. After all everyone in the Punjab speaks Punjabi and there is not much difference between the spoken Punjabi and Hindi or Urdu. It is obvious that there is a difference and strangers to the State may not understand Punjabi. But I think if you stay for 10-15 days you will begin to understand. The difference is not so much in the words as in the manner of speaking and once you are familiar with it, you will begin to understand it. But the argument is over the script— between the Gurmukhi and the Nagari script—and to some extent, religions and passions also get mixed up, with the Sikhs supporting Gurmukhi and the Hindus of the Punjab demanding that Hindi should be adopted. People who have always spoken Punjabi deny it stoutly when a census is done and for the sake of argument say that their language is Hindi. But the strange thing is that the debate between Hindi and Urdu is raging on and I think even now the Urdu newspapers have the largest circulation in Delhi and the Punjab. It shows how little the debate is concerned with reality. Everybody gets carried away by momentary passion but even that does great harm.

There is very little difference between Hindi and Punjabi except in the accent and manner of speaking. It is not a good thing to shut up a language between barriers. A language should be allowed to grow and take new shapes.

If Hindi or Urdu acquires a touch of Punjabi in the Punjab it is a good thing not only for Punjabi but for Punjab and Hindi too. You may perhaps know that there is a special talent in the Punjab for coining new words. It is possible that the people of Delhi or Lucknow or Hyderabad may laugh at them for this. But it is a sign of life—the creative tendencies of the people. The new words which are coined either become part of the language or die out. There is no point in fighting over it or objecting to new words.

Unfortunately, our way of looking at the question of languages is almost as though the progress of one prevents the others from growing. It is almost as if it is a kind of race. This is absolutely wrong. All of you know that two-three years ago, some academies were instituted in Delhi. One of them was the Sahitya Akademi and I was made its President. There was no special reason for that except that to have made anyone else the President would have smacked of partisanship. Perhaps I was thought to be most acceptable to everyone. It is obvious that the task of the Akademi is to progress the cause of Hindi because Hindi has been given a special place in our Constitution. But actually it will be the job of the Akademi to work for the progress of all the languages which are mentioned in the Constitution. All the languages will be given help and an effort made to bring them closer to one another, with translations from one to the others so that people may benefit from the thought and work being done in the other languages. There is no doubt about it that if books in the major European languages like English, French, German, Russian, Italian, etc., were to be translated into the Indian languages, it will undoubtedly have a beneficial effect, for this is how languages grow. If you create barriers all around a language or a nation, it gets stultified. If walls are put up, the flow of ideas stops as it happened in India.

Therefore, our effort should be to see that all languages should grow and come close to one another. If we want that more and more people should learn Hindi in the south, then we should also make an effort to see that the people in the north should learn the South Indian languages. In this way all the languages will benefit and grow and the people of the different states will be able to understand one another better because after all, language is the chief means of communication. So long as people do not understand the languages of the others, communication is difficult. It is very difficult to have to take the help of interpreters all the time and real communication is not possible.

Now, this issue of Urdu is a strange one. I told you about Punjabi and Gurmukhi. There is no doubt about it that Punjabi is the language of the Punjab and is spoken by the Sikhs as well as Hindus. The Gurmukhi script is not so widely used as the Urdu script. If the people want Gurmukhi they should certainly have it. There is no problem about that for the Government of the Punjab has accepted it in principle. There is no doubt about it that more people

in India write letters in Urdu in India than in Gurmukhi, not only in the Punjab but in Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Hyderabad and in some of the other big cities like Calcutta and Bombay. The more Urdu progresses the more the other languages of India will benefit. So this is how we must look at it and try to help the cause of Urdu. There should be no hostility between various languages of India. It is bad and shows our narrow-mindedness.

I want that the people of India should learn foreign languages also in large numbers. If we wish to maintain relationship with other countries and understand what is happening outside India, it becomes essential to learn their languages. There are a number of people in India who can speak English because it has been taught in India over the last 150 years or so. I do not know what the fate of English in India will be hereafter. I suppose it will continue to be taught but it is possible that the standard will go down. I will be sorry if that happens. I want that we should learn as many foreign languages as we can, whether it is English, French, German, Russian or Chinese. But we already have English. It is wrong to deliberately throw out the wealth that we possess. That does not mean that English can continue to enjoy the status of an official language. That is impossible for it would be wrong. We cannot conduct the work of the nation wholly in English, though it may also be used. If we want to establish closer links with the people and do everything in a manner easily understood by them, it is obvious that it will have to be done in the Indian languages. When we began our freedom struggle 30-35 years ago under the Congress, all the work of the Congress was done in English which meant that only the English-speaking intelligentsia joined the Congress while the others had no interest. Now you can see how the Congress gradually spread as its work began to be done in the regional languages. Or, to put it differently as more and more of the masses began to join the Congress, we were forced to do our work in the regional languages. Gandhiji played an important role in this. The moment we changed over to our own languages, the Congress began to have a tremendous impact on millions of Indians because their interest was kindled. So, it is obvious that the work of a nation cannot be conducted in an alien language except when the reins of government are in the hands of a few people at the top. It creates barriers between the people and the government which is wrong. This is wrong at all times but especially so when we have a democratic form of government. Therefore, it is a foregone conclusion that we cannot conduct our official work in English.

Which language should then be the official language? The Constitution decrees that Hindi shall be the national language and used for all official work. But the fact is that all the 14 or 15 languages listed in the Constitution are national languages. The difference is that for various reasons we have had to adopt one language and Hindi was chosen not because it is considered superior to the other languages, but because it is a fact that it is the easiest and the

majority of the people speak it. So it was chosen. But it is by no means superior to the other languages like Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, etc. It is only a matter of convenience that Hindi has been chosen. All our languages are national languages but the official work of the Government cannot be carried on in different languages for it will create confusion. We want that the people of Bombay should learn Bengali while the people of Calcutta learn Gujarati or Marathi. But, at the same time we need one common language which links everyone together. So far it has been English. I have no objection to English and in fact I have often praised it. But there are difficulties in our continuing to use English. If we fail to spread one Indian language among the people, you will see that gradually English will take a second place while no other language will be there to take the place of English. If each language pulls in a different direction we will need translators to be able to communicate just as we require translators for understanding Chinese or Russian. This is a dangerous situation. Therefore it is essential for us to learn Hindi.

But at the same time we want all the Indian languages to flourish. The fact is that in the last seven to eight years since India became independent, they are progressing very fast. Though English cannot enjoy the same status as it did earlier, as I told you it will be harmful if we forget English altogether and lose the great wealth which is in our possession. That would be wrong because we have to maintain relations with the outside world and English is the most widely-spoken language in the world today.

There are many well known languages in the world like French, Spanish, Italian, German, etc., and people should learn them. But you will find that our internal relations with our neighbours will gradually become more important. For instance, Iran is a neighbour and people know Persian in India. But two of our great neighbours are the Soviet Union and China. Therefore, in these times, it becomes important that boys and girls in universities should learn Russian and Chinese. It is obvious that the common people can also learn them. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, so many important books are being published in every field that it becomes essential for us to have access to them, especially in the field of science and technology. Even now, if someone wishes to acquire mastery over science and learn about the high-class work that is being done in that field, it is essential for him to know German, English and at least one more language. Otherwise, he cannot keep abreast of the changes that are taking place. We are trying to get the important Russian books translated into our own languages. But it is a good thing to learn foreign languages, especially as I said, English, French, German and Russian and Chinese.

So, at the moment we are facing the issue of Urdu and I want people to realize that the old debate between Hindi and Urdu is meaningless. There is no competition between any of these languages. But Urdu has a special place especially in Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad. It is a special heritage of India.

Urdu is a language which has its windows open on the world and is receptive to new ideas. So the progress of Urdu can only benefit Hindi as well as the other Indian languages. It is obvious that Urdu will not have the same status that it has enjoyed in Hyderabad so far. But then to some extent that was an artificial status imposed from above. It is obvious that it could not have continued. It is obvious that Telugu and other regional languages will come into their own. But that does not mean that the status of Urdu should be reduced. It should not be forgotten because that will be very wrong and harmful. I will feel very sorry if that happens. It is wrong to think that there is competition between Urdu and Telugu and the others. Telugu will no doubt progress. But there should be a close relationship between the various Indian languages if they are to progress.

I thank you for inviting me to the Urdu Hall.

3. To K.M. Munshi¹

New Delhi

22 December 1955

My dear Munshi,

I saw the other day a report in a newspaper about your speech at a function organized by some Urdu Association. I was rather surprised to read this. You were reported to have said that you are all for Urdu provided it is written in the Nagari characters and derives its words from Sanskrit. What will remain of Urdu then, is a little difficult to understand. So far as I am concerned, I hold rather strong views on this subject, and I think that Urdu has not been treated fairly, more especially by the UP Government. Urdu is a language specifically mentioned in our Constitution, and there is no doubt at all that a very large number of persons in Northern India, and more especially in the UP, Delhi and the Punjab, (both Hindus and Muslims) use it both as a spoken language and as a script. I think it is doing violence to our Constitution not to recognize this fact and give effect to it. This has nothing to do with any conflict with Hindi or any other language.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

4. To Govind Das¹

New Delhi

8 January 1956

My dear Govind Das,²

Some time ago you sent me a note in which various suggestions were made regarding the introduction of Hindi in legislation and judicial administration. In principle, of course, there can be no disagreement. The only question is the practical aspect and the timing. I have had this matter examined by our Law Ministry and they suggest that in regard to any legislative changes it would be better to wait for the recommendations of the Hindi Commission that has already been appointed and is functioning now.³ Under Article 344(4) a Parliamentary Committee is also to be appointed.⁴

As soon as we receive their recommendations the whole question can be considered fully.

Of course, even now, bills should be translated into Hindi and this is being done. But Legislation might await till we have the reports.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 48(2)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. President, Mahakoshal PCC, and member, Lok Sabha.

3. A 21-member "Official Language Commission" with B.G.Kher as Chairman, was constituted by the President on 7 June 1955. The Commission submitted its report to the President on 6 August 1956 which was placed before both Houses of Parliament on 12 August 1957.

4. The Committee of Parliament, constituted to examine the recommendations of the Official Language Commission, submitted its report to the President on 8 February 1959 and to the Parliament on 22 April 1959.

REORGANIZATION OF STATES

1. Problems in Reorganization¹

...As I said, we are going to have in the course of the next month the discussion on the States Reorganization Commission's Report.² Well, possibly I do not know, it depends on your wishes in the matter. We might discuss it in Party before we discuss it in Parliament. But meanwhile, we have seen very unfortunate occurrences in Bombay,³ yesterday specially.⁴ Now, it is obvious that quite apart from the merits of any problem of states, it is obvious that there can be no proper solution of any problem on the basis of mutual dislike, hatred and anger. It does not matter what you decide. If people have to live together they have to cooperate together. If they cannot do that, then democracy is a far off pride and even an ordinary thing becomes difficult to carry on, whether it is the Government, the administrative machinery or anything. It is obvious that occurrences as in Bombay make it for the time being, difficult for that feeling of cooperative endeavour to exist, it is most unfortunate. I may tell

1. Address to the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 22 November 1955. Tape M-7/C. NMML. Extracts.
2. The States Reorganization Commission, in the Report submitted on 30 September 1955, proposed that (i) there should be sixteen states and three centrally-administered territories; (ii) UP, Orissa, and Jammu and Kashmir should retain their present boundaries; (iii) Andhra, Assam, Bihar, West Bengal and Rajasthan should be subject to minor boundary changes; (iv) Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Punjab, and Hyderabad should undergo more extensive changes; (v) three new States of Karnataka, Kerala and Vidarbha should be formed; (vi) Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Pepsu, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin, Vindhya Pradesh, Ajmer, Bhopal, Coorg, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, and Tripura should be merged with the reorganized states; and (vii) Delhi, Manipur and Andaman & Nicobar islands should become centrally-administered territories.
3. Following opposition from the Maharashtra PCC on SRC recommendations on Bombay area, the CWC proposed, on 9 November 1955, the constitution of three states—Maharashtra, Gujarat and Bombay as against two, the bilingual Bombay and the new Vidarbha state as recommended by the SRC. The CWC proposed that the legislature of the future Bombay State, would be at liberty to decide after the 1960-61 elections by two-thirds majority to merge in Maharashtra.
4. On 21 November 1955, a strike call was given by the Leftist parties and their trade unions to oppose the formation of a separate Bombay state. Ten persons were killed and more than 266 injured when police tried to control the violent mob indulging in brickbatting, arson and damage to public property. Earlier, on 20 November, fifty-one persons including Morarji Desai, were injured in stone-throwing by hooligans in a public meeting where Desai and S.K. Patil, President, BPCC, were trying to explain the three-state proposal. On 18 November, about 450 persons were arrested and tear gas shells were fired to disperse a crowd which wanted to march to the Council House where the official resolution on the formation of three states was being discussed.

you, that when we in the Congress Working Committee considered these questions, our desire was not to impose any type of decision on any group or any state. Broadly, we started with the assumption with the desire to accept the Report, not in every detail—not that we like every part of the Report—but we felt that a number of able, competent men having spent nearly two years over it fully, it was better taking it all in all, to proceed on that basis, than to deal with it as if it was merely some kind of odd committee's report which could be broken up or torn into shreds. But where there were great differences of opinion among those persons who were directly concerned with the changes then it was our attempt naturally to try to bridge those differences. If they could not be bridged then some advice or recommendation had to be given, not to give it merely meant a continuation of a violent agitation resulting in incidents.

In this particular matter, that is, Bombay, Maharashtra, Gujarat, etc., speaking for myself, I felt that many very valid arguments might be advanced for this point of view or that point of view. In fact the difficulty is that there are valid arguments on every side. But, in the balance I thought and still think that the recommendation of the Commission was in these circumstances a very good one. But we are faced with this difficulty that that recommendation was not agreeable to a very important group. So if you notice in our recommendation, we say we do not reject that recommendation; we say because it is not agreeable we suggest this; my first preference was certainly for that. It was an alternative; it may not be an ideal alternative, there is no ideal thing about it. An ideal thing can certainly be found if there had not been these particular fears and apprehensions and anger and prejudices and all that. But the basic thing is that whether it is Bombay city or Bombay State or any part of it, if we raise these passions against each other they will have a bad effect in future; it just does not matter what one decides what the final outcome is. It will be harmful of course. I hope that these things will die down, but any person who excites from inside this kind of action, plays with fire and that burns up many good things, perhaps sometimes some bad things, but many good things also.

Take the case of the Punjab.⁵ Now, one thing is absolutely clear that the Punjab can only function if there is a large measure of cooperation between the Sikhs and the Hindus and it just does not matter very much who is in five or ten per cent majority or minority. They have to live together in every village. One tries to find as good and logical a solution as possible and tries to develop this cooperative element. Otherwise there is this trouble going on in a big

5. The SRC had recommended that Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh should be merged in the Punjab and Himachal should be represented in the Punjab Cabinet at least by one member. Loharu sub-*tehsil* of the Hissar district should be transferred to Rajasthan.

scale. Whether it is a rightly based argument or not, it is immaterial. It makes proper functioning impossible for that State.

Now, I should like particularly to draw your attention to a fact which has not been adequately, I think, appreciated, and that is in the penultimate chapter of the Report.⁶ There is a chapter of safeguards, etc., linguistic and other, where they have pointed out that it does not matter how we fashion out the map of India, there are all kinds of areas which from the linguistic point of view are bilingual, trilingual; which from other points of view also are mixed, you cannot separate them and we should not. It is a bad thing to have these watertight compartments. Therefore, what they have suggested is that in the Constitution, first of all, and secondly, by convention but chiefly by Constitution, very special articles or rules should be laid down for the treatment of all these areas which may be called mixed either from the linguistic or any other point of view. It does not matter where that part goes, in what state, no question can arise of any language being suppressed there. You will remember that as a Government policy in education that is being adopted at least in Parliament, the Congress Working Committee passed the resolution to that effect and our Education Ministry adopted it.⁷ But in view of these difficulties and constant complaints it is better for us constitutionally to say so not only in regard to language but other matters that in the mixed areas no person should have the sense of being dominated by the majority in that state. That is more important, I think, and also this would be applied to many things, many things are mentioned in the Report. Now, if we make that perfectly clear one of the basic causes of conflict goes and of course one cannot change peoples' minds if they want to quarrel.

6. The Commission had suggested: (i) The Central Government should acquire power to enforce the right of linguistic minorities to impart instruction in their mother tongue at the primary school stage subject to a sufficient number of students being available; (ii) The Government of India should adopt a clear code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of state administration and take steps, under Article 347, to ensure that the code was followed; (iii) The Government of India should undertake legislation under Article 16(3) to simplify and liberalise the requirements of domicile tests in states for the minorities; (iv) In public service examinations, a candidate should have the option to elect as the medium the language of a minority constituting about 15 to 20 per cent or more of the population of the state; (v) Public Service Commissions should be constituted to serve more than one state and appointments to them should be made by the President; and (vi) The services of the Governors should be utilized for enforcing the safeguards for linguistic minorities.
7. The CWC had adopted resolutions in August 1949 and May 1953 recommending that each language group should have education in its mother tongue at the primary school stage. As basic education became the accepted pattern, the system of elementary education was being brought in line with it. An Assessment Committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1955 to survey the existing situation regarding basic education in various states and to suggest improvements.

But one of the basic causes of conflict goes and after that we try to do the best in regard to other causes because we have seen how much feeling there is on the question of suppression of any language. And the test of a language is not the test of some linguistic professor but what people feel about it, that is the only test. If they feel something is worth preserving it is theirs, well, that does not matter what the origin of it is, how different it is or not different, so we assured them of that. With that assurance and certain other assurances giving them protection and in regard to education, in regard to certain public functions, administrative functions, you knock out the real basis for these apprehensions and fear. Other things may remain, which depends on our general approach, cooperative approach, etc. We simply have to develop that approach, we cannot do it by Constitution. Well, that is all I have to say on this occasion.

Thank you.

2. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi,

24 November 1955

My dear Partap Singh,

Thank you for your letter of November 22nd² which I have read with interest. I am sharing it with Maulana Azad, Pantji and the Congress President.³

As you know, we met Master Tara Singh and his colleagues yesterday.⁴ Previous to that, he came to lunch with me but I did not have much of a talk then.

During our afternoon talks, I laid stress on the absolute necessity of people in the Punjab, whether Sikhs or Hindus, cooperating with each other if Punjab was to prosper. It was patent to me that this was not a question of a majority

1. JN Collection.

2. Kairon, Development Minister, Punjab Government, had written that at a meeting on 21 November 1955 in New Delhi, Tara Singh, a prominent Akali leader, told him that he could not tolerate the slavery under the Hindus and sought Kairon's support for the formation of a Punjabi suba. He was doing all this, Tara Singh said, to retain *Sikhi* (Sikh religion) and if he became quiet for six months, nobody would have any *keshas* (long hair) left. Tara Singh also complained that the State Government was partial to the Hindus and Maha Punjab supporters. Kairon advised him to join the Congress for redressal of his genuine grievances and keep direct contact with Nehru.

3. U.N. Dhebar.

4. An Akali delegation, consisting of Tara Singh, Kartar Singh, Hukam Singh, Gyan Singh Rarewala and Jodh Singh, had met Nehru, Maulana Azad and G.B. Pant seeking a Punjabi-speaking state.

this way or that way but, rather, of the realization that neither the Sikhs nor the Hindus can prosper if there is conflict. The basic approach, therefore, was, first of all, to remove specific grievances and have some machinery to deal with any grievances that might arise. We had, therefore, adopted almost in its entirety the chapter on safeguards, etc., of the SRC Report.⁵

India was on the eve of great developments and there was a vast field for persons of enterprise and ability. For Sikhs or any group to seek special status in a province, meant really depriving themselves of the great field of India which was on the eve of advance and developing and expanding economy.

Further, I pointed out that we had to consider every subject from an all-India point of view. Having appointed a Commission of able and impartial men, we could not bypass them unless there was very special reason or some agreed arrangements. We might make some minor changes. Any change in one place affected other places also.

This was the main burden of my remarks. We discussed for an hour and a half allied matters, and Master Tara Singh and his colleagues repeated that they could not have full security unless their demands were more or less acceded to. We told them that we had consulted others also and were likely to continue this consultation.

Our talks were very friendly, though rather vague.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. See *ante*, p. 155.

3. To K. Santhanam¹

New Delhi
2 December 1955

My dear Santhanam,²

I read your letter to the President in which you had referred to the recent deplorable occurrence in Rewa at the time of the Assembly meeting.³ On the

1. K. Santhanam Collection. National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Lt. Governor of Vindhya Pradesh.
3. On 23 November 1955, when the recommendations of the SRC on the merger of Vindhya Pradesh into Madhya Pradesh was being discussed, about 100 people entered the Assembly House after breaking through the police cordon, shouted anti-merger slogans, demanded resignation of the Ministry and disrupted the proceedings.

whole, you seem to make light of it. I confess that I do not understand this minimising of an exceedingly bad incident. I have taken the strongest view in regard to it. It is true that it is on a small-scale compared to what happened in Bombay, but qualitatively it was, if anything, worse.

What has disturbed me most is the attitude of the Government and the administration and their extreme incapacity to deal with a simple situation like this.⁴ Any wide awake Government or even District Magistrate or Police official would have dealt with it easily. And yet, in spite of sufficient indication previously, nothing was done, and this disgraceful attack on Ministers inside the Assembly building took place. I think that an explanation should be demanded from the District Magistrate and the Police Chief about their behaviour in this matter, and why they could not even protect the Assembly building.

My own information is that for some time previously the Praja Socialist Party was carrying on this kind of agitation and even declaring that they will disturb the proceedings of the Assembly when the States Reorganization Commission's Report was being discussed.⁵ In spite of this, no adequate precautions were taken, and all kinds of approaches were made to the Praja Socialist leaders. I think this was very unbecoming for a Government. It is not for Government to go about begging people to behave. It is fantastic in the extreme that a handful of persons plus a handful of students should behave in the manner they did and the whole Government should be powerless to deal with them.

I see that a number of arrests have been made, and I am glad of this. There has been enough weakness shown by the Vindhya Pradesh Government. It is about time they realised how a Government should function.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nehru also wrote to Shambhunath Shukla, the Chief Minister of Vindhya Pradesh, on the same day expressing his unhappiness over handling of the situation by the Government.
5. Santhanam replied on 6 December 1955 that he was apprehensive of disturbances and had warned Shukla and District officials that unless the narrow road adjoining the Assembly Chamber was kept clear, the police would not be able to operate. But, the DM and DSP were given to understand not to use force unless there were orders to do so. When about fifty demonstrators entered the Chamber on 23 November, the Speaker adjourned the House sine die. Santhanam also pointed out that "all the Congressmen in Rewa, including the President of the State Congress Committee, Yadavendra Singh, were in full sympathy" with the anti-merger agitation of the Praja Socialists and "Some of the Ministers also secretly sympathised with them".

4. To M. K. Shivananjappa¹

New Delhi

7 December 1955

Dear Shivananjappa,²

I have your letter of 7th December.

I can appreciate your feeling in regard to the future of Mysore³ but I really do not see how that question arises in regard to the Constitution Amendment Bill⁴ which is coming up before the House on the 12th December. I can understand that when the question of Mysore comes before Parliament, you may wish to express your views on that subject. This present Amendment Bill has really nothing to do with any particular amendment or with the SRC Report. It is really accidental that this has come up now. We decided upon it many months ago but delay occurred owing to some minor occurrence.

There is no question of the Mysore Legislature not being given a proper opportunity to express its views. There are many weeks to do that. The whole question is of general importance. The present Constitution is so worded that a state legislature can refuse to consider a matter and thus hold things up. That surely is not proper. It is thus not a question of limiting time for consideration, because we want the fullest time to be given, but trying to prevent refusal of consideration is to hold up the entire process. Such an amendment of the Constitution is necessary, quite apart from the SRC Report or anything.

I do not see any matter of conscience in this or even of any conflict of opinion. What is suggested is the proper constitutional course for the future, whatever the proposals might be. This applies to every state legislature and not to Mysore only. As a matter of fact, as you know, many other states are very greatly concerned with some of the recommendations of the SRC and are affected by them much more intimately than even Mysore.

I think, there must be some misunderstanding about this in your mind. I hope my letter will remove that.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to Ram Subhag Singh, Secretary, Congress Parliamentary Party and Satya Narayan Sinha, Union Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.
2. (b.1921); Congressman from Mysore; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62.
3. The SRC had proposed that the Mysore State should be merged with Karnataka excluding the Siruguppa, Bellary and Hospet *taluks* and a small portion of the Mallapuram sub-*taluk* of the Bellary district.
4. The Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill sought to empower the President to prescribe a period within which state legislatures had to convey their views on legislative measures by the Central Government for reorganization of states.

5. To Yadavendra Singh¹

New Delhi,
7 December 1955

Dear Yadavendra Singhji,²

We were much concerned with the disgraceful incidents that took place in Rewa, in and outside the Assembly Chamber some days ago when the SRC Report was being discussed. Nothing quite so bad of this kind has happened anywhere in India previously, and the credit of Vindhya Pradesh and of Rewa especially has been brought low.

In this connection, we have had enquiries made. In the course of these enquiries various facts have emerged. Among these is this—that you attended what is called an All-Parties Political Conference on October 30, 1955. Thereby you associated yourself in this agitation against the SRC Report with the Praja Socialist Party, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Mazdoor Sabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad. The Conference was presided over by a member of the Socialist Party. It passed a resolution condemning the SRC Report and went on to say that “we feel it our duty to remind the local and Central Governments of the same and to say that disregard of the public opinion may lead again to consequences the magnitude of gravity of which we cannot at present estimate, but which, if they happen, will afterwards be regretted by everyone.”

I understand that you, in common with others, signed this resolution, which was distributed to the public.

As President of the Pradesh Congress Committee you must, no doubt, be aware of the resolutions of the Congress Working Committee in regard to agitations about the SRC Report. It has been made quite clear there that Congressmen should not associate themselves with other parties in this matter. I am, therefore, surprised at this report that you took an active part together with other parties in this agitation against the expressed directions of the Congress Working Committee. Further, that you associated yourself with a resolution which ended up with a threat of grave consequences.

I should like to know if these facts are correct, and, if so, what explanation you have about your association in this matter, contrary to the Congress Working Committee's advice and directions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Congress President, U.N. Dhebar.
2. PCC President, Vindhya Pradesh.

6. The Right Approach¹

According to today's agenda, we have to consider the Report of the States Reorganization Commission. Well, it was not my idea that this meeting should go deeply into that Report and discuss its various recommendations now. It may be that later we may take up one two or three subjects separately and then deal with them in this meeting and discuss them. To consider the whole Report en bloc is almost an impossibility. We can take up each thing, each separate item in it. One can, of course, discuss broadly the principles² of the Report. Even that does not help too much, because those principles are not so hard and fast and rigid that you cannot deviate from them. There is another thing which certainly is capable of discussion, easy discussion and that is what the Report has recommended in its last two or three chapters,³ that is, certain safeguards, constitutional as well as conventional. That is one of the reasons which perhaps has led to dissatisfaction and to a feeling in some areas that, let us say, the linguistic minority there, or whatever it is, does not get a fair deal. Now, we want to remove at least that basic cause not only by convention but where necessary by Constitutional safeguards. Take language for instance. The policy enunciated by the Government, and previously by the Working Committee of the Congress, went a good distance in removing any such dissatisfaction. I won't repeat all that, but you will remember that the Congress Working Committee about a year or year and a half ago, passed a resolution more specially in regard to educational matters, languages, and public service commissions, people appointed to public services.⁴ The whole object of that resolution, which was by and large adopted by the Government as its policy, was that for linguistic reasons no individual or group should suffer. For instance, as we are likely to have examinations for the public services, examinations have thus far been held almost entirely, I believe, in English. Obviously some

1. Address to the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi. 11 December 1955. Tape M-4/C, NMML.
2. The Commission noted the need to balance the linguistic principle in making territorial adjustments with other relevant factors such as national unity, administrative efficiency, cultural affinity, coordination of economic development and welfare activities, geographical contiguity and wishes of the people—thereby taking into consideration the totality of circumstances in each case.
3. The last four chapters in Part IV of the Report were: (i) Safeguards for Linguistic Groups, (ii) Integration of Services, (iii) Financial and other Administrative Matters, and (iv) Unity of India.
4. The CWC met in New Delhi on 5 April 1954 and adopted two resolutions on the question of languages and medium of instructions and examinations for All India Services.

time or other English will be replaced. Now, if you said that examinations should be held through the medium of Hindi, which might be a natural development because we say Hindi is the all India official language, there is no doubt that that would bear down heavily on the people of the non-Hindi areas. They may know a little Hindi but to pass an examination, the medium of which is Hindi, would undoubtedly bear down heavily on the people of non-Hindi areas and more specially of the south, where the language is so very different. So we said that examinations can be held in Hindi, in English or in the regional language—for admission. So that for admission the language is not a barrier. We can take up Hindi certainly or English or the regional language but we said after that everybody—by everybody I mean—those who have not taken the examination in Hindi will have to pass a test in Hindi later, i.e., there was no bar to their coming in but they are given an opportunity to pass the test. We further recommended that those who take up Hindi for the admission language, should normally be asked to pass in a non-Hindi language too. We want people in the north to know languages of the south just as we want the people of the south to know Hindi or any other language. I need not go into all that. My point is that we tried to remove any special burden that non-Hindi people might suffer for this. I think if that is adopted there is no burden on anybody. There are other matters too like this.

Now, it does not matter what kind of state boundaries you may have in India, because in any event you have large areas which are bilingual, between two states, in great cities and the like, not bilingual, trilingual sometimes. Now again we do not want that in a bilingual area, the votary of one language should be put at a disadvantage. The basic approach from the educational point of view has been that everybody in the primary stage should receive his education in his mother tongue, wherever he might be, provided there are a sufficient number of such persons. In Bombay, I understand the Corporation runs schools in fourteen languages. It may be that elsewhere this is not done so much for lack of resources or lack of something else, but the principle is there, that a person, a child should be given his education at the primary stage, in his mother tongue. The other language, whether it is Hindi or some other, comes in at a slightly later stage. In fact, in the North East Frontier we give primary education in the tribal language, which is a very undeveloped language. Nevertheless, we want to do that firstly, because the child should learn through his mother tongue. Secondly, because we do not wish to create an impression in the tribes that we are suppressing their languages. In fact, we are trying to develop those languages. So I have just given you one instance. There are many other things which may result in a disadvantage to a language group or other group in mixed areas. Now by convention and by Constitution we want to remove that so that the chances of such discouragement might be less and less. In the States Reorganization Commission Report the last two or three

chapters deal with this matter, and we have, that is the Congress Working Committee, has accepted them in full, except for one or two matters. The one or two matters which we did not accept, really it was not that we did not accept them, we have nothing against them, but because the Chief Ministers' Conference⁵ that took place here, some months ago or thereabouts, did not like them at all. The one or two matters were I think certain Central Services. For instance, engineering. The Report has suggested a Central Engineering Service, a Central Health Service, may be a Central Police Service, I am not sure, is it Forest Service? They have also suggested that the Public Service Commission also should be centrally appointed, some such thing. Now, in these two matters, the Chief Ministers were not agreeable and we left it at that; we did not press that. Speaking for myself, I think that it would be a very good thing if, more specially, there was a Central Engineering Service, for huge schemes, etc. Well, it is up to Parliament to consider this matter. I think, a Central Health Service too would be helpful and so on. There is always a certain feeling in a state that they should not allow the Central Government to lessen their own privileges. It is not a question of lessening their privileges, of course not. It is a question really of having, of maintaining high standards and not allowing them possibly to vary it greatly in various states. Some states may have standards, some may not have and the tendency is sometimes—I might tell you there has been a lone case of a person being appointed, who, from any point of view, is thoroughly not up to standard, but they wanted to appoint one local man at a high engineering job and the result was that that state suffered. It is not that the Central Government suffered. They did not have a competent engineer to do a competent job. And yet they insisted on appointing their own man. They can always appoint, so far as appointments are concerned. Of course, it is the state that appoints, we do not impose anybody, but I should imagine that it is a good thing to have a central board of engineers and that will keep up standards, and, as I said, in regard to health too, may be forestry too, this might be done, however, but apart from these two or three matters and the Public Service Commission, all the other recommendations in the final chapters of the Report were accepted by the Chief Ministers and approved of by the Working Committee too and I have no doubt that the Government will also agree to them. That is a matter which, if the Party likes, we can discuss some time later.

But of course, very few people in India have discussed these final chapters of the Report, although they are important and basic. They have all been tied up with the other proposals about new states or old states being changed or boundary matters. I have often found that many people who are taking very

5. Held in New Delhi on 23 and 24 October 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30. pp. 253-255.

great interest in parts of the Report, have not even read the rest of the Report. They have read the chapter dealing with that part, or two or three chapters, they know every word and comma and full stop of that chapter. But so far as the rest is concerned they have hardly read them or they have just glanced through them. Although, after all, the Report has to be taken as a whole. The entire object of appointing this Commission was that this full picture should come before us. One thing affects the other.

Now, as I said, I do not think it would be profitable for us at this stage to plunge into the sea of discussion on the whole Report, in the Party I mean. We might have of course—there is no harm—but you know, that in the last two-three weeks these distinguished visitors and others have taken up so much of our time,⁶ that it has been difficult for the Party to meet as often as it normally does. We are going to have a slight respite from distinguished visitors. Although I might tell you that within a few days, I think it is the 16th, we are going to have another distinguished visitor, Madame Soong Ching-ling or Madame Sun Yat Sen.⁷ She is a very distinguished lady of course, who has been an outstanding person in China for the last thirty years. As the widow of Sun Yat Sen, and throughout this period she has played a very great though quiet part in China. She has not been actively allied to any parties and others. She is not, formally speaking, a communist, but she associated herself fully with the present regime in China. Her own work consists chiefly among women and children and during the previous regime, she was rather unhappy because she did not like many things that were being done. Even then she concentrated on women and children, and she has built up a very fine organisation for children specially. She has been and is, I believe, one of the Vice Chairmen of the Chinese People's Republic, that is, one of the Vice Presidents, you might say—they are seven. So she has a high place there and apart from her place, as an individual, she is greatly respected by everybody in China. I might tell you that I invited Madame Soong to come to India as long ago as 1928. I had met her in 1927 during our very very brief visit to Moscow, I had gone there with my father for three days. I had met her there. And subsequently I wrote to her also inviting her to come to visit our Congress Session in Calcutta, that was in 1928 December, and she agreed to come.⁸ But the British Government would not permit her to visit India in those days. I repeated that invitation on two or three occasions

6. Bulganin and Khrushchev were in India from 18 November to 1 December and again from 7 to 14 December 1955. They spent the intervening week in Myanmar.

7. Madame Sun Yat Sen, one of the Vice Chairmen of the standing committee of the National People's Congress, People's Republic of China, was in India from 16 December 1955 to 2 January 1956.

8. For Nehru's impressions of Madame Sun Yat Sen in 1927, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol.2, p. 374 and for invitation to visit India, see pp.302-303, 328 and Vol. 3, p. 146.

but no facilities were given to her by the then Government. So I am very happy that she is coming now. And we shall, of course, give her very warm and cordial welcome. But her stay here will be a veritably quieter stay than the others who have come. I do not know how long she will stay here, about three weeks perhaps, and the places she will visit will probably be more from the point of view of women and children. She will naturally go to some of our big places like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta; possibly she might go to one or two others. So apart from Madame Soong, who is coming here, we are not having any other distinguished visitor till early in January, we are having the Vice Chancellor of Germany⁹ for two or three days and, I think, the Foreign Minister of Italy,¹⁰ I am not quite sure, but in February we are going to have the Shah of Iran¹¹ and later, maybe in March, or possibly even early in April, the Emperor of Ethiopia.¹²

Anyhow we shall have, as I said, some relief from numerous public functions during the next month or so—there will be some, but not so many. And if the Party so desires, we can meet more often to consider some particular aspects of the States Reorganization Report. Because it would be desirable, I think, before the matter comes up in a formal shape before Parliament, that the Party might discuss it. For the present we have got to deal with this discussion in Parliament which is going to begin on the 14th. And now, how shall we deal with this discussion. I was just saying in Hindi that some of us feel that at this present stage of discussion it would not be desirable for amendments to be put forward and pressed. Of course, we cannot prevent; let us save our position from putting forward amendments, but I would personally suggest to you for your consideration that you should decide that this matter should be considered freely without any amendment being passed.¹³ The resolution that we place, the motion that we place before the House, will be that this Report be taken into consideration. Let that remain as a test without being amended this way or that way. And let us have a full discussion on it which I have no doubt will be helpful to Government and to the country. Now, that means that Congress members should not send amendments, or if by any chance they send them, they should withdraw them and not press them. It means also that non-Congress members who press their amendments—we should oppose all amendments

9. Franz Bluecher, the Vice Chancellor of West Germany, arrived in New Delhi on 10 January 1956.

10. Gaetano Martino, the Italian Foreign Minister, came to Delhi on 4 January 1956.

11. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran and his wife Queen Soraya, reached India on 16 February 1956.

12. Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia, visited India from 25 to 27 October 1956.

13. See *post*, p. 236.

regardless of their merits. You may have agreed to the merit of the proposal in amendment. But merely on this ground at this stage let us have no amendments. We should if necessary vote them down if they are pressed making it quite clear that it is not because of our opinion on the particular amendment this way or that way, but because at this stage we do not wish this type of voting for or against a particular proposal to come in. That will also, I think, help in keeping the discussion on a slightly less, if I may use the word aggressive level.

Now, I just said that we should have a firm and free discussion and I do not wish to come in the way of any Member of Parliament expressing his views as he feels. But there are two considerations I should like you to bear in mind. One is, that we should approach this matter naturally not merely as advocates for a certain cause, which we believe in, but as persons who are dealing with a difficult intricate question which affects large numbers of people in India and which has aroused a considerable excitement and some degree of passion even. That is to say our approach, regardless of the views we express, should be a conciliatory approach, a firm approach, not an aggressive polemical approach. Of course, it is difficult to go in line in these things, I am merely referring to the temper of the approach, not to the actual substance of it. One should not create a feeling in the country of fears, divisions in Parliament, certainly among the Congress of one group of Congressmen attacking the other and the attacks being returned. As I said I am not limiting what to say, but there are ways of saying it, friendly ways, a friendly approach. I have certain views about the matters referred to in the Report—naturally everybody has them—but I do not care two pins which way it is decided. What I mean to say, the decision of a particular boundary dispute is not a vital matter. Whatever you may decide about a boundary dispute, well, some people will be affected by it, some will like it, some will dislike it, whatever it may be; but that does not make a vital difference in India whether these areas are in this state or that state, that is my personal view, provided that each area has free and, full scope for development. So it does not make much difference to me. What does make a difference to me, and, I think, to the country, is that this whole process of argument and discussion and decision should create great bitterness and conflict, that is bad thing, not the decision. A decision has to be given, where there is a conflict of opinion. But let us do it in as friendly a way as possible. Even though we may not agree, we cannot agree with everybody. So that is the temper in the mode of approach that I am referring to.

Secondly, as you know, the Congress Working Committee, after considering these matters with a good deal of care and consulting quite a considerable number of people, chiefly Congressmen but sometimes others too, and receiving memoranda and papers and maps and charts and statistics in abundance, has come to certain conclusions which it put forward in the shape of resolution

about a month ago.¹⁴ Now, the whole approach of the Congress Working Committee, I hope that the Congress President will bear me out, was not to impose anything on anybody, but to try to reach agreements, as far as possible with the agreement of most of the people concerned. That is not always easy. In fact it is very difficult and people will not agree. Something has to be said or done about it. But it is not our idea to impose anything. In fact the whole approach was not to impose but to find bridges of agreement, at any rate to reduce the gap. Ultimately one has to say something, and so the Working Committee, if I may use the word, by a process of elimination, arrived at a certain conclusion: the conclusion may not be the best, but it was a process of elimination; other things could not be done for this reason. So we arrive at a certain thing—we are left with that, left looking after the baby.

So the Working Committee and its Sub-Committee are still considering many of the recommendations in that Report and will continue giving a good deal of attention to them. Because apart from the importance of the Working Committee considering this vital matter, it is this approach of meeting people repeatedly, discussing with them, and it can be done far better by the Working Committee or their Sub-Committee than in a rigid governmental way. Because a government cannot proceed easily in that way. Any party that comes to the government becomes rigid, almost like before a court. It will not give in here, it will put its hundred per cent claim and not try to adapt itself to something else. Now, the Working Committee has constituted the Sub-Committee to make that friendly approach far better. It may succeed or it may not succeed. Therefore, it was very right, I think, and anyhow it was essential for the Working Committee to take this up. In a large number of cases the Working Committee's approach may yield substantial results in the shape of broad agreements. In some, the Working Committee may or may not like to choose; but in regard to those recommendations which have been made public, you know them, and while I am not asking each individual to consider himself bound down by the recommendations, I am not asking that, but I would say this, that I would like you to, well, to keep those recommendations in mind when we shall have to consider these matters, these innumerable matters, in the Report separately, carefully and Parliament will come to a final decision. So, that is what I wish to tell you today and I hope that you will agree with this broad approach.

14. For the text of the resolution on SRC Report passed on 9 November 1955 by the CWC, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 265-267.

7. To Atulya Ghosh¹

New Delhi

19 December 1955

My dear Atulya Babu,

I have read with considerable distress the statement you issued recently criticising Shri Fazl Ali, the Chairman of the States Reorganization Commission.² Whatever your views may be about these matters, I think it is not at all right to criticise personally the Chairman or a Member of the Commission who have tried to do their duty to the best of their ability. To say all this about Fazl Ali seems to me particularly undesirable. I know of no one in India who is more entitled to respect for his ability and impartiality than Fazl Ali.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Secret Correspondence between U.N. Dhebar and Nehru. AICC Papers. NMML. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Congress President.
2. Referring to the claims of West Bengal, Atulya Ghosh, President of the West Bengal PCC, said in a press interview in Kolkata on 13 December that boundary reorganization should be treated as an all India issue rather than a Bengal-Bihar or Bengal-Assam issue. Citing the case of the people of Goalpara, he said that their progress was hampered because they had been tagged to a State with no linguistic affinity. The territories proposed to be shifted from Bihar to Bengal would face a similar language difficulty, he added. Referring to the close connection of Fazl Ali with Bihar, Ghosh said that Ali "lacked the courage and vision at the crucial moment" and "could not come to an impartial decision about West Bengal."

8. To Shankarrao Deo¹

New Delhi

20 December 1955

My dear Shankarrao,

Thank you for your letter of December 20th², which I have just received. I

1. T.R. Deogirikar Papers. NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Deo, a senior Congressman and Sarvodaya leader, had criticized the CWC proposal for a separate Bombay State as being 'discriminatory' to the fourteen lakh Marathi-speaking people living in Bombay. His view was that the propertied classes, who controlled the growing field of modern industry and commerce, were mainly composed of persons whose mother tongue was not Marathi and it seemed to be the main consideration.

need not tell you that I have read your long letter with care and with every desire to understand and appreciate your point of view.

You refer to what I said in Hyderabad. I do not know how I was reported but I did not discuss there any controversial topic. All I said was that Bombay was a great cosmopolitan city or something to that effect.

I should like to assure you that the question of vested interests and property classes in Bombay has never occurred to me in this connection. I am not interested in thinking on those lines. Nor, in the final analysis, am I vitally interested in any particular division. To me it matters little what state boundaries are. What does matter to me very much is that goodwill should prevail and every decision should be approached in a spirit of goodwill and implemented in the same way even though it may not be in accordance with one's wishes. As you perhaps know, I was strongly opposed to the division of the present Hyderabad State,³ and I have stated so in public many times. But when the Commission recommended it and public opinion supported it, I accepted this decision.

There is force in many of the arguments you advance, but there is also force in some opposite arguments. Indeed, if this was not so, the decision would be exceedingly easy. But, whatever the decision, I repeat that what I am concerned with is the approach to it, which should be one of goodwill and give and take. You refer to the activities of various minor groups in Bombay city. I imagine that this criticism is equally applicable to the majority group. A majority everywhere, though it has obvious rights, has to show greater consideration to a minority and should always try to win its goodwill. The position of the majority is normally assured by the mere fact of its being in a majority.

I can understand what you wish to have, but I have been greatly surprised at the strong opposition to the recommendation of the States Reorganization Commission. That did not come up to your expectations, I agree. But it certainly was not an unfair one to Maharashtra. It might have been better from your point of view. According to this recommendation, the Maharashtrians would have a very dominant position in one of the finest states in India.

I do not particularly like the proposal to have a separate State of Bombay. I still think that, in all the circumstances, the SRC recommendation was the best. I do not wish to press it on unwilling minds but I do feel that it is a fair recommendation and good for Maharashtrians especially as well as others.

After all, nothing is absolutely final.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, p. 25.

9. Various Aspects of Reorganization¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, this is the seventh day, I believe, of this debate and, as you have just informed us, seventy persons have previously spoken. So, I am the seventy-first in this long succession. I have been hesitating as to whether I should take up the time of this House in this marathon race not because I am not interested in this question but I was doubtful if I could throw much light on it. I might straight off say that I am not greatly interested as to where a particular state boundary is, and I find it very difficult to get passionate or excited about it. Naturally, I have my preferences, but it does not make much difference to me whether any internal boundary of a state is drawn here or there. What is infinitely more important is what happens on either side of the boundary, what happens within the state and more especially in those great areas, which inevitably are few. Look at that from the linguistic point of view, multilingual or bilingual—as there are bound to be a large number of areas—what happens to people inside a particular state who may either linguistically or in any other sense form what might be called a minority. That seems to me a far more important proposition than where you draw the line. Because, if you once lay down those basic principles correctly, and act up to them, then the vast number of problems that arise and difficulties and legitimate grievances would inevitably disappear.

Now, for a moment, I may as well say to the House that I am not speaking particularly in my capacity as Prime Minister or on behalf of the Government and I am not going to make any epoch-making pronouncement. We, in the Government, have been considering this Report and the other matters that flow from it for the last many weeks and we shall continue to consider them till we come up to this House in some form of placing the recommendations for this House to consider. And, it will not be proper for me or for any other member of the Government to express himself in any tone of finality about any matter. But, I may give expression to my own inclinations in regard to the recommendations of the Report or the other suggestions that have been made.

One thing I should like to say is that I have regretted very greatly certain criticisms that have been made in the Press, in some newspapers—I do not know how far any honourable Member indulged in such criticisms—criticisms of the Commission. One can criticise the Commission, one can criticise their recommendations, of course, that is a different matter; but criticisms of the

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha during a debate on the Report of the States Reorganization Commission, 21 December 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol.X, Part II, cols. 3493-3514. Extracts.

Commission and sometimes very strong criticisms about their unfairness and all that, I think, that is a very unfair approach and it is a kind of approach which is bound to make such work now or hereafter much more difficult. We choose eminent men; they take a great deal of trouble and tell us what they think about the problem. You may or may not agree with it but to attack, in a sense, their bona fides or fairness, if I may say so, apart from its wrong approach, does indicate, to my mind, that your case is very weak. It is the old story of abusing the attorney on the other side.

May I also suggest for the consideration of this House that while Members here represent their constituencies, of course, they do something more. They are not only members of this or that particular area of India, but each Member of Parliament is a member of India and represents India, and at no time can we afford to forget this basic fact that India is more than the little corner of India that we represent. We know, all of us, that we have to face certain forces which may be called separatist, that is to say—I am not using the word in any bad sense—it nevertheless means that people's attention is being diverted more to local problems, parochial, state, provincial, and forgetting the larger problems of India. There should be really no conflict between the two but it is a question of the method in our thinking, in our minds, in considering our problems. There is the word in the English language 'parochial'. That is, a person thinks of his parish or village while he forgets the larger considerations; while he thinks too much of even of a state as big or important, he forgets these larger considerations.

Now, it has been my good fortune and privilege to travel about India a great deal and often to go abroad. Perhaps, I have had that good fortune more than most Members of this House. The result is that I am constantly compelled to think in larger terms, not only in national terms but even in international terms and see this picture of India in that context. Perhaps, that is helpful in giving a truer perspective of events. I travel about India and I see this moving drama of India and I feel excited and inspired by it. I see many things that I do not, of course like, but the major thing is this tremendous drama, that is India today moving as if by the dictates of some predestined fate and destiny towards its goal. It is a tremendous thing and we see that not only in India. I would submit to this House we see it even more if we go abroad and see this country of India in the south of Asia, from some distance, see it in proper perspective. I would beg the House to consider that there are many people in the wide world who also are beginning to feel the sense of drama and adventure about what is happening in India. Now that is the perspective. And they see also how we have got over great problems and great difficulties. It is true that we have even greater problems ahead, but in the measure in which we have succeeded in the past, that is the measure with which they judge of our strength to succeed in the future. That perspective, I submit, has some importance. We may argue

as to the boundary of Bihar or Bengal or Orissa or some other state—and I have no doubt that the argument on the question is an important one and I do not say it should be brushed aside—but the word ‘important’ also is a relative word. There may be other things which may be more important, and one must not lose oneself in passionate excitement as to where the boundary of a state should be, provided, as I said, we have this fuller conception of India and provided we have, by Constitution, convention or otherwise, the fullest guarantees that whether a person lives on this side of the border of a state or the other, he will have the fullest rights and opportunities of progress according to his own way. In this sense I tried to approach this matter, and I felt that perhaps this larger outlook was sometimes lost sight of. We talked about linguistic provinces and some people said that this principle of linguism should be extended more and more; some people criticised my colleague, the Home Minister, because he did not quite make that the final test. May I say quite briefly and precisely that I dislike that principle absolutely 100 per cent, as it has tended to go?

Now, I want to make it perfectly clear that that does not mean that I dislike language being a very important matter in our administration or education or culture, because I do think that the language of the people is a vital matter for their development, whether it is education, administration or any other matter. But I do distinguish between the two things, this passion for putting yourself in a linguistic area and putting up a wall all round and calling it the border of your state and developing the language to the fullest extent, because I do not think that the people can really grow except through the language. I accept that completely, but it does not follow in my mind that in order to make them grow and their language, you must put a barrier between them and others, that you must put a wall around and call that this is this language area or that. For a state, broadly speaking, there are language areas in India; of course, you cannot ignore them and there is no need to; they are welcome as they are; they represent the development of history through the ages. But considering them as something opposed to the others and putting a hard and fast line between the two areas is, I think, carrying it too far. As a matter of fact, it just does not matter where you draw your line. If you judge it from the purely linguistic point of view, you go against the wishes of some—may be many. There are invariably bilingual areas, and if they are not today bilingual areas, are you going to prevent people from going from one state to another? Are you going to stop, contrary to the dictates of our Constitution, the movement of population, the movement of workers or of other people from one state to another? You cannot. Therefore, whatever fixed line you may even draw, if that movement is free, people will go, will be attracted by one side or other, and again change the linguistic composition of that state or the border area. Are we going to sit down every few years or ten years and say, “Now the ratio of this particular *tehsil* or *taluk*

has changed and, therefore, it should be taken out of this state and put into another"? It is quite impossible if you think in that way.

Therefore, you must realise that while there are clearly marked linguistic areas of great languages, there are also almost always between two areas bilingual areas, from the language point of view, and sometimes even trilingual areas. And wherever you may draw your line, you do justice to one group and injustice to another. What is our difficulty in these problems is raised in this Report and there are many difficulties. By looking at it purely from the language point of view, the difficulty is that there is good reason, good logic and good argument for every case, on both sides of the case. That is the difficulty. If there is logic only on one side, we decide it easily; but there is logic on both sides and the two logics conflict. There is argument on both sides. You may balance the two and say that this argument is stronger than that; by and large, the case of one side is somewhat better, but the fact is that the case of the other side is pretty good too. Are you to measure merely in a balance—maps and census figures have become the fashion now—how many individuals are supposed to speak in this or that language? Because there is a slight majority in this case, this kind of a thing may be all right. It might be done sometimes, but it leads us ultimately to all kinds of fantastic conclusions.

Therefore, I submit that we must consider this matter separating the question of language in the sense that we must be clear that the language has to be developed, more especially all the great languages of India which are mentioned in the Constitution—but I would go a step further—and even those that are not mentioned in the Constitution like those in the North East Frontier Areas and elsewhere ought to be developed; secondly, that the development of one language should not be and cannot be at the expense of the other. It is a strange notion that the development of one language comes in the way of another language in India. I am absolutely convinced that the development of any one of the great languages of India helps the development of the other languages of India. It is my privilege, however, unworthy I might be, of being the President of the Sahitya Akademi, started a year or two ago where we deal with all the languages of India and try to encourage them. The more we discuss these matters, the more we see that every encouragement, development and growth of the language results in the other Indian languages also getting some advantage of growing. And we, of course, are trying to have translations of one from the other and so on. I would go a step further and say that the knowledge of a foreign language helps the growth of an Indian language. If we are cut off from foreign languages, we are cut off from the ideas that come in those foreign languages—with not only the ideas but the technology which is part of modern life. Therefore, let us not think of excluding a language. I do not for instance understand—I may be quite frank—the way some people are afraid of Urdu language. I am proud to speak Urdu and I hope to continue to speak Urdu. I

just do not understand why in any state in India people should consider Urdu as a foreign language or something which invades into their own domain. I just do not understand it. Urdu is a language mentioned in our Constitution. Is it intended to live in the upper atmosphere or stratosphere without coming down to earth? I just do not understand it. It is this narrow-mindedness that I object to....

People go into arguments in regard to philology, in regard to other things. Take the Punjabi language. We heard learned arguments about the origin of Punjabi and Gurmukhi script and how far it is connected with Hindi and how far it is independent of Hindi; whether it has descended from Sanskrit, etc., as if it was of the slightest significance, to what source it belongs. What matters is what people do today. Let scholars go into the past of Gurmukhi, Hindi or anything. What is done today? If people in Punjab or elsewhere are accustomed, or if they wish to have, to use or to speak a certain language and to use a certain script, I want to give them every freedom, every opportunity and every encouragement to do that. Because, as a matter of fact, speaking from the strictly narrow, practical and opportunist point of view, the more you try to suppress it the more opposition there is, and the more, if I may say so, it survives the suppression. Everybody knows that in regard to language there are intimate rather passionate ideas connected with it in people's minds—something very intimate. I can understand the passion with regard to any language—Hindi or any other. But the person who feels passionately about a language must also remember that the other fellow also feels passionately about it. That is the difficulty. Therefore, the safest and the only course is to give every freedom and opportunity to all of them. Let them develop in the natural course of events. They will adapt themselves; they will affect each other and influence each other and grow more and more important, if they have the capacity or remain less developed. It is not for any person or for me to go about and say that any language—let us say, the Punjabi language—is an undeveloped language. It may be. It does not matter. We should try to develop it then and allow the natural forces to increase the importance and the use of this language. Any attempt to decry or deny a language is bad not only from that language's point of view but from the point of view of other languages and those who use the other languages. It is the only correct policy both from the point of view of good policy and even if you look from the narrower points of view.

I am dealing with this question of language because it has somehow come to be associated with this question of states reorganization. I repeat, I may, that I attach the greatest importance to the language but I refuse to associate it necessarily with a state. Inevitably, of course, in India as it is, there are bound to be states where one language is predominant. If that is so, let it be so; we encourage that. But there are also bound to be areas where there are two

languages; as I have said, we should encourage both of them. We should make it perfectly clear that the dominant language of that state should not try to push out or suppress or ignore in any way the other language of the state. If we are clear about that, then the language issue does not arise.

Other issues may arise—economic and others. With language of course other aspects, cultural aspects which are connected with them may arise. Then the two should be treated on the same basis. That is to say, every culture, every manifestation of culture should be encouraged. Culture is not an exclusive thing. The more inclusive you are, the more cultured you are. The more barriers you put up, the more uncultured you are. That is the definition of culture. Therefore, culturally too, we should encourage every aspect of culture. If, as the world develops and changes, something falls out, let it fall out. But if you try to push it down or push it back, then you are probably not likely to succeed and in fact it brings in conflict which injures your own culture possibly.

Thinking as I do in this matter, I personally welcome the idea of bilingual or multilingual areas. For my part, I would infinitely prefer living, and my children being brought up, in bilingual and trilingual areas than in a unilingual area. Because of that, I think, I would gain wider understanding of India and of the world and a wider culture—not a narrow culture, however big that narrow culture may be.

The House will forgive me, if I mention a rather personal thing. This is in relation to my daughter. When I had to face the problem of her education—unfortunately, I was a bad father and I was not with her for years and years—my attempt was this: when she was a little girl I sent her to a school—not in UP as I wanted her, as a child, to pick up some of India's languages—in Poona; I sent her to a Gujarati school in Poona because I wanted her to know the Marathi language and the Gujarati language and their influence. I sent her subsequently to Santiniketan because I wanted her to understand the Bengali background—not only the language but the cultural background. Whether I succeeded or she succeeded or not—that is another matter. My point is that my outlook was such. I should like her to go down south and learn Tamil or Telugu or Malayalam. But of course, life is not long enough to allow one to go to every state.

Meghnad Saha: May I interrupt? What is the percentage of people who have the capacity to learn more than one language? Ninety per cent of the people have no capacity for learning a second language and you must legislate for those ninety per cent of people....

JN: The honourable Member has put a question: What is the percentage of people who can learn another language? Well, if I may say so, I imagine that the percentage is very very large. I will tell you what I mean by it. You and I may have some difficulty in picking up another language because we proceed

by grammar and all that. But you take persons—pick them out from the Delhi bazaar and put them in an environment of another language. You will find in three months they will talk that language which you will not know. I know and I can tell you another instance. In our foreign missions, our secretaries and others are supposed to learn the language of that country. They do try to learn in a scientific way. Before they know anything of that language, some of the lower staff who have to work there pick up the language and talk in it. So, it is not merely a question of learning a language correctly but being in a position to understand it and thereby entering into the life of other people; that is important. There is nothing so difficult as trying to understand another people unless you can speak to them directly without an interpreter. An interpreter is a great nuisance.

Therefore, I would say that the first question for us and the most important question in this entire Report is the last portion—the last chapters in which they mention certain safeguards. Whether they are enough or not is another matter. Add to them if you want. But the point is that there should be clear safeguards laid down, possibly in the Constitution, otherwise, by some other way, so that a fair deal could be given to every language everywhere in this country. There should be no argument about that. We should not say: we are in a majority and therefore our language should prevail. Every language has equal right to prevail even if it is a minority language in the country, of course there have to be some good numbers. You cannot have it for every small group. I understand that the Bombay Corporation has schools in fourteen languages, because Bombay is a great city with all kinds of language groups there.

Secondly, if I may venture to lay down a rule, in every matter it is the primary responsibility of the majority to satisfy the minority. The majority by virtue of its being a majority naturally has strength to have its way, it requires no protection. It is a bad custom, a most undesirable custom, to give statutory protection to minorities, it is not good. Sometimes it is right that you should do that to give an encouragement, let us say to backward classes, but it is not a good thing. Therefore, by its being in the stronger position it is the duty and responsibility of the majority community, whether it is linguistic, whether it is religious, whether it is caste—whatever it may be—to pay particular attention to what the minority there wants, to win it over. It is strong enough to crush it if other forces do not protect it. Therefore, I am always personally in favour, wherever such a question arises, of the minority there, whether it is a linguistic minority or a religious minority.

Talking about religion in the broad sense of the word, obviously in India the votaries of the Hindu religion outnumber others tremendously. Nobody is going to push them from their position; they are strong enough. Therefore, it is their responsibility, and special responsibility that people following other religions in India, which may be called minority religions, have the fullest

liberty and a feeling of satisfaction that they have their full play. If that particular principle is applied then I think most of these troubles and grievances would disappear.

About a month ago I think, or less, at that tremendous meeting in Calcutta which was a kind of public reception to the Soviet leaders who were here—much has been said about *Panch Shila*; as the House knows everybody talks about *Panch Shila*—I ventured to say that this *Panch Shila* was no new idea to the Indian mind—maybe, to other minds also it is not new—and that, in fact, it was inherent in Indian thinking, in Indian culture, because *Panch Shila* ultimately is the message of tolerance. And I quoted at that mighty meeting—I do not know whether it was very proper on that occasion or not—Asoka's edicts and said: "This is the basis of Indian culture and *Panch Shila* flows from it."² Naturally it is not an imposed thing on us. We may misbehave as we sometimes do—that is a different matter—but the basic Indian thought is that, and it has continued for these long ages.

Now, we thought of this *Panch Shila* and peaceful coexistence in the wide world, warring world, and we have gained a measure, a considerable measure of respect and attention because of that. Why have we done so? Well, partly, I would submit, because our thinking has been correct and based on some principles which are not so opportunist, and partly also because our thinking has been correctly laid down, have not been very divergent from the action we have taken; that is, there has been an approximation in the ideals we have laid in regard to foreign policy and the action we have taken. I do not say they absolutely coincide, but there has been an approximation, and whenever thought and action fit in strength follows. It is the conflict between one's so-called ideals and one's action that leads to bad results and to frustration in the individual, or the group, or the nation. Where a nation is fortunate, or a group, or an individual, to be able to act according to his own ideals, well, then it achieves results. It is in our struggle for Independence and freedom that we were fortunate in being able, largely, to combine our ideals with our day to day activities as well as give strength to us as individuals and as a nation.

Therefore, we have succeeded in this measure in our foreign policy, and may I, as an interlude, just mention two matters not only because they are relevant, but because we have been criticised with regard to them in foreign countries? The two questions are Goa and Kashmir. We are criticised by some people that we, who talk loudly about peace and loudly about anti-colonialism and all that—well, it is said by our critics—follow a different policy in Kashmir and Goa. Now, I think that possibly when history comes to be written Kashmir and Goa will be the brightest examples of our tolerance, of our patience and

2. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see *post*, pp. 312-317.

the way we have suppressed our anger and resentment at many things in order to follow that broad idealistic policy that we have laid down.

Now, I was saying that what I am concerned with is not so much the boundaries here and there. I am concerned with two things: first the principles, that is, the principle of life wherever you may live, on whichever side, and; secondly, the manner of approach to this problem, that is to say: how do we discuss these matters, how do we decide them, how do we accept the decisions made. That is vital. That is more important than what you decide. A person is judged more by that. Anybody can decide things according to his own wishes, but when a group meets, of varying opinions, how do they decide? There is the method of democracy, of discussion, of argument, of persuasion and ultimate decision and acceptance of that decision even though it goes against our grain and our opinion. That is the democratic method; or else, simply the bigger lathi or the bigger bomb prevails and that is not the democratic method. Whether you consider this matter in problems of atomic bombs or street demonstrations the question is the same. That is to say, I am not objecting to demonstrations, but I am objecting to the violent part of it, the violence of it. There are democratic ways of demonstration too. I am objecting to the violence coming in in these matters and that violence is, in quality the same perhaps. Then there is the violence of atomic bombs. At any rate the violence of the atomic bomb has a tremendous course, tremendous destruction, but it does not poison your personal thinking so much, which smaller violences do. When you begin to hate your neighbour you cannot pull on with your neighbour. That is a more dangerous thing from the point of view of degradation of the individual. That hatred seeps in, the hatred of your neighbour and it is bad enough. Of course, to hate a country or a whole nation is bad but somehow that spreads out. That hatred is not good, but the hatred of an individual, group or a community, the hatred of a Hindu for a Muslim or the hatred of a Muslim for a Hindu or a Sikh, that type of thing is much worse. It poisons your daily life.

So, I submit what is more important is the method of decision. Do we believe in peaceful democratic methods or means or not? That is the test question in this matter, because we feel passionately. Let us admit that many of us feel very strongly about our point of view on this matter and no doubt they have reasons for feeling strongly. I do not object to that but we must be strong enough, in spite of our feeling strongly, to realise that it is far more important that this question should be discussed calmly, deliberately and peacefully, and whatever decisions are arrived at by the final authority—and the final authority of course is this Parliament—must be accepted, because there is no absolute finality about any decision. But also, at the same time, nobody wants the whole question to be brought up and discussed again and again frequently. If one can do it calmly or objectively, one can do it, so we need not think that we are tied down to a particular decision forever. At the same time, we should accept it

and work it with all goodwill. Therefore, the basic question is one of approach, of goodwill. It really does not matter what the decision is.

Now, the two or three most important questions appear to be, let us say, the questions in regard to the State of Bombay or Punjab or any other. Now, what do we aim at? What can we aim at? Obviously to me, speaking for myself, I do not care two pins as to what happens to them provided that the people of Punjab or the people of Bombay have goodwill for each other. That is the basic thing. It does not matter how you divide or sub-divide one state or two states or three or four states. That is a matter which we could consider on administrative, economic, and linguistic and other grounds. But the basic thing is that, after having done that, do you create goodwill and cooperation amongst the people who live there; because, if you do not, it does not matter how much you justify the decisions made by census figures and arguments and maps. If you do not create that goodwill, you fail completely, because we have to live and work together.

We have in India, as I ventured to say a little earlier, a moving sight. What is happening in India? We—this Parliament and the people of India—are working hard to weave this pattern of India's destiny, with its variegated, many-coloured facets and many languages and yet, it is under one Government that we are weaving gradually at present. Now, if, instead of weaving it, we take the scissors and the knife and start tearing it and making holes in it, that is bad. What is the pattern you give? Therefore, the basic thing is the goodwill that accompanies a decision and we should remember it.

Some honourable Members here may well remember that I delivered quite a number of speeches in Hyderabad opposing tooth and nail, if I may use the word, the disintegration of the State of Hyderabad. That was my view. I would still like the State of Hyderabad not to be disintegrated, but circumstances have been too strong for me. I accept them. I cannot force the people of Hyderabad or the other people to come in a particular line because I think they should do so. I accept the decision and I adjust myself to the change that Hyderabad be disintegrated. If it is going to be disintegrated, the Commission has suggested that the Telengana area, the remaining part of Hyderabad State, should remain for five years and then it may be decided. We have no particular objection, but logically speaking, considering everything, it seems to me unwise to allow this matter to be left to argument. Let it be taken up now and let us be done with it.

When I read this Report first rather hurriedly, I may assure this House—because some people seem to doubt it—that I had seen not a single line of the Report before it was officially handed to me, and I knew very, very little about what it contained before I got it. So I read it as something almost new. Because of that, many parts of it and many proposals that it contained were new to me. I had absolutely no notion what they are going to suggest about Bombay, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and about any other place. I had no notion at all. The thing

which for the moment rather surprised me somewhat was the proposal about Madhya Pradesh for the simple reason that it was quite novel to me. I have not thought of it in those terms at all. I said so in the broadcast³—not criticised—but I said that some parts of the Report came as a surprise to me. They did; but I thought about it, we discussed it amongst ourselves. The more we discussed, the more we talked, I became more and more convinced that it was the right proposal. I had no preconceptions and prejudices about this or that. So, the House will notice how my mental approach to all these problems was—to keep an open mind and try to understand the various aspects of it and in particular to arrive at a decision which is an agreeable one and which creates goodwill as far as possible. Because of this, apart from official approaches to this problem, we have met literally hundreds and hundreds of persons in groups of five, ten or twenty, who were coming from almost every state of India and putting forward their viewpoints. We have listened to them and we have discussed it with them, because we want the greatest measure of agreement and cordiality about this and because we attach more importance to a decision having that goodwill, even though it might be logically not a good decision: for, logic is a very feeble and unworthy substitute of goodwill. I would rather have goodwill than logic, and cooperation. We have proceeded that way. How far it will succeed wholly in creating that goodwill I do not know. But I am quite positive that, however much the Government may or may not succeed, this House can succeed if it wants to create that and give that lead to the country in deciding these things rightly or wrongly but with goodwill, and accepting the decisions made. Then, if something is wrong about the decisions, we can consider them quietly later on.

Now, take two of the major problems—the question of Bombay and Punjab.⁴

An Honourable Member: Bihar also.

JN: With the greatest respect for our friends in Bihar and Bengal and Orissa,⁵ I would say that nothing is more unimportant than their problem. I am really astonished at the amount of heat, about these three or four states, which has

3. On 9 October 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 525-526.

4. See *ante*, p. 154.

5. The SRC had suggested minor boundary adjustments between West Bengal and Bihar—a portion of the Purulia district east of the river Mahananda and the Purulia sub-district of the Manbhum district minus the Chas thana should be transferred from Bihar to West Bengal. No changes were suggested for Orissa.

been imported.⁶ We can consider it and decide it. But what does it matter if a patch of Bihar goes this way and a patch of Bengal or Orissa goes the other way? I cannot get excited about it provided always that they get fair treatment. That is the vital and important point.

About Bombay, which undoubtedly is one of our major difficulties, I think there are arguments advanced on the part of Maharashtrians, on the part of others in Bombay, and I have no doubt at all that the arguments advanced about the Maharashtrians have great force. But, unfortunately, I see the force in the other arguments too. Obviously, nobody can say that it is a one-sided affair. Then, how does one deal with it? Honourable Members know that the Congress Working Committee, after considerable discussion, suggested three states, but speaking for myself, I hate them and believe that the recommendation made by the States Reorganization Commission was the best in the circumstances. But, I do not wish to compel others to accept it, because the Maharashtrians, Gujaratis and others are the people who have to reside there. Who am I to push my opinion down their throats, more especially the Maharashtrians who played such a vital part in India's history and who have to play such a vital part in the future of India? But I do think that that was a fair and equitable decision which would have promoted cooperative working and which could, if necessary later, have been added to or amended. There is nothing to prevent it, I still think that it will be the best thing. I do not know if the time is past for considering that matter afresh by the people most affected by it.

Take Punjab. People talk about unilingual and bilingual states. I have already laid stress on the importance I attach to language; and, in relation to Punjab, I would lay stress on the importance I attach to the Punjabi language, because, apart from the very important fact of a large number of the Sikhs or all the Sikhs wanting it—that is the major factor good enough for me; it does not come against me—I do not know why the Hindi-knowing people should object. I say that a language should not be considered something exclusive or excluding others; we must be inclusive in our thinking. But, apart from that, the minor modulations of a language represent the growth of a particular specific culture in a group. The folk songs of Punjab are an immensely important part of the Punjabi culture. It does not matter to me for the moment how many books on

6. The SRC Report aroused discontent both in Bihar because of the transfer of certain areas to West Bengal, and in West Bengal because it fell short of their expectations. Strong feelings were evoked in Orissa because of the rejection of their claims to certain areas of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Subsequently twenty leading Congressmen including Ministers, MPs and MLAs, resigned from the Party on 17 January and demonstrators disrupted train and air traffic and attacked Government buildings in Cuttack and Puri.

technology exist in the Punjabi language in the Gurmukhi script. If they do not exist, it is a great drawback from the national point of view. Either that drawback will be made good, or it will suffer and it will not advance with us in the future. But I do wish to give every encouragement to the Punjabi language, not at the expense of Hindi. There is no question of expense of Hindi, Hindi is strong enough, wide enough and powerful enough in every way to go ahead. They should cooperate with each other. This whole outlook of one language trying to push out the other is a wrong outlook. So, I have laid stress on this linguistic point. If you look at the Punjab from the linguistic point of view, from the point of view of numerous proposals made, you will find that there is no proposal conceivable which makes the Punjab completely unilingual, that is to say, unilingual in the sense the entire thing being based on Punjabi in Gurmukhi script. So far as the speaking part is concerned, it might well be said that nearly all Punjabis speak Punjabi, whatever they may say. In fact, even Hindi or Urdu is half Punjabi, so that, if you look at it from the communal point of view, it is a bad attempt. It does not matter how much you may divide Punjab, but the Hindus and Sikhs are intermixed completely. You may, by adjustments, make one forty-five per cent and the other fifty-five per cent, the one thirty per cent and the other seventy per cent and so on. But, you do not change the basic fact that both are completely mixed up in each village. And, therefore, the only way for Punjab to exist and prosper, rather, even to exist, is for both to pull together. There is no other way. Of course, the Punjabis are people with very great virtues, but among their great virtues, the virtue of pulling together has not been known. Perhaps it may be due to their greater vitality. They are very vital people. Even today Punjab is probably the most prosperous of our states, from the common people's point of view. Nowhere in India do people drink more milk and lassi than in the Punjab. They have a future before them of great advance, with Bhakra Nangal and other schemes; that is a tremendous future and it surprises me that they should waste their great energies when they have all this work before them. Again I would say, if, as they are, the Hindus in the Punjab are in a majority—I am not for a moment talking about the shape of things to come regarding boundaries, I am not going into it—it is their duty to win over the Sikhs, and, it is the duty of the Sikhs to win over the Hindus. This business of going against each other, trying to trip each other and weaken each other is not, if I may say so, mature politics. It is immaturity and we have grown out of it in India.

There are one or two things I should like to say before I finish. We have to examine all these matters, all these changes, from the point of view of our economic development, the Second Five Year Plan, etc. It is highly important. It is true that in drawing up the Second Five Year Plan, there has been an attempt made to draw it up for almost each individual district so that if the district changes over to another area, it does not affect it so much. But, if you

support the whole state, practically all your energy and resources will be spent in the next two or three years in settling down and not in the Five Year Plan. One should like to avoid it.

Finally, the more I have thought about it, the more I have been attracted to something which I used to reject seriously and which I suppose is not at all practicable now. That is the division of India into four, five or six major groups regardless of language, but always, I will repeat, giving the greatest importance to the language in those areas. I do not want this to be a thing to suppress language, but rather to give it an encouragement. That, I fear, is a bit difficult. We have gone too far in the contrary direction. But, I would suggest for this House's consideration a rather feeble imitation of that. That is whatever final decisions Parliament arrives at in regard to these states, we may still have what I would call zonal councils, i.e., a group of three, four or five states, as the case may be, having a common council. To begin with, I would say that it should be an advisory council. Let us see how it develops. Let it be advisory, let the Centre also be associated with it for dealing with economic problems as well as the multitude of border problems and other problems that arise. There can be, let us say, five such zonal areas.⁷

H.V.Kamath : A common High Court.

JN: There may be, as the honourable Member suggests, in some places a common High Court, a common Governor, etc., but, a common economy is more important. We are having these big schemes, river valleys and others. It will be very helpful. In the main, I want them to develop the habit of cooperative working to break down the wall. It may be that, later, the advisory zonal councils may develop into something more important. I think, we should proceed slowly and cautiously so that people may not suspect an undermining of their state's structure. So, we could have, let us say, five: one for the north, one for the south, one for the east, one for the west and one for the Centre.

H.V. Kamath: *Dakshin, Purva*, etc.

JN: Something like that. I would submit that for the consideration of this House.

7. It was suggested to group the states into five zonal councils to "deal with matters of common concern, promote inter-state concord and arrest the growth of acute consciousness". Common Public Service Commissions, High Courts and Governors in certain regions were also contemplated.

10. Points for Consideration¹

Jawaharlal Nehru:... We have had, in this House and in the other House, what have been called marathon debates. Hundreds of Members have participated in them and have discussed a subject which, as we all know, sometimes raises a great deal of passion and Members, as others outside, hold very strong opinions. Sometimes, the smaller the area concerned, the stronger the opinion about it. In spite of this fact, I may, with all respect, say that the debates have been conducted in both the Houses with sobriety and with a desire to find out what should be done. Most of the speeches, I suppose, inevitably concerned themselves with particular problems which have been raised in the Report of the States Reorganization Commission. That is yet inevitable and yet many of these problems, or some of them, could hardly be considered—I am referring more to the border problems at the present moment—without a great deal of attention being paid to maps, charts, figures and all kinds of details. In fact, it is rather difficult for any large body of men or for Parliament normally to go into these details. It is not possible and it was chiefly for this reason that the States Reorganization Commission was appointed consisting of three able and impartial persons, the best we could find for the purpose so that they may pay this particular attention and then give us the benefit of their advice. Obviously the ultimate judge and arbiter was going to be Parliament but obviously also, when a commission of this kind goes deeply into these matters and presents its recommendations, they are entitled to the greatest respect and it is only because of some very strong reason that one could bypass those recommendations.

Now, this has been my approach, if I may say so, and broadly speaking our Government's approach, to these problems. Also, one has to keep in mind all the time the basic principles on which we should proceed. Language has been discussed here a great deal. It is true that because of the geography of India, certain languages, broadly speaking, prevailed in certain areas of India. It is true also that language is a very important bond and a very important element of culture in a people. So, quite apart from the particular desire to have linguistic states, to some extent, these are automatically there and they occur.

Having said that, it must also be remembered that however carefully you may define a linguistic area, you can never define it precisely because there are many areas which are bilingual, multilingual, overlapping with each other. That is right. Obviously you should not confine people in India speaking one

1. Speech in the Rajya Sabha, 24 December 1955. *Rajya Sabha Debates* 1955, Vol. XI, cols. 4389-4414. Extracts.

language to a particular area and if you perhaps succeed in some measure in confining them now or creating so-called linguistic states now, what will happen ten or twenty years hence? Are you going to stop people from moving from one state to another? The Constitution says that there should be freedom of movement, freedom for the people to go and do their business and everything. Movements of population will take place when we develop. As we undoubtedly are going to develop economically and otherwise, it follows necessarily that there will be movements of population to industrial areas, wherever they develop. Are you going to develop an industrial area and reserve it completely for the people living within a few miles or few square miles of that area? Surely, if that is done then it is difficult to make much progress. In fact, one test of an advancing country is how mobile its population is. It is the sign of a backward country to have static population. Therefore, we should, whatever we may decide today in Parliament, remember that we cannot isolate linguistic groups. Further, we should not do so and it is improper to isolate them. In any event, whatever you may decide or do today, you cannot maintain it in the future unless you go behind all the principles laid down in the Constitution—social, economic, and industrial progress of the country, etc.

Now, a great deal of stress has been laid on language. I certainly admit that language is a very important and vital factor in an individual or group's life. We have to consider it in all its importance. But, even in the terms of reference of the States Reorganization Commission, we have not confined ourselves to language alone. We laid the greatest stress on the unity and the solidarity of India. Anything that affects that should be discarded—if it affects that. I do not mean to say that language necessarily affects it but if our approach is such that we lay great stress on some factors regardless of the other factors, the most important of which is the unity and solidarity of India; others, of course economic matters, defence matters are equally important, geographical and other matters have to be considered all together.

Now, I would submit that after the achievement of political freedom in this country, there are many problems before us, industrial and economic growth, etc., but I would place as the most important problem for India to face and to solve the problem of the emotional integration of India. We integrated all the old Indian states—that was political integration. That was necessary, but the other thing, the emotional integration, is not a legal or a constitutional matter. You may help the constitutional devices or you may obstruct it. It is of the most vital significance that we should have this emotional integration of India. Now, what has been happening in the last month or two, since this Report came out, has been something that rather hurts one's conception of the emotional integration of India. It lays emphasis on differences and not on similarities, on points in common. That is a bad thing. I think that that is rather a temporary phenomenon—I do not mean to say that there is no basis for it. Of course

there is, but this aggravation of that feeling probably, I hope, is a temporary phenomenon and is likely to grow less. So, I should like this House to consider this in this particular aspect, because the moment you forget this particular aspect, you lose yourself in interminable wrangles about petty things which may appear important to each one of us because we happen to live in that area or are connected with it, but which has to be looked at, from the point of view of the whole of India. As I ventured to say in the other House the other day, honourable Members who are here, represent, may be, certain states or certain constituencies, but the Members of Parliament in either House essentially represent India and not a particular corner of this great country of ours, and therefore we should always try to keep that picture in view. None of us may be big enough to take in the whole conception of India, but at any rate we should keep it as an ideal to remember always and sometimes to pull us up when we become rather parochial in our thinking.

Now, first of all, I should like to congratulate the States Reorganization Commission on the work they have done. That does not mean that anyone of the Members here or I agree with every word that they have said or every view that they have expressed. That does not follow. But I must confess that I approached this Report naturally with certain views, conceptions, preconceptions and the rest, but at the same time, with this conviction that these three persons have given much more thought to it and have had much more access to material than I had, in spite of my official sources, etc. They have given concentrated attention to certain matters, and my reactions are based more on, well, on superficial reading or at any rate without that deep study. It may be, of course and sometimes is, I admit, that you may have a very able scholar, a professor examining a problem; he is so clever and able that he is lost in his cleverness and ability and an ordinary man with some knowledge of human nature may give a more suitable answer than the professor to a difficult question. That may be so. It may be that a politician's outlook supplies some element in judging a situation which is important, which concerns human beings, while the very able scholar's outlook may be too scholarly and rather not so much in contact with human beings or the masses. I am not by any means saying that the eminent Members of the States Reorganization Commission were lacking in any of these qualities. Anyhow, I approached this Report, as I approach every report, with respect for the people who have studied the question. I reacted in various ways to it. Some parts here and there surprise me because they were new ideas—not that I was against them.

My general approach towards the problem of states reorganization in the past has been rather in favour of small states. When I say a small state, I do not mean a small state with all the paraphernalia of the big state today because that would be quite impossible. A multitude of governors, a multitude of high courts, a multitude of public services, all over spread out—that would become

quite impossible—but, broadly speaking, my original approach was in favour of small states tied up together, a number of states in larger groupings. Now, the more I have thought of this matter—and we have given obviously a great deal of thought to it, more especially since the publication of this Report—I confess that I have changed my opinion, and I have become converted to the idea of large states and, in fact I am rather sorry that in this respect they have recommended some small states, and I say this for a variety of reasons.

First of all, honourable Members must realise, must know, how our thinking in this country, I mean as a whole, has gradually changed. Our thinking used to be pre-eminently political—of course a country fighting for its freedom is hundred per cent political, almost hundred per cent. You can think of nothing else—it is like a disease. But, having achieved freedom, one begins to take into consideration other problems and obviously the most important problems are economic and social. There may be a trace of politics, there may be a trace of international problems, and all that, but essentially a country, situated as we are, begins to think more and more about economic and social problems, and we are thinking of this Five Year Plan and some of the legislations we bring become more and more economic and social, that is to say, our country's thinking has become much more economic and social than political. That is a sign of growth, of advance, of tackling real problems, instead of having rather empty debates about high principles. Take this Second Five Year Plan which we are discussing, and we are discussing it certainly with certain broad ideals before us, certain broad objectives, certain trends, where we want to go to; we call them a socialistic pattern of society; we refer to raising our income by a certain percentage every year, industrialisation, what not, equalization of these things. But when we come to them, all these things in detail, come to grips with the subject, then gradually all kinds of new approaches open out, sometimes conflicting approaches, difficult problems. That are the real problems of some countries which are struggling over this question of internal advance. They are not essentially political problems. They are not international problems except in so far as the international problem impinges upon those problems, to the manner of development. Now, Sir, the relation of industry with agriculture, the relation of heavy industry with light industry, the place of cottage industry, these are the real problems one has to face along with the problem of resources which our Planning Commission is facing from day to day. Now, if you think in terms of planning and also in terms of economic advance and the rest, a large number of small states come in the way. Very much so. The more the smaller states, the more difficult becomes the question of planning. That was one reason why gradually I became convinced in favour of the larger states.

Also, a curious position has arisen and is likely to perpetuate itself unless something is done. The House knows that there are in the world rich countries and poor countries. Now, the rich countries tend to become richer; the poor

countries may not become poorer but their rate of advance is much slower. Simply they have got to pull themselves up by the boot straps. They have not got the resources. The rich country, even if it is wasteful, it has enough to invest. It has enough surplus left over for progress. The poor country has to work terribly hard to have any surplus left at all. It would just keep on at the marginal subsistence. That applies to individuals as to countries. Looking at this from the point of view of our states and provinces, we have today provinces which are relatively wealthy, which have surplus; we have provinces which suffer from chronic deficits. Now, the tendency is that the richer province has greater resources for development and so it develops faster. The poorer province has poor resources. It may be helped by the Centre; it is helped by the Centre but no amount of help from the Centre really makes up for that essential difference between the rich province and the poor province unless of course the poor province has mineral or other resources which come to its help. Partly, the states are divided by the resources they have, mineral and like resources, because ultimately their development will depend upon those resources partly, and partly on many other causes, past development and the advance it has made, whatever it is. Now, we find that even when the Government of India helps the states—we have some principle according to which we give help and, normally speaking, some help goes to every state—normally speaking, we say, “We shall give you, say, fifty per cent if you do this and you provide fifty per cent for it.” Let us take some form of education although education is a state subject. We say, “All right, for the next three years we will give you fifty per cent for building schools if you provide fifty per cent.” The rich state provides the fifty per cent and takes our fifty per cent also. The poor state does not provide, it cannot provide and does not get even our fifty per cent. We may say, “We will give you one hundred per cent”, but that becomes a problem for the Finance Commission, for our Ministry, always to judge which is richer and which is poorer. This difference in states in this way to some extent is inevitable. The richer and poorer states are increasing the difference between the rich parts of India and the poor parts of India. That difference can be bridged somewhat by help from the Centre, and it should be, of course. But in a large state there are rich areas and poor areas which balance each other within the state and thereby a certain measure of equality comes in the development of that state because the state applies sometimes the riches acquired in its rich areas to its own poor areas and the whole state gradually develops uniformly. That is the advantage of the big state which helps poor and rich areas. But if you have small states, relatively small states, if they are rich they remain rich and become richer and if they are poor, they remain poor and do not make much advance. That is another reason why I came to the conclusion that big states are better. Certainly, they are better from the point of view of planning, certainly, they are better from the point of view of economic resources being applied.

Now, almost every major scheme of ours—take any river valley scheme—affects more than one state, two states, three states, sometimes four states and we have to go through strange devices for the four states to function together in regard to that scheme. We have Boards and other things consisting of representatives of different states meeting together from time to time, but the fact remains that there is not much of a smooth working because three or four states are concerned. And these big schemes and all economic and development plans suffer because they concern several states and each government decides separately and it takes a long time for them to find a common policy. If there are big states, then a state deals with many of these problems itself and it is easy for a uniform policy to be pursued. I will not go further into this argument but I was merely wishing to point out to this House how my own mind has undergone a certain change in this matter and begun to prefer the big state idea rather than the small state idea.

P.C. Mitra: One state?

JN: Well, that would be ideal. But I am not sure that that would be ideal; in some ways of course, it would be very helpful. There are other aspects of the question which would suffer. Anyhow, at the present moment it is not a practical proposition. As I have just said, in whatever way you divide the states, there are bound to be bilingual and multilingual areas. First of all, the joining states will go on quarrelling about them as they are quarrelling at present, each giving its own proof that one language population is greater than the other or some other reason and this conflict continues. The only way to deal with this is, first of all to have enough provisions either in the Constitution or by convention or by law, whatever it may be, so that no person in a bilingual area—and when I say a bilingual area I refer to any area in India which is even unilingual but where there are other persons speaking other languages—suffers in the slightest, so that he can have the fullest facilities for the use of his language in that area whatever his language may be, provided always that the number is adequate. You cannot have it for every small group, for every ten or twenty persons, but if the number is adequate, the fullest opportunities for him to develop his language, for the use of his language in schools for medium of instruction, in official work, etc., should be given to that person. There may be other matters too which today create some difficulty—let us say, services. Sometimes there is some complaint.

Now, these things are capable of adjustment in a large measure by safeguards, etc., put in and by conventions and practices. It is true, of course, as the Commission itself has pointed out, that nothing in the wide world, no amount of safeguards or legislation can really take the place of goodwill. If there is ill will and hostility, that will come out somehow or the other. That is

a basic question which cannot be disposed of by legislation but by creating that atmosphere of emotional integration of India and the atmosphere of considering that the larger interests are more important than narrow interests. Therefore, in the whole of this Report I thought that the most important part was the last two or three chapters which refer to these safeguards. It may be that we can think of some other safeguards too but personally I accept all of them. There are one or two which personally I am prepared to accept but I am afraid which many of our Chief Ministers will not be prepared to accept. We would leave that out but broadly speaking, if we have those, or any other reasonable safeguards to ensure that no linguistic area or other minority suffers in regard to any vital matter, then a great deal of this difficulty disappears.

Another reason I may point out about the small and big states. We are thinking in terms of language but there are other matters too. There are other kinds of minorities. Now, in a big state where there are various balancing factors, balancing in the sense of people of different groups etc., the minority is likely to have a better position than in a state where everybody is of the same opinion except that small minority. Then it is ignored more or less. Therefore, minorities—whether they are religious minorities, linguistic minorities or any other type of minorities—are likely to be better off in a big state than in a relatively small unilingual state. Of course, there is, I think, another basic reason, that anything which helps in broadening our outlook, in broadening our minds is a good thing, anything which narrows our minds or outlook is a bad thing from the cultural point of view.

Now, one of the principal reasons why we have insisted for the last thirty-five years on doing our work in the provincial language was that that was the only way of keeping in touch with the masses. Obviously, we have to use the language of the masses if we are to remain in touch with them. If we go on using English, however good the English language may be and however much we may advance in the English language, we lose touch with our masses. They cannot follow us, they cannot cooperate with us, we cannot make them understand what is happening. It becomes essential for us to use the language of the masses in order to break down the barriers that have grown up in the past between them and the elect few who know perhaps English and some other language. Therefore, language is most important and when I say language it means not only the language, let us say, of this area, the Hindi language which is called the *rashtra bhasha* but all the great provincial languages. I cannot do my work in Hindi in Bengal or in Maharashtra or in Tamilnad. I can go and deliver a speech. They may understand me, some of them, but essentially work has to be done in the language of that state in order to reach the people. Therefore, I attach the greatest importance to language and I want to make a distinction between what is called linguism and the importance of languages. The importance of languages has to be borne in mind; they have to be

encouraged, they have to be used, used to this extent that one language does not impose itself upon another. Maybe that many people will have to learn more than one language. I do not think any person is educated if he only knows one language, it does not matter how clever he may be in that language. Today a person should know two, three, or maybe more languages before he can be considered to have enough education and culture and wide knowledge. Of course, in any scientific or technical subject it is quite impossible for a person to be up to date unless he knows at least enough to read books in three or four languages. He cannot do it otherwise. If this country grows up and forgets the foreign languages, notably English, which we know to some extent, it does not matter how clever we are in Hindi or Bengali, or Tamil or Telugu or Marathi, whatever the language may be, I have no doubt that we will become second-rate, because it so happens that a great deal of modern knowledge is in other languages—technical knowledge, scientific knowledge, all kinds of knowledge are there. Therefore, it becomes essential for a really educated person in India not only to know one, two or more languages of India but also to know a foreign language. This seems rather extraordinary to people here. They are surprised. In the Punjab there is a good deal of shouting about: "Are we to learn Hindi and Punjabi? Both?" As if that is a terrible burden for anyone to carry. Quite apart from the political aspect of it why should not everybody know Punjabi and Hindi? I do not see anything wrong at all. It is a good thing if for nothing else to get on with his neighbour, to be friendly with his neighbour. And we have to get used to the idea of our people, at any rate. Any person, who presumes to call himself educated, has to learn a number of languages, at least two, maybe three Indian languages and a foreign language which normally will be English. It may be French or German or Russian or Chinese. In fact, we will have to learn Russian and Chinese a little bit more because we do not know enough of them. They are our great neighbours and those languages are going to play an important role. All kinds of important books are even now coming out especially in Russian.

Therefore, I should like this House to distinguish between the idea of importance of language—with which I entirely agree, it is of the highest importance—and linguism, that is applying it strictly to state boundaries. I do not see how one leads to the other. They overlap to some extent, of course, and if we want that language to be used in our official work, etc.,—as we do want to—naturally in a state that would be done. But there is no reason if there are two languages, why work in that state should not be done in two languages, if not in the whole state, maybe in that part of the state where the second language is dominant. There is no reason at all. Let us say, even if it is a little burden on the people, surely that little burden is a better thing to choose than conflict and even irritation of your neighbour which comes in the way of your growth and progress. So that I would beg this House to consider this from this

point of view of distinguishing language growth and language encouragement, which is highly important, from linguism, which means a certain narrow approach to the problem, looking at a linguistic area as a political area, as an administrative area, as a socio-economic area and ignoring other factors. Of course you may, you can make a language area, political area and largely it is so and you will make it more so, I do not mind, provided you are not rigid about it, about your boundaries. But not all the laws that you may pass can make a language area an economic area necessarily. It cannot, because an economic area depends on other factors, on resources, minerals, coal, iron, water power, electric power and a hundred and one things. You cannot produce them out of the language. It is that area that will produce them. So, those factors which are of the highest importance today in our development are necessarily ignored when a person talks of linguism pure and simple.

The other day, I ventured to suggest in the Lok Sabha² that at any rate even if we, by force of circumstances, have to submit to these present divisions and the suggested divisions, let us at least have some large zonal councils in the country. I suggested there may be four or five councils, one for the north, one for the south, one for the east, one for the west and one for Centre. Now, the whole idea was, I suggested that perhaps when a beginning is made it might be that these zonal councils are only advisory. Otherwise, it is difficult to get a move on because of vested interests. I should say by 'vested interests' I am not referring to them in the economic sense, but in the political sense. Each state is a vested interest to persons, if I may say so, like me and you and others—that is to say, the politician's vested interest comes in the way. So, I said let it be an advisory one dealing with, to begin with, certainly economic questions, all kinds of things, river valleys, etc., which are common, dealing, of course, with all border matters, because between almost every two states in India there are often border questions—not very vital. Sometimes they are important. Sometimes, border questions have been pending between two states for the last ten, twenty years, not settled; minor questions or major questions, because each state sticks to its own opinion. It is almost like this: they look upon these states as their personal zamindari and two zamindars quarrelling over a bit of land. So, there are economic matters and there are many other common matters which they could discuss and gradually the scope of common discussion and common subjects may increase. I do not know—in future, if the states are agreeable, one could even invest some powers to these zonal councils. However, the whole idea was to check this tendency in India towards too acute a state consciousness which has been encouraged even more by these arguments about linguism and the like. And I was happy that, as here, when I mentioned

2. On 21 December 1955. See the preceding item.

it in the Lok Sabha there was a great appreciation and almost, if not unanimous, near unanimous appreciation of this idea, because the fact is that while all of us are arguing about our disputes, about this border territory or that, all of us are beginning to feel some prickings of conscience. Are we going along the right lines? Some, of course, say so openly. Others may not say so openly, but, nevertheless, they feel it. Are we not encouraging disruption and fissiparous tendencies in India too much? Anything which suggests some kind of a common idea may immediately be acclaimed because it does not come into conflict with their particular interest. Broad principles can be easily accepted especially when they do not come in conflict with some particular interest. But this is an important matter and I do hope that whatever form, whatever ultimate decision might be adopted by Parliament in regard to the reorganization of states, one of them will be this—the formation of zonal councils with certain subjects allotted to them—or, indeed, the states can allot any common matters and they can discuss any matter. I would suggest that this zonal council should have some representative of the Centre so as to keep them in touch—I am rather blunt—lest a number of states should gang up against the Centre. That is a possibility and this would also possibly help in bringing about a certain balance in India.

Now, it is complained that North India—more especially Uttar Pradesh which is a very big State with a big population—is too heavy, that the scales in favour of North India weighed too much as compared with South India. To some extent, that may be true. North India is a bigger chunk than South India. But it should not be true essentially in working, and this idea of zonal council, of course, if there had been big states—would have taken place. But if unfortunately in the north we have bigger states and in the south smaller states, again that difficulty will arise. Now, with the zonal council, there might be a little better balancing of this aspect too.

This House knows that there are certain phrases current in some parts of the world which originated largely from India. There is the phrase *Panch Shila*—the Five Principles—the last of which is peaceful coexistence. And we have talked about it a great deal and other people have talked about in the international sense. And I believe that these ideas are spreading and affecting people's minds. Now, we stand up before the wide world for peaceful coexistence between nations. It does seem odd that there is a lack of peaceful coexistence between states. It is an extraordinary business. All our highfalutin language and our good advice to the peoples of the world falls flat. What will they say when they see such huge excitement about this question of states. I can understand the excitement about such a matter. But when that excitement goes beyond a certain limit, when it becomes one which leads to violence or to acute hostility between people of different states or different languages, then it becomes dangerous. And we must agree that much has been said and much

has been done in India which is beyond that limit of peaceful excitement, if I may say so, all reasonable approach, however excited one may be. Now, essentially the reasonable approach is this. The reasonable and democratic approach is to put forward your viewpoint with all the strength that you possess, with all the ability that you possess, but to be prepared to agree finally to whatever decision Parliament or whatever body takes—that is to say, to submit to adverse decisions, to submit to decisions which are against your own wishes. Why? Because any other course of action means upsetting the basic fabric of the nation. Now, that is the most vital matter of all. Nobody should take a step which might lead to that. Of course, democratic functioning means full discussion with everybody having the opportunity to discuss the matter; then some decision is taken, presumably by a majority, and then accepting their decision whatever it is, it being always open to the minority to try to convert the others at a later stage, if necessary. Now, I talk about majority and minority. Democracy, of course, means that the majority will prevail. It is obvious. But democracy means also something else than this. It does not mean, according to my thinking, that the majority will automatically function regardless of what the minorities think, because the majority, by virtue of its being in majority, has the power. Therefore, it has the greatest responsibility thrown upon it to function more or less as a trustee of the minority and always to consider the feelings—the interests—of the minority, not of course disliking it. Sometimes, a minority overpresses its claims and presumes to dictate to the majority and demands surrender from the majority. No majority can surrender, but it is equally important that the majority should never place a minority in such a position of helplessness that its views are not considered. And when I use the words “majority” and “minority”, I am using them whether it is a religious majority or minority; whether it is linguistic majority or minority or whether it is any other type of majority or minority. Democratic functioning means that the minority, whatever it is, has its full play and its views are fully considered and not overruled. Well, if the majority functions otherwise, then it is not functioning truly as a democratic organization and it goes wrong.

It is odd that we are giving in some places in India an exhibition of something opposed to peaceful coexistence when we claim that this should be the policy of nations. What is still worse is this. I am not talking merely of some excited persons or group of persons misbehaving. It does not matter if in a moment of high excitement somebody misbehaves provided he pulls himself up later. What matters even more than this are those basic dislikes that people begin to nurse in their bosom and which vitiate and spoil the atmosphere of all common work. That is terrible. I remember Gandhiji saying somewhere—he, a man of nonviolence or ahimsa, said—“If you have a sword in your bosom, take it out and use it instead of keeping it in your bosom.” Better have it out. It is better than to nurse these dislikes and hatred within yourself and vitiate

your life and your neighbour's life and everybody's life. And they come in the way of any kind of real, effective and common working. And this real, effective and common working is absolutely essential.

I come to the Second Five Year Plan. In the Planning Commission, we ponder over it, we discuss it. A panel of economists—the best economists in India—come and we discuss it. They are not of the same opinion. They differ of course. But, nevertheless many of them are of one opinion. They advise us on all kinds of new aspects of problems which come up because we are not discussing it in the air. We deal with hard realities. And among the hard realities, we have got to see how the people of India can function. It is a financial matter on the one side, and an administrative matter on the other. It is also a technical matter concerning technical knowledge and technical training. Yes, all these are necessary. But there is that big factor which is quite important. And that is: How will the millions of India function? And in that functioning there is another aspect also. What burden they can carry? In an underdeveloped nation, before you get the advantage of any advance, you have to carry certain burdens. If you have to build a house, you have to dig deep the foundation, and you have to work hard. The house will only come up later. And the house of our new India, and the mansion of this new India, that we are trying to build, requires hard work to be done, and a good deal of digging and a good deal of austerity. We talk in terms of resources. The question of resources depends a good deal on whether we can live a relatively hard and austere life, all of us. Of course, you would say, and rightly, that the great majority of the people of India do live terribly austere lives, and we should bring some relief to them. Now, I do not, for a moment, suggest that their austerity should increase. But it is inevitable that some part of the heavy burden that the country will have to carry, if we can fulfil big programmes, will fall even on the common people. That again does not mean that they will have to suppress or depress their present standard of living. But they may not be able to get the advantage of the cent per cent advance, because part of it will have to be channelled towards further advance in that sense. But you can never ask them to do that unless those who are better off set them an example. Therefore, all these problems do arise, but when compared to the larger issues, they are only petty matters, because we have to see them in the larger context of these important recommendations made by the Commission.

Now, Sir, the House realises no doubt that I am not in a position, at the present moment, to inform the House of any final recommendations that our Government will make, not that the Government cannot sit down and come to conclusions. We have sat down, and we have some ideas on the subject, many ideas rather, and after all we will come to some decisions, and it is only a question of days now, or a question of weeks, if you like. But there is a tremendous desire to get the largest possible measure of agreement. It was

easy for us more or less to adopt the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission, maybe with some variations here and there. It is a well thought out Report. But we wanted the largest measure of agreement. It was therefore natural for this process of trying to achieve agreement being carried out unofficially rather than officially. Officially, it becomes formal, and people begin to behave rigidly, as if they are appearing in a court of law. If they think that they are getting something less than their ultimate demand, they pitch their voice at its height, and it really becomes impossible to get on. Therefore, as I said, these matters very often have to be dealt with unofficially and privately. We have dealt with them in that way—as individuals, as private persons, as members of the Congress organization. And we have tried to find out what would represent this largest measure of agreement, without, of course, giving up any very basic principle. Broadly speaking, I am prepared to say that I value agreement more than even the pure merits of a question, because however good, logical and reasonable something might appear to you or to me, if the very persons who are going to function under that reject it or dislike it, or feel frustrated about it, the whole object of that meritorious deed is defeated. Therefore, we searched for agreement. In some cases, we have been fortunate enough to get that agreement, even though people felt rather strongly about those matters, and in other cases, well, we are struggling hard. And it may be that we may be able to get, if not complete, at least some measure of agreement. So, that has been our difficulty and that has involved a certain amount of delay in proceeding with rather more concrete decisions in Parliament. But obviously this matter cannot go on in this way indefinitely. It is bad for the country, and I hope that before very long, these formal—I need not call them decisions, because final decisions will be taken only by Parliament—recommendations will be no doubt placed before the country, and then, ultimately, Parliament will have to take a decision.

In this connection, Sir, I would like to refer to the case of Bombay. Now, the honourable Members know very well what the recommendation of the States Reorganization Commission was in regard to the Bombay State and the surrounding areas. And I may again say, as I have already said, that I knew nothing about it till I had the Report. That was the first time when I knew about it. I knew about the general structure of this recommendation. And the moment I read the recommendation, I liked it. It appealed to me—this attempt to solve a difficult problem. Of course, there can be no absolutely final solution of anything, and if anything is wrong, it can always be remedied later. But obviously, this was a good and a wise attempt, without doing any injury really to any strongly-held opinion of either Maharashtrians or Gujaratis or any other people living in the city of Bombay. And that was the opinion of most of my colleagues too. It was a good decision and we could have gladly put it forward to the country with our strong recommendation of its acceptance. In fact, I

have not changed my opinion about that. I still think that it is the best decision. But again, in our search for agreement, we met our friends from Maharashtra and others. And we were given to understand that for some reasons our Maharashtrian friends did not like it at all. In fact, they were strongly opposed to it. I still think that their opposition, if I may say so with all respect to them, is not logical or based on a cool, real and objective consideration of this question, but rather on certain reactions. However, the fact is that they said so, and we were driven to the course of suggesting something else. And even when we suggested something else, we intimated our preference to the States Reorganization Commission's decision. But we said, "Well, if that is not acceptable, let us have these three states." In effect, the question was of choosing a lesser evil. And when we suggested the three-state formula, we did not say anything in the air. We said it because at that time, we were particularly given to understand that that would be agreeable to the various parties, not to everybody, of course, but to the various parties concerned. Otherwise, why should we say something which we do not like very much? The only reason for saying so was that we thought it was agreeable. We were given to understand that. That is the position. If that is not agreeable, then there is no question of asking anybody to accept something which we dislike and others dislike. We go back to the States Reorganization Commission's formula, or to whatever agreement comes.

We have had to face all these difficulties, and in the meanwhile, the city of Bombay presents rather a sorry spectacle. I am very fond of Bombay not merely because it is a beautiful city but it has been the pride of India. Bombay is as much mine and every Member's here as of any resident of Bombay. Bombay took a great part, a very fine part in our struggle for freedom and we all rejoiced, and for this great proud city of Bombay to become a scene of mutual hatred, hostility and conflict, is painful. I would appeal to all those people in Bombay to think of these larger questions. I do not wish them to give up any of their ideas, but we must approach this question with some goodwill, amity, and without hatred and malice. One thing is absolutely certain that, whatever the decision, it does not matter what decision Parliament gives or we give or anybody else gives, if there is this hatred and conflict between large sections of the people of Bombay, then Bombay will suffer. There is no doubt about it. So, I do hope that this will be avoided. Of course, it is a matter of a short time now before final recommendations are made and ultimately final decisions are taken by Parliament, but even that short time is too long for conflicts, hostility and hatred, and it does a great deal of damage to our cause. Many of the honourable Members of this House have gone through all kinds of experiences in the past during our struggle for freedom and during those terrible days after the partition here in Delhi city, Punjab and in Pakistan on the other side, and any of us who saw those days can never forget them. We

have waded through blood and tears to reach where we are, and it is well that we remember that and how easy it is to destroy this fabric that we have built up in India during the last eight years, a fabric which is increasingly having the respect of the world, and for us ourselves to undermine it and destroy it would be tragedy indeed. Therefore, we have to go ahead with this matter and try to judge everything of course on the merits but always seeking the largest goodwill and agreement, and I hope that after this rather flush of excitement and hostility has played itself out, people will begin to think more quietly and objectively and remember that, if any of them give up their particular claims to the other party they are likely to give something infinitely more precious and valuable in exchange and that is the goodwill of that other party. That counts for much more than any bit of territory anywhere.

I think that the discussions that this House has had will help in the consideration of this problem, help us and help others. The main object of these discussions was that every aspect of these questions should be thoroughly explored because sometimes one is apt to ignore some aspect which does not come up before one's eyes, so that the country may also think of those aspects. In fact, we thought it rather improper for Government to come to any decision before these discussions had taken place in both Houses of Parliament, so that the Government might be in the possession of all these viewpoints. Now that these viewpoints have been expressed forcefully and with much skill by hundreds of Members of Parliament, we have passed that stage and we shall now go ahead, I hope with the goodwill of this House and the other House, to shoulder this burden of decision and come up with such decisions as appear right and proper to us, keeping in view always the unity and solidarity of India and the needs of her people....

11. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi

30 December 1955

My dear Medhi,²

I have just read an article in the *Assam Tribune* of December 23rd, to which the heading "Absurd & Dangerous" is given. This description is applied to my

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to G.B. Pant.
2. Chief Minister of Assam.

suggestion that there might be zonal areas comprising several states in India. It is further stated that this proposal is obnoxious and should be immediately torpedoed. We are reminded that Assam had been a separate independent kingdom till 1826 and also that it has a culture which it deeply cherishes, etc.

It so happens that what I had suggested has been largely welcomed not only in Parliament but in the greater part of India. Apart from this, however, I must say that there must be something wrong about the mentality of people who write in the manner of the Editor of the *Assam Tribune*. Is there any complex at work in this? Where does culture come in or the fact that Assam was independent one hundred and twenty years ago? I presume other states have also some culture of their own and have had it, and are also interested in maintaining it as well as developing it. Why is it imagined that Assam will lose its autonomy or be subjected to some other pressures? What exactly a zonal council might deal with is to be determined later. I suggested first of all that it might be advisory; secondly, that it should deal with all border matters, thirdly, that it might consider more especially economic matters. As a matter of fact, there have been two State Councils like this in India and they have been eminently successful in settling numerous petty problems which otherwise would have been dealt with by the Centre.

I am merely drawing your attention to this because I feel that this type of angry writing does not lead to any appreciation of the writer or of his viewpoint.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
30 December 1955

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your two letters of the 29th December.

For my part, I would like to have a zonal authority with some definite powers, but I fear that none of the Chief Ministers or state governments will agree to this. In fact, some of them suspect this very idea of a zonal authority. We have thus to start rather cautiously. My own idea was that it should certainly deal with economic questions of that area, apart from border disputes and matters of common concern. I am forwarding your letter to Pantji.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to G.B. Pant.

I had already seen Upton Sinclair's² letter which you have sent. This "Society for the Defence of Freedom in Asia" has been carrying on virulent propaganda against the communist countries.³ In accordance with our general policy, we did not encourage them to open centres in India, as we did not encourage the Soviet or Chinese Embassies to do so. It is quite wrong to say that the Soviet or the Chinese Embassy made any reference to us on this subject.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

2. Eminent American novelist; author of *The Jungle* and Lanny Budd novels.
3. In a letter to the editor of the American periodical, *The New Leader* of 14 November, Sinclair claimed that this Kolkata based society and its associate publisher Sita Ram Goel were critical of Soviet policies and were working for genuine freedom and democracy. He stated that this group was being labelled as an "espionage centre for America" and Nehru had agreed to suppress it during his visits to Beijing and Moscow and their embassies had been pressing him for action. He also wrote that it was strange "neutralism" to deny discussion and suppress news about "such evils" as putting people in concentration camps for expressing their opinions. Sinclair added that the free world should warn Nehru of what could happen when the military roads through Tibet were completed.

13. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi

1 January 1956

My dear Morarji,²

Ever since coming back to Delhi, and indeed before, I have been thinking repeatedly about this problem of Bombay State. When I discussed it with you the other day,³ it seemed that probably the most feasible way to deal with it would be to make Bombay a Centrally administered area. It was further suggested that it should be some kind of a second capital. I have not been able to understand fully what a second capital signifies. Of course, it has been suggested that this might mean a special minister for Bombay and some Central offices there. But the whole thing looks rather patchwork and artificial, just to

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bombay.
3. Nehru met Desai in Bombay on 29 December 1955 for about two hours on his way back to Delhi from his tour of the western coast.

suit the exigencies of the moment. Of course, if there is no other way, then one has to accept it.

What I am worried about, as you must be, is the future. Are Gujaratis and Maharashtrians always to pull against each other and create bitterness? Will the sense of separateness grow? I am greatly afraid lest, under pressure of circumstances existing today, we might take a step which has unfortunate consequences in the future. I realise that the pressure of present circumstances is great and we have to face difficulties whatever step we might take. But I have tried to consider this question from a long-term point of view. That is, I take it, the right approach, though the short-term prospect cannot be avoided as it continually impinges upon us.

The behaviour of a number of Maharashtrian leaders has been bad generally and more especially, towards you. There can be little guarantee that it will be better in future. And yet, in the nature of things, Maharashtrians and Gujaratis and people from other parts of India in Bombay and round about have to pull together.

What then are we to do? I have even thought of what Bapu might have advised us if he had been present. Possibly if he had been present, the present situation would not have arisen in the form it has done. Anyhow, it is anybody's guess what he would have advised, though he would undoubtedly have kept the long-term aspect of this question in view. Probably he would not have liked any approach of the bargaining kind which leaves behind tension and distrust. He would have preferred some gesture from both parties or from one which would take the sting out of this distrust or at least lay the foundations for better relations in future. His advice would naturally have been directed more to the Gujaratis than to the Maharashtrians. While appealing to both, he might well have expected the Gujaratis to go some steps further than the Maharashtrians.

I have discussed this with Pantji several times and he is also troubled about this matter and feels that constituting Bombay city as a separate state or as a Centrally administered area is not likely to lead to the development of an atmosphere of cooperation and the separatist elements might function more aggressively. We both feel that, in spite of the obvious difficulties we have to face and the very unfortunate turn that events have taken, we should still try to have a bilingual state. The only possible bilingual state now appears to be a state comprising Gujarat, Saurashtra, Bombay city, Maharashtra and Vidarbha. But there should be an important qualification attached to this that this whole question should be reviewed at the end of five years. This is necessary. This has both advantages and disadvantages, but the advantages seem to outweigh the disadvantages. Such a solution now, though not wholly agreeable to many and for just reason, would, I have little doubt, produce immediately a much better and more favourable atmosphere. There will be a relief from tension and

a return to normality and better behaviour all round. Some people may imagine that it is a victory and others that it is some kind of a defeat. But I have little doubt for the general feeling that the party that has brought about the settlement by reasonable and far-seeing attitude is the real victor.

In this suggestion it is essential that a five year period should be laid down, at the end of which the matter is considered afresh. This will have a salutary check on all concerned and will induce everyone to behave. The inclusion of Vidarbha will, I think, also be a good balancing factor. Although Vidarbha is Maharashtrian, it is different from Maharashtra proper and has a certain individuality of its own.

The state will be a very big one. I do not think that need frighten anybody. Such a solution of the Bombay State problem will have good results on the Punjab problem. We can then have at least one leading state as a bilingual one. Otherwise it will naturally be said that there is no bilingual state in India and we want to impose it only on the Punjab.

It is a great pity that your health is not good now and we cannot confer with each other as fully and as frequently as we want to. You have carried a great burden during these days and I can well understand how you have suffered both personally and in the larger national sense at the occurrences and the irresponsible and spiteful statements and speeches made. We have to carry this burden.

Naturally, we do not want to come to any decision without your approval. That is essential. I do not wish you to feel that we are putting an intolerable burden on you. I think that once a decision of this type is made, and made at your instance and not ours, the burden on you as on all of us will be much less. The whole point is that the initiative must be yours and your colleagues in Gujarat. I am quite sure that if this is done, Gujarat will gain basically and will deserve the congratulations of the rest of the country. No harm can come whatever happens during these five years. This period will give us time to think calmly and without the immediate pressure of events.

As you told me, Shankarrao had suggested to you to accept the Chief Ministership of the big state. Your reaction was natural. After all that had been said about you by prominent Maharashtra leaders, it was not an easy matter for you to agree to any such proposal. The fact of course is: you are the obvious person for this very responsible position. Nevertheless, I should not like any such thing to be made part of a bargain. That would not suit your dignity and you could very well make this perfectly clear. Later, when things are calmed down, this question can be considered in a more reasonable atmosphere and decisions can be taken then, whatever they might be. Informally some conventions may be established. But all this really should not be dealt with at this stage.

I have written to you frankly what I feel. I believe that probably Pantji is

also of this opinion. I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Agra for the Science Congress.⁴ I shall return on the 4th morning. I am sending a copy of this letter to Pantji.

As you know, our four-man Committee is meeting on the 4th and 5th. While we fully realise the urgency of a decision in this matter, we are not going to hurry because the consequences of any decision are great.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. For Nehru's speech at the Science Congress, see *ante*, pp. 126-133.

14. To Mukat Behari Lal Bhargava¹

New Delhi
8 January 1956

Dear Mukat Behari Lalji,²

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd January, which I have read with care.

It is clear that, in the circumstances now existing, Ajmer has to be merged into Rajasthan.³ The real question you raise is that of the capital. This is largely a matter of the general opinion in Rajasthan. We can hardly impose any such thing on Rajasthan. If others are willing, then I do not suppose there will be any objection on our part here.

The question of the capital is one which probably does not come into the picture in drafting the Bill to give effect to the constitutional changes in states.

I would gladly meet you or any others concerned from Ajmer, but there is no purpose in your bringing a deputation to see me now or in the near future. I am terribly full of engagements and important work. Later, if you like, you can see me.

I am sending your letter to Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to G.B. Pant.

2. President, Pradesh Congress Committee, Ajmer.

3. The SRC had recommended merger of Ajmer, the Abu Road *taluk* of Banaskantha district of Bombay, the Sunel enclave of the Mandsaur district of Madhya Bharat and the Loharu sub-*tehsil* of the Hissar district of the Punjab into Rajasthan.

15. Context for the Reorganization¹

Friends and Comrades,

I am addressing you on the radio after a long interval. I propose to say a few words to you about the Report of the States Reorganization Commission and the broad decisions that Government have taken in regard to its recommendations.²

But before I do that, I should like to draw your attention to the world we live in and the major problems that we have to face. It is in this wider context that we have to view everything, or else we shall lose ourselves in controversies and quarrels about relatively petty matters.

The dominant fact of the modern world is atomic energy and its dreadful symbols—the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. If these terrible weapons are let loose on humanity, then all our hopes are dashed to pieces and humanity perishes. We have protested against war and against the production and experimentation of these weapons. It must be remembered that even without war, if these experiments of explosions of the hydrogen bomb go on, eminent scientists tell us that the future of humanity is imperilled. And yet we have recently had such an experiment in the Soviet Union and we are told that there is going to be another experiment in the Pacific areas. All this is of tremendous practical importance to every human being and it raises moral issues of great significance.

We have talked of peace and followed a policy of peace in our external relations. We have put forward the *Panch Shila* or the Five Principles and spoken of peaceful coexistence. All this has no meaning if the hydrogen bomb pursues its triumphant and malevolent career.

In a few days time, we shall celebrate Republic Day and complete six years, since the formation of our great Republic. During these years we have made marked progress and impressed the world not only with what we have done but with our energy and determination to achieve great things in the future. We have laid down the socialist goal and we are on the eve of the

1. Broadcast from All India Radio, New Delhi, 16 January 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Also printed in newspapers on 17 January 1956. Nehru also spoke in Hindi.
2. In a communique issued by the Home Ministry on 16 January 1956, the Government announced acceptance of most of the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission. But it was decided to divide the Bombay region into Maharashtra including Vidarbha, Gujarat including Saurashtra and Kutch, and a Centrally administered Bombay city including some surrounding villages. Decisions on the future of the Punjab and the Telengana area of Hyderabad were still under consideration.

Second Five Year Plan which will require, as everything that is worthwhile requires, a tremendous effort on the part of our people. More than ever we require unity, cooperation and hard work.

It is in this context that we have to view the proposals for the reorganization of states. Even before the Report of the Commission was presented to us, many of us felt that the recommendations of such a Report must necessarily be given full weight and accepted, unless there was some overpowering reason against the acceptance of some part. The Report was presented to us on the 30th September. We were anxious to take the public into our confidence and we published this Report within ten days. After that, in our desire to follow democratic procedures to the utmost, we consulted innumerable representatives from all over India and heard their viewpoints at length. There was force in the arguments advanced, even though they were sometimes opposed to each other. State governments and state assemblies were consulted and Parliament had marathon debates. The more we considered this matter in consultation with our colleagues, the more it appeared to us that the only right policy was to accept broadly the recommendations of this Report which had been prepared after great thought and labour by three eminent and impartial men. It was obvious that in regard to almost every recommendation, there was dissatisfaction somewhere and some reasons for it. It was impossible to evolve something that was acceptable to all.

We have, therefore, proceeded on this basis of accepting the recommendations of the Report except in a few cases where we found it wholly impracticable to do so.

Among the major questions were these affecting the Bombay State, the Punjab and the proposed Madhya Pradesh State.³ I am glad that the new Madhya Pradesh has been widely accepted by the people concerned and I have no doubt that this decision is a wise one and will benefit the people of this great State. I am glad also that the new enlarged Mysore State including the Kannada areas will come into existence.

In regard to the Punjab, we have not yet arrived at any final decision.

We have given the greatest thought and care to the question of the Bombay State. We felt that the recommendation of the Commission was a right one, fair to all concerned and likely to lead to progress in this State which has acquired an enviable reputation for its efficiency and progress. But circumstances arose which made the implementation of those decisions impracticable. We

3. The SRC had recommended that after the separation of Vidarbha, a new state of Madhya Pradesh should be created consisting of 14 residuary districts of Madhya Bharat except the Sunel enclave of the Mandsaur district and the Sironj sub-division of the Kotah district of Rajasthan.

explored every avenue with eminent representatives of various viewpoints.⁴ In particular, we were anxious to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Maharashtrian people. Bombay city, as is well known, is geographically surrounded by Maharashtra and may be considered a part of it. Even in this city, the dominant and largest linguistic group consists of Maharashtrians. Whatever be the fate of Bombay, the Maharashtrians are bound to play a dominant role there.

After innumerable consultations and considering every aspect of the question, we have come to the conclusion that Bombay city should be centrally administered and two other great States should be formed – one, the Maharashtra State including Vidarbha and the other Gujarat, including Saurashtra and Kutch.

It is obvious that any decision requires the cooperation of the people affected. It is equally obvious that Bombay city is closely associated with its surrounding areas and there must be cooperation and coordination of their activities. Bombay city has played a glorious role in India's history and in our struggle for freedom. It has been the pride not only of those who live in Bombay but, of the whole of India.

I earnestly hope that this decision will be considered dispassionately by all concerned and accepted, even though many may not agree with it. We have to finalise this matter and not to go on arguing indefinitely.

In regard to the many border issues, we have decided to accept the recommendations of the Commission except where minor adjustments have been made with the consent of the parties concerned. It may be possible still to make some further adjustments if there is agreement.

The only major issue that remains is that of the Punjab. It is clear that the future of the Punjab depends on the goodwill and cooperation of the Sikhs and the Hindus there. Whatever the decision, this is essential. I trust this will be forthcoming.

Many difficulties have arisen in the past and many complaints have been made which have justification. These difficulties have existed in many parts of India and they will not be solved merely by the adjustment of boundaries. It is

4. Discussions were held with the Congress leaders of Maharashtra, who, after much accommodation, suggested Bombay city to be centrally-administered for two to three years, at the end of which it should be merged with Maharashtra by a simple majority of the legislature. During this period it should remain the capital of Maharashtra. While Morarji Desai and S.K. Patil supported the CWC proposal, many members of the Bombay Government supported the demands of Samyukta Maharashtra Conference. In fact, Naravane, a Deputy Minister, was the secretary of the Samyukta Maharashtra Conference, and was asked to resign.

necessary, therefore, to have a number of safeguards which will protect linguistic minorities as well as others. We have broadly accepted, therefore, the recommendations in regard to safeguards contained in the Report of the Commission.

We are recommending also the formation of five zonal councils which will give an opportunity for the states concerned in each zone to confer together about common problems and develop the habit of considering each other's difficulties and finding solutions for them. It is this outlook of mutual understanding and toleration that is essential if we are to progress. The idea of any state standing by itself is, of course, absurd apart from its being opposed to the basic conception of India's unity.

I would earnestly appeal to all our countrymen and comrades to consider these matters in a spirit of peaceful cooperation. India appeals today to the world for peaceful coexistence between nations, how much more is that necessary within the broad confines of our dear country. We shall be false to our message if we do not live up to it ourselves. Above all, we have to approach every problem in a spirit of sweet reasonableness and cooperation. We shall go forward together or not at all. Violence is the very negation of what we stand for and our progress.

This year, we celebrate an event of high significance—the two thousand five hundredth anniversary of the Buddha. Let us remember the message of this greatest son of India whose light has illumined not only our country but the world for these thousands of years. That message was inscribed later by the great Asoka on rock stones which stand today to bear witness to the truth that has guided India through the ages. It is only by the recognition of this great truth that our country and the world will prosper. If the world denies and repudiates it and goes along its violent courses, it will perish.

Jai Hind!

16. To S. Nijalingappa¹

New Delhi

19 January 1956

My dear Nijalingappa,²

I have your letter of the 17th January. I agree with you that Bellary is an

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to UN Dhebar.

2. Member of Parliament.

unfortunate district,³ but it seems to me that your approach to this question, though it has some justification, completely ignores other factors. As you must know, we have accepted the Commission's recommendations almost about every matter except, of course, the major question of Bombay. We have come to the conclusion that it would be improper for us to sit in judgement over these recommendations or, indeed, to constitute ourselves as an original court for this purpose and at this stage. If you read the Commission's Report, you will find a detailed examination of this particular case. To say, therefore, that there is no case at all in favour of the Commission's recommendation seems to me odd.

Further, you express your surprise that the Tungabhadra project should come in the way in this matter. The high level canal in this project was conceived for the Rayalaseema areas and the whole design of it was made accordingly. In fact, the whole plan has been passed by the Planning Commission and by the Government of India. The matter has been held up simply because of objections raised by the Mysore Government. The Planning Commission passed this plan and agreed to the high level canal on certain express understandings. If those do not hold, then the plan does not hold.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. After being administered as a part of the composite Madras State for more than one hundred and fifty years, the Bellary district was divided between Mysore and Andhra in 1953. Out of the ten *taluks*, three formed part of Andhra and seven including Bellary *taluk*, which had a mixed Kannada, Telugu and Hindustani speaking population, formed part of Mysore State. The SRC had recommended that three *taluks* of Bellary, Hospet, Sirugappa and a part of Mallapuram sub-*taluk*, in which the dam and headworks of the Tungabhadra project were situated, should be transferred to Andhra.

17. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
23 January 1956

My dear Deshmukh,

I received your letter of January 22 yesterday afternoon. I did not reply to it then as we were discussing the larger issue in the Working Committee. The Committee passed a resolution today, a copy of which I enclose.²

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.

2. See the next item.

You will notice that this resolution deals with the question of resignations and gives some directions which will of course apply to the Maharashtra PCC as to others.

Nobody is happy at recent events³ or some of the decisions taken.⁴ But, as you know, we were driven to them by a succession of events. The Working Committee considered the entire situation and took a very grave view of it.⁵ I think that this is more serious than even the situation created by the partition and we have to give a positive lead.

You will be interested to know of a very significant development which has resulted from the discussions in the Working Committee. A joint statement has been issued by the Chief Ministers of Bihar and West Bengal,⁶ a copy of which I enclose. This has given a positive lead for a new direction of thinking. Already it is catching and there is a possibility of a larger southern state.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Following announcement of the Government's decision on 16 January 1956 for a division of the composite Bombay State into Gujarat, Maharashtra and centrally-administered Bombay city, Bombay witnessed riots, arson, looting, firing and destruction of public property. Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, which was formed by the Congressmen of Maharashtra, Praja Socialists and Communists, opposed this decision leading to resignations in the local bodies. Riots spread to other areas of Maharashtra also. A large number of Gujaratis left the Bombay city, and rail and road services were also disrupted.
4. In an emergency meeting on 19 January 1956, the Maharashtra PCC called upon the MPs and MLAs to tender their resignations as a protest against the Government's decision on the future of Bombay city. This resolution was to be endorsed by their General Body on 28 January. Deshmukh, among others, resigned on 22 January. However, on 23 January, the Congress Working Committee asked them to withdraw their resignations.
5. Deshmukh replied on 24 January 1956 that he was not a Congressman and therefore was not bound by the Working Committee's mandate. Resignation was the only constitutional way open to him "of not being a party to a wrong and unjust decision."
6. See *post*, pp. 212-214.

18. Call to the Nation¹

During the last three months the Working Committee and its sub-committee² have laboured incessantly and with anxious care in order to find as large a measure of agreement as possible in regard to the reorganization of states. At an early stage they expressed the opinion that the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission should be generally accepted, such changes as were considered necessary being made by agreement. The sub-committee appointed by the Working Committee for this purpose met and discussed various proposals with representatives of all the states concerned and endeavoured to find a way of agreement. In a number of cases agreement was reached and the proposals of the Commission were accepted with minor variations.

2. The Committee were, above all, anxious that the unity and solidarity of India should be maintained and furthered and they noted with deep regret that disruptive forces were at work in the name of linguistic provinces but often with other aims in view. They tried to check them and to emphasize that primary importance should be attached to the solidarity of India as a whole and not to administrative divisions. Unfortunately, disruptive elements, taking advantage of the people's love of their language, misled many people and gathered strength.

3. The Committee paid very particular attention to the future of the great State of Bombay. In their desire to arrive at an agreed solution of this problem, they had numerous consultations with their colleagues from the various parts of Bombay State, and, as a consequence, certain proposals were put forward from time to time. Each one of these proposals appeared to have been accepted at the time but was later rejected. Finally, again in consultation with the people concerned, the decision in regard to the Bombay State was announced, together with other decisions.

4. In spite of the efforts of the Committee, serious disturbances took place in Bombay city resulting in vast damage to person and property. Bombay and India were disgraced and dishonoured. In some other parts of India also deplorable occurrences, though on a lesser scale, took place. All these occurrences have produced a situation which imperils the future of India and her people. The ideals for which India has stood have been repudiated and trampled underfoot not only by the miscreants who indulged in this orgy of violence but also by those who gave them direct or indirect support. Even the

1. Resolution of the Congress Working Committee. Drafted by Nehru, 23 January 1956. New Delhi. File No. G-21/1955, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. The sub-committee of the CWC, appointed in October 1955, consisted of Nehru, Dhebar, Pant and Azad.

pictures of the Father of the Nation were insulted. It is clear that those who indulged in this disgraceful behaviour cared little for India or the well-being of her people. They were either anti-social elements or those who had been misled into these wrong courses. There can be no progress of any kind through mob violence and denial of democratic and peaceful methods.

5. Even though mob violence has been curbed by governmental action, the situation that has arisen is a dangerous one and full of peril for the nation. No citizen of India who loves his country and certainly no Congressman can view this situation without the gravest anxiety. In the larger context of things it is of relatively small importance what rearrangement of states there might be within India. It is of the highest importance that anti-national, reactionary and anti-social forces should not be allowed to lead the country to disruption and disaster. It is the primary duty, therefore, of every Indian to realise the dangers of this present situation and to do his or her utmost to stop all activities and trends which are doing so much injury to the country.

6. It should be clearly understood that there can be no surrender to violence and methods of terrorism and that they have to be met with all the forces of the State in order to protect innocent citizens and the well-being of the nation. It must also be clearly understood that no changes will be made in the decisions already arrived at or that might be taken later in regard to the reorganization of states because of violence or terroristic methods.

7. The Committee have been informed that some Ministers and members of legislatures have offered or propose to offer their resignations from their governments or legislatures. Such resignations in the present context can only encourage mob action and violence and are injurious to the nation as well as to the causes they are supposed to further. Even from the point of view of the Congress Constitution, no resignation can be tendered without the approval of the Parliamentary Board or the Working Committee. No Pradesh Congress Committee is competent to demand such resignations and any such action is ultra vires of the Constitution and cannot be approved. All such resignations, where they have been made, should be withdrawn.

8. Recent events have demonstrated the grave danger of encouraging any tendencies which promote disruption, separatism and provincialism and it has become the urgent and primary task of the nation to curb these tendencies and to give a new direction to people's thinking. The whole question of the reorganization of states must, therefore, be viewed from this positive point of view so that it might lead to the promotion of Indian unity.

9. The Working Committee, therefore, call upon the nation and, in particular, every Congressman to put forth every effort to meet the challenge of this grave situation and not to allow any difference of opinion over relatively minor matters to come in the way of this larger effort. For every Congressman it is essential to work for the unity and discipline of the Congress which has been the strongest

force in India in bringing about the integration of all parts of this great country. To weaken that force is to weaken India at a moment when broad horizons open out for her to progress. It is the duty of every Pradesh Congress Committee as well as all the other Congress Committees to preserve this discipline of the Congress and to adhere to the ideals of the Congress, even though this might lead for the moment to unpopularity. It has been the Congress policy not only to have the right objective but always to remember that right means have to be adopted. At a time of crisis and difficulty it is all the more important for these basic facts to be remembered and not weakly to surrender to evil forces. The Congress has been the historic agent for achieving India's freedom and for the realization of the manifest destiny of the Indian people. Freedom has been achieved but is imperilled afresh not by any external force but by our own inner weaknesses. The Congress is, therefore, called upon again to defend this freedom which has been won at such great cost. Every Indian who cherishes this freedom must defend it, keeping the ideals and high destiny of our country always in view.

19. Proposed Merger of West Bengal and Bihar¹

Recent developments in various parts of India in regard to the proposals for the reorganization of the states have caused us and many others profound dismay. Provincial and linguistic feelings have been roused to such a pitch that separatist tendencies are imperilling the unity of India. This situation has been discussed at some length by the Working Committee of the Congress who have passed a resolution on this subject. In this resolution, they have drawn attention to the grave danger that faces the nation and have suggested that the whole question of the reorganization of states must be viewed from a positive point of view so that it might lead to the promotion of Indian unity.

We have given earnest thought to this situation and to the resolution of the Working Committee, and we feel that we, the Chief Ministers of Bihar and West Bengal, should endeavour to give some content to this proposal in the larger interest of the nation as well the interests of our two States.

The Government of India has given its decision on the recommendations

1. Joint statement of B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal and S.K. Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, proposing merger of the two states. Drafted by Nehru and released on 23 January 1956. JN Collection.

of the States Reorganization Commission regarding the border areas of West Bengal and Bihar. As subsequent events have shown, neither the Report nor the Government of India's decision has given satisfaction to the people either of Bengal or of Bihar. The people of Bihar are dissatisfied because the decision means the transfer of some territory from Bihar to West Bengal, on the other hand, the people of West Bengal feel that their State has not been given enough territory.

These feelings are natural and are easy to understand when the decisions are considered from the point of view only of the two respective States, but we cannot forget the major fact that these two States are parts of the Indian Union and are closely allied to each other in many ways. Some of the border areas between the two States have many common features and, from the economic point of view, many projects also concern the two States. Inevitably, there has to be close cooperation between the two for their mutual advantage. Any step which creates misunderstanding and leaves a sense of bitterness and frustration will be harmful to both the States as well as to the larger cause of India, to which all of us are devoted. We feel, therefore, that every attempt should be made to find a more permanent solution of this problem which puts an end to these tendencies towards separatism and enables the people of these two States to cooperate in the larger interest of the nation and their own States.

We propose, therefore, that the two States should be merged, one with the other, to form one single State. It was not very long ago that Bengal and Bihar were parts of one State.² It should not be difficult to create an atmosphere of a happy voluntary merger. There is no question in this of either State having to submit to any decision imposed upon it, but rather of their own free will to come to this important decision which, we have no doubt, will be beneficial to the two States and will lead to a larger life and greater prosperity. From the economic point of view and Five Year Plans, it will also be easier to plan for progress in both these areas. In particular, this will be a significant example of that positive approach to the problem of Indian unity to which reference has been made in the Working Committee's resolution. We are confident that this approach for the solution of a difficult problem will be welcomed by all right-thinking and far-sighted people not only in our two States but in the country.

While we have made this proposal and expressed our agreement to the merger of the two States of Bihar and West Bengal in full confidence of its acceptance by the people concerned, it is clear that the details of it will have to be carefully worked out, the people concerned will have to be consulted and an atmosphere of voluntary reunion and cooperation has to be created. To that

2. Bihar and Orissa formed a part of Bengal Presidency till a separate province of Bihar and Orissa was created on 1 April 1912. Orissa was separated from Bihar on 1 April 1936.

end we intend to devote ourselves immediately. We trust that the Government of India will give us their cooperation in this great test. We are happy to state that the Working Committee of the Congress has welcomed this joint proposal of ours.

20. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
28 January 1956

My dear Deshmukh,

Your letter dated the 26th January² reached me only last evening. It may have come to my house somewhat earlier that day but as I was out for the greater part of the day, I did not see it. Actually I read it at about 9 p.m. last evening.

You refer to your resignation. I had hoped that this matter was over and did not require any further consideration. Should you, however, wish to talk about this, I shall of course, gladly do so. Surely it is always better to have these talks between colleagues before taking any such step. I wish indeed that you had done so before writing to me on the 22nd January.³

You refer to the decision taken in regard to Bombay. You will remember that at the Cabinet meeting (I think this was on the 8th January) the question of Bombay was referred to and discussed for some time. In the statement I made, I gave an account of our various talks with the Maharashtrian and other leaders and of our attempt to get the principal parties to agree to a composite State including the whole of Maharashtra, Bombay city, Gujarat and Saurashtra. Unfortunately this approach had to be given up because finally the Maharashtrian leaders did not agree with it. You yourself said then that, much as you would

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Deshmukh had objected to the procedure followed by the Cabinet in regard to the decision about Bombay arising out of the SRC Report. He had written that the actual Cabinet minutes of the meeting of 8 January 1956 were somewhat ambiguous and between 13 and 18 January some decisions about Bombay were taken by "the Home Minister on behalf of the Government and announced. This was clearly in excess of the authority of the Committee of three, much less his authority."
3. Deshmukh had resigned on 22 January 1956 as a protest against the Government's decision on the future of Bombay city. After a discussion with Nehru on 30 January, he agreed to reserve his decision until further consultations had been held with a view to reaching a settlement.

have liked this approach, it was too late for it now. The consequence was that the two alternatives left for us to consider were (1) Bombay city to be centrally administered and (2) three states including Bombay city state. In this matter we were prepared to be guided by the wishes of the Maharashtrian leaders. Some of the members of the Cabinet stated that according to their information, the Maharashtrian leaders preferred, of these two alternatives, the centrally administered one. Naturally, this did not mean that they liked it very much but, in the circumstances, they preferred it to the other. You then said that you had been authorised by the Maharashtrian leaders to state that they would prefer the three state formula. In view of your assurance to this effect and because of our desire to meet the wishes of the Maharashtrian leaders as far as possible, it was generally thought that this must be accepted.

The question that remained then was how to bring round the people of Vidarbha to join the Maharashtra State. It was suggested that the best course would be for the leaders of Maharashtra and Vidarbha to meet soon in Delhi and discuss this matter. We would of course help. Thereupon, I think, you got in touch with Maharashtrian leaders and asked them to come here the next day.

When the Maharashtrian leaders came here, they told us that they did not agree to the three state formula and that you had apparently misunderstood them. Of the two, they preferred the proposal for Central administration of Bombay city. We were thus put in a difficulty and in fact we had little choice left but to agree to this. Throughout, our desire was to go as far as we could to meet the wishes of the Maharashtrian leaders.

This position was explained to the Cabinet at a subsequent meeting. The Cabinet had previously referred, as you have pointed out, all these various matters to the sub-committee of three. It may be that the reference was not quite clear. But, in the circumstances, the Cabinet itself had as a whole expressed its opinion previously. Subsequently, the Cabinet was informed of the other developments when you were present there and, as you mention in your letter, you did not then raise this question.

I agree with you that in the circumstances it would have been desirable for the whole matter to be placed before Cabinet again. But my own mind was clear about Cabinet's views on this subject which had been discussed previously. Also that the Committee of three had been authorised to deal with such matters as arose.

In regard to Visalandhra and Punjab, certainly any proposals will be placed before Cabinet before final decisions are taken or announced.

Should you wish to do so, you can refer to any of these matters at the next meeting of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21. Proposed Union of West Bengal and Bihar¹

Suggestions about the union of West Bengal and Bihar have sometimes been made in the past, but no importance was attached to them and they represented some odd individual opinion. When, therefore, this proposal came in the joint statement of the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar, it came with all the force of novelty and unexpectedness. The extreme and dangerous developments of linguism and separatism had shaken the people greatly and yet they did not quite know how to get out of their clutches. Recent events in Bombay as well as in some other parts of India had suddenly uncovered the dangers facing India and the rapid deterioration almost everywhere in the national approach to the basic problem of Indian unity. Over linguistic provinces, the basest passions were aroused and people seemed to forget the lesson they had learnt with so much difficulty during the days of our national struggle. Among thinking people, there was almost a feeling akin to despair at this development and no obvious way out was visible.

2. During the discussions at the meeting of the Working Committee, all these dangers and disastrous trends were pointed out. In fact, it was stated that, if this process continued, it would split up India, injure greatly the national organisation and almost lead to some kind of a civil conflict in many parts of India.

3. It was in this context that the proposal for the union of West Bengal and Bihar was made. The moment reference was made to this, it seemed as a ray of light piercing the darkness, and a burden seemed to be lifted from the minds of the members present.

4. When the joint statement of the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar was published, the general reaction in the public mind was also one of tremendous relief as if some miracle had happened. The feeling of frustration gave way in some measure to exhilaration at the thought that we as a people were capable of finding solutions to the most difficult of problems. In particular, the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar received congratulations from all over the country for their great statement.

5. There were some critics in Bihar and West Bengal, but even in these two States there were many who expressed their appreciation of this move. In other places, the reaction was almost entirely favourable, except for the communists and some other small groups. Immediately, people began thinking of extending this principle to the South of India and elsewhere.

6. It is true that the immediate incentive to this move was the realization

1. Note prepared at the suggestion of B.C. Roy and sent to him and G.B. Pant, 29 January 1956. JN Collection.

of danger to India and to our future. But there was something much more to it than that and, when examined further, the proposal appeared to be an eminently sound and reasonable one from the points of view of the two States concerned. The argument of linguism had obscured many other and more important aspects. Language was of course important and had to be preserved both for cultural and practical reasons, in education and public affairs. But the mixing up of language with other matters had brought about a sense of conflict which was injurious even to the languages and much more so to other matters affecting the States.

7. The most important aspect is the development of West Bengal and Bihar, as indeed of other parts of India. It so happens that the richest area in India from the point of view of mineral ores and development is the area which comprises part of West Bengal, part of East Bihar as also part of Orissa. This area, if properly developed, will become the heart of industrial India. It is clear that any scheme of developing this area must involve the closest cooperation between West Bengal and Bihar so that both States might benefit fully and there should be no delays in drawing up schemes of development as well as implementing them. Such delays are almost inevitable if the two States function separately. If there is a feeling of rivalry and conflict between the two, both will suffer and the area will not be developed as it should be. There are many other reasons too which incline one to favour such a union.

8. Will such a union come in the way of the political, economic or cultural life of the two States. Economically, it is quite clear that it will be advantageous to both. Politically also it should prove beneficial. In some ways Bengal and Bihar complement each other and there should be no sense of conflict. Indeed, the unfortunate sense of conflict that has arisen and which is bound to come in the way of real cooperation will be removed. Culturally, there is no reason why either State should suffer. In fact, economic growth will lead to more rapid cultural advancement.

9. Such union should not be thought of in terms of either of the present states dominating over the other. In many ways, each will continue its life subject to a common approach to major problems of development and the like.

10. Such a united state would naturally have two official languages, namely, Bengali and Hindi. Both these languages will be official for the entire State. In practice, however, certain pre-eminence will be given in each State to one language, that is, in West Bengal, Bengali would have pre-eminence in educational affairs, while Hindi is a compulsory No. two language. In Bihar, Hindi will be in the same way the language No. one. In border areas which are bilingual, the two languages will be equally encouraged.

11. There will obviously be one Governor and I think one Public Service Commission. There might be one High Court or two High Courts might continue. There is no harm in two High Courts as the work will be considerable. In any

event, even if there is one High Court, there will have to be powerful benches in the other regions of the State.

12. There will have to be one Cabinet and one Legislature. In addition to a Chief Minister, it would be desirable to have a Deputy Chief Minister belonging to the other region. A convention may develop, though this cannot be a very rigid one, for Chief Ministers to be chosen alternately from the two regions.

13. There might be two Regional Councils—one for each of the major language areas, that is, West Bengal and Bihar. Each Regional Council will consist of all the members elected to the Legislature from that particular region, the Chairman or President being a Minister from that region. There may be also Deputy Ministers attached to each Regional Council with the special duty assigned to them to look after the interests of that region in regard to the subjects dealt with by the Council. These subjects would largely be developmental subjects including five year plan, education, health, etc. The Regional Councils will not have any legislative authority which will be exercised by the united legislature only. But the Councils can well advise and make recommendations about the subjects allotted to them, to the State Cabinet or Government or to the State Legislature and normally and by convention their advice should be accepted, unless there is some conflict between the two regions or unless the State Cabinet is of a contrary opinion in regard to some vital matter affecting the interests of the State as a whole. In such cases some plan should be devised to get over the difficulty. The Governor might be given the formal authority to decide. The Governor may do so after consulting the Central Government. Normally this kind of situation should not arise.

14. The Assembly should of course be elected on the present basis. This will mean a larger number of Members from Bihar than from West Bengal. This of course does not and should not mean that the Members from Bihar will dominate over the others. The existence of Regional Councils will ensure that this does not happen.

15. If there is a second Chamber, it might be possible to have equal representation from the two regions in it. This is a matter for consideration.

16. The Five Year Plan, as passed by the present two States and the Planning Commission, should remain as it is and be implemented in both regions. Of course it can be varied and added to by consent.

17. Generally speaking, the internal structure of the two regions should continue as it is and not be interfered with, that is, the land system, the tenancy laws, etc. In fact, as little interference should take place at the beginning as possible so that the life of each region might continue as before and there is no feeling of upsetting it.

18. The principal capital of the united State should be Calcutta. It is desirable, however, that Patna should be some kind of a second capital and

that the legislature might meet there for a session every year. Some important government offices should also remain in Patna.

19. These are some odd ideas about this proposed union of the two States, rather hurriedly jotted down. The main thing is for the principle to be agreed to and then for representatives of the two States to consider the details. In considering these details, it should be remembered that while in some matters there must be full control by the Cabinet and Government of the State, in many other matters the regions will have full play always subject to coordination. Even in regard to taxation, it would be advisable not to change the present structure of either State too much. Additional taxation in any one region might by agreement be used in that particular region.

20. It would be desirable not to enter into as many details to begin with but to decide on the broad question of a union with the details to be worked out later.

21. It seems very necessary that the earliest possible steps should be taken to get an agreement between the two States about this union in broad principles. That will enable the details to be worked out soon and the Government of India can then proceed on this basis. This will also have a good effect on developments in other parts of India. If there is delay to begin with, then not only will everything be hung up but an opportunity will be given to those hostile to this proposal to build up an agitation. The powerful effect that this proposal has had in the whole of India will also tend to fade away if there is delay.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi

4 December 1955

My dear Sri Babu,²

You will forgive me for repeatedly reminding you about two matters which I have brought to your notice. Whenever any complaint is made to me and this does not appear to me to be frivolous, I enquire into it. I think it is our duty to enquire into all these complaints that we receive. If the complaint is justified, then we take such action as is necessary. If it is not justified, then the matter ends.

I wrote to you nearly two years ago about certain allegations made by Mrs Haider,³ MLA, against Shri Shyama Prasad Singh,⁴ Chairman, Bihar Legislative Council, and I have sent reminders repeatedly.⁵ So far as I know, no answer has come from you.

The second case dealt with certain allegations by Mahamaya Prasad,⁶ MLA, regarding the Murli Hills incident.⁷ About this I wrote for the first time in May 1955. You were good enough to send me a brief reply. As this did not deal with particular points, I wrote again. To that, I have had no reply.

May I presume, therefore, that these allegations are correct?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.
3. Nayeema Khatoon Haider.
4. Shyama Prasad Sinha (b.1895); Congressman from Bihar; imprisoned several times during freedom movement; chairman, Bihar Legislative Council, 1948-58; chairman, Navashakti Publishing Company.
5. The allegation of misuse of official funds was levelled by Haider at the behest of another MLC.
6. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha (1909-87); President, Saran District Congress Committee, 1935-51; founder member of Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, chairman of Bihar unit of Socialist Party, rejoined Congress; Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly and Council, 1952-74; leader, Samyukta Vidhayak Dal, and Chief Minister, Bihar, 1967-68; Member (Janata Party), Lok Sabha, 1977-78.
7. Sinha had raised the long standing labour problem in limestone and cement factories in the Murli Hills in South Bihar, to which the State Government had not been responsive.

2. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi

19 December 1955

My dear Dhebarbhai,²

You sent me on December 12th a letter from Nathabhai M. Parmar from Baroda. This letter raises an important issue which can hardly be dealt with in a brief reply. Perhaps, we can discuss it sometime with Pantji and Jagjivan Ram.³

I am certainly not prepared to accept the contention that the Scheduled Caste candidates selected by the Congress must be members of the All India Depressed Classes League.⁴ Naturally, we would pay respect to their recommendation and consider it carefully but we cannot hand over the choice of candidates to another organisation whatever it might be.

I am returning the letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Indian National Congress.
3. Union Minister for Communications.
4. The Depressed Classes Leaders' Unity Conference, held at Kanpur in May 1935, formed an All India Depressed Classes League in order to achieve a well-knit and united political movement of the depressed classes. The League, which was pro-Congress, elected Rasiklal Biswas as its President and Jagjivan Ram and P.N. Rajbhoj as its secretaries.

3. Congress and the Nation¹

The Indian National Congress may be compared to national organizations in other countries, but the comparison would not take us far. In its inception, it was perhaps not unlike similar organizations elsewhere but, as it developed, it was adapted more and more to suit the Indian pattern and was given a character which was peculiarly suited to India. Great leaders like Lokmanya Tilak and

1. Message for a souvenir brought out by the Reception Committee of the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress held on 11 and 12 February 1956. New Delhi, 31 December 1955. JN Collection.

Gokhale moulded it. Then came Gandhiji who suddenly gave it a completely new turn and changed its content also in the process. Indeed, the new turn could not have been given without changing that content. It became a real mass organization, representing our common people, disciplined for action and, naturally, looking up to those people for support and inspiration. Thus, it developed a social content which few purely nationalist organizations have done in the past. Gandhiji gave it also a method of action entirely based on peaceful means. That itself was a novel idea and required some time to be appreciated by the people. Thus, the Congress represented nationalism, a strong social outlook in favour of the masses, discipline and revolutionary action through peaceful methods. Such a combination was unique and was peculiarly suited to the genius of India, just as Gandhiji was the ideal leader for India.

The history of India during these eventful years became, progressively, the history of the national movement led and controlled by the Congress. Ultimately, after many pitfalls, we achieved freedom and thus justified completely the efficacy of Gandhiji's methods. Those methods were essentially revolutionary and at the same time constructive. That is to say, while they worked for and brought about tremendous changes, there was no break, such as violent revolutions bring about, and there was a continuity. The consequence was that these changes were brought about with a minimum of upsets and suffering and left no trail of bitterness behind. That also was a unique achievement.

After the attainment of independence, in a sense, the Congress had finished its primary task, and the question arose what its future should be. This was no easy matter to decide as the binding link of opposition to British rule no longer served its purpose and other problems became more prominent. It was obvious, however, that India required a strong, widespread and disciplined organization with a clear social outlook, to face the new problems that had arisen. There was no other organization that could take its place and there was danger of separatist tendencies breaking up the unity of India which was so essential. There was also danger of extremist policies, both of the leftist and the rightist variety, working in sectarian groups, producing division and weakness in the country, and making it very difficult to have any strong basis for advance, when political unity and social advance had become more necessary than ever. It was only the Congress that could underake this responsibility.

Thus, the Congress, having fulfilled its historic mission to free India from foreign rule, had yet to discharge another historic mission, of leading the people of India to economic freedom and a realization of the social goals before the country. It could only do so effectively if it undertook these social tasks with strength and a clear mind. For some time, the Congress was in doubt and suffered pulls in different directions. Gradually, however, it adjusted itself, and

this process of adjustment was completed at the Avadi session, when it adopted the socialist goal.²

Meanwhile, planning came into the picture and assumed growing importance. The people became planning conscious. The success of the First Five Year Plan gave the people confidence and assurance.

In spite of this progress made and the strengthening of the Congress, separatist tendencies have continued and the need for a real and emotional integration of India is still a vital task which can only be performed by the Congress.

We stand now at the threshold of a fresh and major advance in many directions, and we have to make many vital decisions about the principles that should govern our future policy. Broadly speaking, this has been determined but the time has come for greater clarity of thinking and action.

The Amritsar Congress meets at this critical stage of our nation's history. It has a heavy task before it. I earnestly trust that it will perform it in an effective and worthy manner.

2. At the sixtieth session of the Indian National Congress held at Avadi in Tamil Nadu from 21 to 23 January 1955, Nehru in a resolution proposed that planning should take place with a view to establish a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production would be under social ownership or control, production was to be progressively speeded up and equitable distribution of the national wealth ensured. For Nehru's draft of the resolution and his speech while moving it in the open session on 21 January 1955, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp.255 and 279-283 respectively.

4. Goals Before the Congress¹

At present there are many Congressmen who do not believe in the ideology of Congress but continue to be in it. This kind of thing should not be allowed to continue.

You, the workers of Congress, should no longer be dependent on old leaders but must build up new cadres and new leadership.

The Congress cannot continue to exist merely on its past achievements. It

1. Speech at a meeting of Congress workers in Agra, 3 January 1956. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 5 January 1956.

must be alive to people's needs and demands and must have live contacts. The moment the Congress becomes insensitive to the needs and aspirations of the people, it will die.

The general elections are approaching and the people are already thinking in terms of candidates. It is good that they are aware of the elections and are preparing for it. But in selecting candidates they should not be in a hurry. They must select the best candidate of the time. I do not believe that a person should be returned because he is a sitting member. Every one of them must be judged on the basis of work one has done. If anyone has merely been a member without doing anything, he should be replaced.

In selecting the candidates, the people should not be swayed by caste, communal or sectional considerations. They must have in their mind three considerations: firstly, they must see that the minorities are adequately represented; secondly, women must be returned to legislatures in as large a number as possible; and thirdly, only those who believe fully in the Congress ideology and socialistic principles as enunciated by the Congress at the Avadi session should be selected.

The workers should not decry the socialists and the communists. It will be below the dignity of Congressmen to indulge in such matters. But if the socialists and the communists mislead the people then it is the duty of Congressmen to explain to the public the correct position.

I have never condemned the existing educational system. But I have only stressed that its weaknesses should be cured.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

1. Invitation to MPs for Official Functions¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: There need be no assurance as there is no doubt about the respect due to Members of Parliament.² But I was not aware of the fact that that respect to which the Members of Parliament were entitled should be extended to every function that is organized. Apart from every other fact there are 750 Members of Parliament and very often the functions are limited to a smaller number. Either no Member of Parliament should be invited because there are no seats there for all the 750 Members of Parliament, or a limited number.

Then, again, the honourable Member referred to Palam.³ It was physically difficult to make arrangements then though there was enough room and Parliament was not meeting at that time, and we had to limit very strictly those people who had to be invited. We had to invite notables of the diplomatic corps. For the rest it had to be limited. As it was, those honourable Members who were present know, it was a very difficult and touch and go business on the spot there. We had to consult at every step the representatives of the Russian Embassy, and our guests were coming. There were all kinds of difficulties and merely inviting people en bloc became impossible because each individual name had to be referred and considered. But the main fact about this Palam airport reception that day was that Parliament was not sitting and we did invite, I believe—somebody told us that some 30 or 40 Members of Parliament were here at that time—those 30 Members or so. Then some other invitations were issued at the last minute. Then in the morning of that day some others sent telephone messages and said that they wanted to come. But it was impossible to make any changes then.

Also, I regret to have to refer to this—this does not apply to Members of Parliament—the bad habit of people taking their wives, uncles, aunts, children and grandchildren with them makes it quite impossible to make any arrangements where there is to be a fixed number and fixed seats. Whatever it

1. Reply to a question, 21 November 1955. *Rajya Sabha Debates* 1955. Vol. XI, cols. 54-59. Extracts.
2. V.K. Dhage wished to know whether it was proper for the concerned Government departments not to invite the MPs to such functions for which the Parliament had sanctioned expenditure.
3. Dhage referred to the inconvenience caused to MPs at Palam airport and Rashtrapati Bhavan on 18 November 1955 and wanted assurance that such incidents, involving rights and privileges of MPs, would not be repeated. He complained that invitations were not extended to many MPs who reached Delhi in response to Nehru's appeal to welcome the Soviet leaders at Palam airport on 18 November.

is, people take their families and friends. It is quite impossible. We have to observe some strict order and some routine steps have to be taken in such matters.

Then the honourable Member referred to some report in *The Statesman* newspaper⁴ about some function in the garden of Rashtrapati Bhavan. Now, I do not know the facts and I am unable to say whether the facts mentioned in the report are true. But I would say this again. In that function I doubt if the whole audience exceeded 300 or 400. Now, patently it is impossible to invite the Members of Parliament who are 750 in number. It was not particularly meant for Members of Parliament; it was more meant for our guests from the Soviet Union and for diplomats certainly and some people associated with them and accordingly the arrangements were made on a small scale. But there, again, all our arrangements were upset because people came and occupied all the seats reserved—other people who were not strictly invited—and every arrangement was upset and we could not do anything about it at the last moment. I am very sorry, naturally, if any such incident, that a Member of Parliament had been evicted, happened. The honourable Member used the word ‘evicted’. I do not know exactly what happened....⁵

I do not know about it. I am very sorry if any such thing happened, but the House will appreciate that it is a very difficult task for those people who make these arrangements and on this particular occasion more than any other, rather strict security arrangements had to be made. People are not recognized, whether Members of Parliament or not, and the poor man in charge is given orders that he must admit only persons with a particular card and he naturally has to carry out the orders given to him. He does not know who it is, who is there, who is not there. In fact, I believe some Ministers also were pushed about, and quite rightly, if I may say so, because of these difficulties. But there is one thing. I should like to assure Members of this House and others that obviously there can be no question and there should be no question of the slightest disrespect to any Member of Parliament. The second thing I would beg of the House to consider is that it cannot be laid down that Members of Parliament should be automatically invited to all functions....⁶

If I may say so with all respect, the greatest commendation is due to those

4. *The Statesman* reported on 20 November 1955 that at a folk dance performance at Rashtrapati Bhavan, the seating arrangements were an “ugly blemish on the organization”. The report said that a well known MP, who wandered into the “officials only” block right behind the Soviet visitors’ reserved seats, “was evicted and had to be content with a place near the press enclosure from where the stage was barely visible.”
5. The Chairman, S. Radhakrishnan, said that it was reported in *The Statesman*.
6. V.K. Dhage and H.C. Mathur resented the preferential treatment given to officials over MPs.

who have organized these functions. They have been wonderfully organized considering the tremendous burden involved. If honourable Members went a little into the picture, they would realize the amount of work involved. They have hardly slept for nights with so many eminent visitors coming one after another and with the tremendous amount of security and all that; it is amazing—the work that they have done and I would like to have a vote of congratulations passed for them.

2. Guidelines for Protocol¹

There has been considerable resentment among Members of Parliament about their being left out from various functions etc., and their not being treated with respect due to an MP.² I have written to some of them and I have also written to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman, Rajya Sabha,³ explaining the circumstances.

2. This evening, there was a discussion at the Congress Party meeting (a big affair in which most MPs were present) which lasted an hour and three quarters. I allowed every person who had a complaint, to have his full say at some length. Some of the complaints were wholly unjustified, some were irrelevant and some were unfair. Some were correct. I pointed out our difficulties etc.⁴

3. I have suggested to them that the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha) should make himself responsible for such matters. He should have an informal committee of MPs whom he can consult. External Affairs Ministry will deal with this Minister. If, for instance, there is limited accommodation at some function, we shall indicate the accommodation available

1. Note to M.R.A. Baig, the Chief of Protocol, MEA, 22 November 1955. JN Collection.
2. See the preceding item.
3. On the same day, Nehru wrote to S. Radhakrishnan and G.V. Mavalankar regretting inconveniences if any, caused to MPs at Rashtrapati Bhavan on 18 November. He also wrote to Ram Subhag Singh, Secretary, Congress Parliamentary Party, pointing out that during visit of a foreign dignitary, all MPs could come to Palam airport but where security considerations came in, only persons who intended to go could be issued with passes.
4. Nehru explained at the meeting in detail many considerations, including those of protocol and security, which complicated arrangements at such functions.

for MPs. Suppose we can accommodate fifty of them. We shall say so and ask the Minister to send a list.

4. When there is enough accommodation for all, the proper course would be to inform all of them that they would be welcome and if they indicate their desire to come, an invitation or pass should be sent to them. The best course would be to send this intimation through the Minister.

5. There are some functions in the near future, for instance, the reception at Palam or Delhi station of King Ibn Saud. We should follow this practice in regard to this reception. There is a tattoo both for the King and later for the Soviet leaders. All MPs should be invited to both the tattoos.

6. There is a banquet at Rashtrapati Bhavan to King Ibn Saud. A limited number of MPs should be invited. The number that can be invited, should be intimated to Shri Satya Narayan Sinha, Minister, and he should be asked to send names of MPs upto that number.

7. There is some resentment also at officials being given preference in various places to MPs in spite of the MPs being much higher up in the warrant of precedence. All this has little justification and I tried to explain it to them. Nevertheless, we might bear this in mind at Palam or receptions and other places, and I should discuss with you at the time.

8. You mentioned to me this morning about the lack of coordination between our Protocol Department and Rashtrapati Bhavan. This lack should be removed. I am writing to Rashtrapati Bhavan accordingly.⁵

5. On the same day, Nehru also wrote to Yadu Nath Singh, Military Secretary to the President, regarding the complaints by Members of Parliament in regard to various functions and suggested that there should be much closer coordination between Rashtrapati Bhavan and the Protocol Department of the Ministry of External Affairs in this matter.

3. To Congress MPs of Lok Sabha¹

New Delhi

1 December 1955

My dear Colleagues,

As you know, the motion to send the Constitution Amendment Bill² to the Select Committee did not get the requisite number of votes yesterday and therefore could not be passed.³ A curious situation has thus arisen which has to be considered carefully. Unless we can get over this difficulty, all our future programmes might well be upset.

2. We are considering now in what way we can meet this constitutional difficulty so as to avoid delay.

3. Meanwhile, I am much concerned at the fact that a very considerable number of our Members of the Lok Sabha, who were in Delhi, did not participate in the voting, although they are signed as present for that day in the Lok Sabha. Among these are many Ministers. I regret that I could not be present myself, but, as you know, I had to go to Calcutta yesterday and had informed our Chief Whip accordingly. There was apparently no risk involved because so many of our Members were present here and the matter was not controversial. It was really a question of an adequate number of Members attending for a short while. The vote was taken after due notice and the time being fixed for it. It was thus not a snap vote taken unawares.

4. This non-attendance of many of our Members on an important subject is a matter of grave concern. For the moment it has caused us difficulty. But in the future it may well lead to even greater difficulties. I am, therefore, drawing your particular attention to this. I am enclosing a list of Members of the Lok Sabha who were present in Delhi and yet did not attend. Some of them arrived just after the doors of the Lok Sabha were closed and could not enter. Others did not come at all.

5. I would invite your particular attention to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. This letter was sent through Satya Narayan Sinha, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Chief Whip, to each one of the fifty Members of the Congress Party in Lok Sabha, who did not participate in the voting on the Constitution (7th Amendment) Bill. JN Collection.
2. The Constitution (7th Amendment) Bill sought to empower the President to prescribe a time-limit within which the state legislatures should convey to him their views in regard to boundary adjustments.
3. On 30 November 1955, the motion to send the Constitution (7th Amendment) Bill to the Select Committee could not be passed as it failed to get the requisite number of votes in accordance with Rule 169 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of the Lok Sabha which required that such a motion be passed by a majority of the total membership of the House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting.

4. To Satya Narayan Sinha¹

New Delhi

5 December 1955

My dear Satya Narayan,²

I enclose a letter from the Speaker and my reply to him.³

I think the course the Speaker has suggested is a desirable one. That is to say that we should avoid any decisions on particular matters at the end of the debate. In other words, the subject should be talked out. If it is necessary to record something, what the Speaker has suggested might be accepted. We can consult our colleagues about it later.

The point is that, while Members should have freedom to express their views as they like, subject to such general guidance that we give them, amendments should not be pressed. It would be better indeed if no amendments were put forward. We cannot prevent Opposition Members from proposing or pressing their amendments. But if this happens, we should be clear that all amendments should be voted down regardless of their merits.

I should like this to be made clear to the members of our Party. Please show this letter of mine to Ram Subhag Singh. He can see the Speaker's letter also. But I do not want the Speaker's letter to be shown to others.

If you think it necessary to have a meeting of the Party where this point can be made clear, we can perhaps meet on the 11th December at 5 p.m. I shall be returning that afternoon from South India and the Soviet people will be here then. So I shall not have much time. We can certainly have some time to explain matters to the Party.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Satya Narayan Sinha was a member of the Business Advisory Committee and Rules Committee of the Lok Sabha, and G.V. Mavalankar the chairman.
3. On 5 December 1955, Nehru wrote to Mavalankar, the Speaker, expressing agreement with his suggestion to have a general debate in the House on the SRC Report without coming to particular decisions. Discussion on the SRC Report was going to begin in Parliament on 14 December.

1. Purchase of Fighter Aircraft¹

I had a long talk with the UK High Commissioner² this evening. In the course of this, he referred to SG's³ talk with him about the Gnat and the Canberra. He confirmed that the UK Government was sending a man very soon here to discuss not only the Gnat matter but also the question of the purchase of Canberras. So far as the Gnat was concerned, he said there would be no difficulty in arriving at an agreement about security and like matters.

2. About the other matter, he said that his Government recognized our full right to purchase aircraft or anything else from any country but his Government would undoubtedly view with grave concern if we purchased aircraft or military material from the Soviet Union. Among the reasons he mentioned was security. Thus far we had gone chiefly to England or its allied nations, and this would mean a break in that, with certain consequences. He had been told that the Canberra was as good as the Soviet aircraft referred to. Anyhow, this matter was being gone into immediately by the UK Government and the person who was coming here, will discuss the quality, price and availability of the Canberras.

3. I told him that we had no particular desire to purchase any aircraft or arms from the Soviet Union or any other country, but it was obvious that if we got something that suited us from the Soviet Union, we would like to buy it. Even if we did not make any particular purchase now, in future we might have to do it because the Soviet Union was scientifically and technologically advanced and was producing many things which were of a high quality. For us this was a purely business matter and had no political significance.

4. I talked with him about other matters too. These are referred to in a separate note.⁴

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA. 26 November 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to the Defence Secretary.
2. Malcolm Macdonald.
3. N.R. Pillai.
4. See *post*, pp. 381-382.

2. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi

2 December 1955

My dear Kailas Nath,²

I have seen a letter dated November 30 which Deshmukh has written to you. In this letter it is pointed out that each cadet costs Rs 600/- per month. Of this, pay and allowances, etc., cost Rs 310/-. I think this is quite astonishing.

I remember taking exception to various allowances, etc., in the Dehra Dun Academy³ and these were reduced at the time. For us to spend Rs 600/- per month per cadet is completely wrong. This matter must be looked into.

Our Army people have yet to realise that we are dealing with India and not England or some other European country. They have also to realise that it is an honour for a cadet to be taken there and there should be no question of our paying him allowances, etc., as in the old British days when they wished to attract cadets. Further, while it is important that the cadets' standards should be kept up, they need not be so utterly removed from standards in India.

I should like you to pay particular attention to this matter and to have every item examined. It seems to me that almost every item is capable of reduction. We need not follow the standards now being set by the Saudi Arabian King.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to the Union Ministers for Finance and Defence.
2. Union Minister for Defence.
3. The Indian Military Academy, started in Dehra Dun in October 1932, trained young men for commission in the Indian Army.

3. To Mahavir Tyagi¹

New Delhi

4 December 1955

My dear Mahavir,²

I received your letter of November 29th some days ago, together with the note attached to it. What you say is of course relevant and important and I have had it in mind. I am myself inclined to agree with your proposal for us to buy Russian aircraft. But, as you know, we have spoken about this matter to the UK High Commissioner, who referred it to his Government. We got a reply that they would be sending somebody here to discuss both the Gnat question as well as the Canberra etc. I do not know if this man has come here or not. Anyhow he will be here soon.

We must go through all these steps before we take a final decision.

Apart from this, there have been recently many complicated developments in international affairs. There is the Baghdad Pact, there is the recent joint statement³ between Dulles⁴ and the Foreign Minister of Portugal⁵ and there is the visit of the Soviet leaders here and their speeches which have created great excitement all over the world. We have therefore to proceed cautiously.

As I said above, I think we should buy the Soviet aircraft and I suppose we shall come to that decision later. But we should always be careful not to appear to be too eager to the other party. That is bad tactics. They are clever people and we gain our ends much better by keeping our dignity and restraint.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Defence Organisation.
3. See *post*, p. 424.
4. J.F. Dulles, US Secretary of State.
5. Paula A.V. Cunha.

PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE

I. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi

27 November 1955

My dear Pantji,

Your letter of the 22nd November about pensions for the IAS and others. I have not gone into this matter deeply, and do not know all the facts. But one thing troubles me very greatly. This is the special and privileged position that we gave in the past to the ICS people² and which we now give, to some extent, to the IAS. No doubt the IAS have highly important work to do, but in the modern scheme of things, an engineer is often far more important than any IAS man can be. I dislike the continuation of the old ICS mentality of superiority.

2. It is a sign of advance in a country when technical people become more and more important as compared with purely administrative people. We are passing through that stage now, and we have to encourage creative activities rather than routine work. It is true that it is more difficult to deal with men than with problems as such, but men come more and more into the picture in a developing economy, in organised industry and in big construction works. To my mind, the scientist and the highly qualified technical man is rarer than the administrator and has to be valued as such. .

3. I am not thinking so much in terms of salaries and pensions, but rather from the point of view of giving equal honour and status.

Yours affectionately,

Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Article 314 of the Constitution of India guaranteed to the members of ICS, who continued to serve in India after commencement of the Constitution, the same conditions of service regarding remuneration, leave, and pension as they were entitled to earlier. Article 314 was repealed by the Constitution (28th Amendment) Act 1972. On this subject see also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 291-293, 295-296 and 306.

2. Gifts from Foreign Guests¹

We have certain rules governing officers and employees of Government in regard to presents and gifts made to them. These rules were made before Independence and we have carried on with them. Generally speaking, it is right that we should stop the giving or accepting of presents by our officers. The purpose of having these rules was that no officer should be influenced or embarrassed by having to receive gifts from people who seek benefits from him or through him.

2. Difficulties, however, have arisen since Independence in regard to gifts in foreign countries or from foreign guests who come to India. It is not easy to refuse them because that often is considered as a discourtesy. Some of these gifts are valuable, some have no particular value and are of the nature of souvenirs.

3. I have received large numbers of gifts in this way during my visits abroad and sometimes here in India from foreign visitors. Everything that is of any artistic or real value I have passed on to a museum. Some I have kept in my house but they are listed as Government property, my house being considered as a Government house.

4. This question of gifts has become particularly important now because of the visit of the Soviet leaders, and, more especially the Saudi Arabian King who is showering gifts and money all over the place. So far as the Soviet leaders are concerned, they have adopted some uniform scale and have been giving cameras and watches and sometimes a gramophone with Russian records of folk songs. They give these usually to the Governor, the Chief Minister or the Mayor of the place they go to.

5. The Saudi Arabian King has been throwing about money in a fantastic way. He gave Rs 10,000/- to the policemen and others in Simla after a day's stay and, I think, Rs 8,000/- in addition to the police officers. He gave Rs 2,000/- to the attendants in the special railway train by which he was travelling. I do not yet know what he gave to the Governor, the Chief Minister and others in Simla. In Delhi he gave swords in a gold sheath to the President and to me, also daggers encased in gold, also watches. To the wife of the President² and to Indira Gandhi he gave diamond necklaces and wrist watches. I understand that he has given *abwab* or long robes to all our Ministers here, also watches.

1. Note to the Cabinet, 2 December 1955. File No. 191/CF/55, Cabinet Secretariat. Also available in File No. 164/55, President's Secretariat and JN Collection.

2. Rajbanshi Devi.

I have been asked by some of my colleagues as to what they are to do about these and whether they should give gifts in return. I do not think it is necessary for any Minister to send a gift in return. The President and I have presented the King with some gifts.

6. I should like this whole question to be discussed informally in the Cabinet so that we might evolve some suitable and uniform procedure.³

3. On 4 December, the Cabinet on the suggestion of the Prime Minister directed the MHA to obtain a report from all officers and employees of the Government who had received gifts from the Soviet leaders and the Saudi King and prepare a consolidated statement in respect of such gifts.

3. Citizenship Bill: Question of Commonwealth Citizenship¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: I wish to deal with only one aspect of this Bill² on which some comments and criticisms have been made. The other aspects will be dealt with by my colleague, the Deputy Minister.³ This aspect is in regard to the references in this Bill to Commonwealth citizenship. They are in clause 2(1)(c), clause 5(1)(e), clauses 11 and 12 and the First Schedule.⁴

I do not wish to discuss at any length the whole question of the Commonwealth relationship though I should refer to it briefly. I should like to refer, first of all, to certain statements made in the minute of dissent of some

1. Interventions during discussion on the Citizenship Bill in the Lok Sabha, 5 December 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, 1955, cols.1284-1294. Extracts.
2. The Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 6 December, the Rajya Sabha on 14 December and received the President's assent on 30 December 1955.
3. B.N. Datar, Deputy Minister of Home Affairs.
4. These four clauses and the Schedule of the Bill, dealt with the question of Commonwealth citizenship. Clause 11 stated that citizens of Commonwealth countries mentioned in the First Schedule, by virtue of that citizenship had the status of a Commonwealth citizen in India. Clause 12 stated that the Government of India through official notification might make provisions on a basis of reciprocity for conferment of rights of an Indian citizen on citizens of any country mentioned in the First Schedule. Clause 2(1)(c) was an enabling clause (see *post* p. 253). Clause 5(1)(e) provided for persons of full age and capacity of countries, mentioned in First Schedule, citizenship by registration. First Schedule mentioned UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan, Ceylon, Rhodesia and Nyasaland (all Commonwealth countries) and Ireland.

honourable Members to the effect that there are, because of this relationship, obligations on us which are irksome, repugnant and derogatory.⁵ I do not think that is a correct statement. I speak now not theoretically, but from the practice of the last few years. I should like the honourable Members who have put in this minute of dissent to point out anything which has been irksome, derogatory or repugnant, anything that has limited in the slightest our independent sovereign status or freedom of action, internal or external. I submit that there has been no such thing, and that, in fact, we have exercised, because of it, a certain greater freedom of action in regard to external matters than we might perhaps have done....

This House knows and the country knows that in regard to our internal and external policies we have functioned exactly as this House and the Government wanted to. The Commonwealth relationship does not come in the way in the slightest. We have often differed from the policies and practice of other Commonwealth countries. We have discussed with them and differed. Only recently, if I may say so—and this matter, no doubt, will have larger consequences—there was the pact which is called the Baghdad Pact,⁶ which, we think, is a most unfortunate and deplorable action of the countries who have joined it: deplorable not from our point of view, but from the point of view of peace and security. Though such action is taken, it has not affected our policy. On the other hand, I do think that our association in the Commonwealth has been of great help to the larger cause of peace and cooperation. I have no doubt that it has been so. I do not wish to take the time of the House in detailing this. But, this is the clear conclusion that I have come to.

We would like to extend that area of cooperation to other countries too. I would mention Burma. With Burma our relations are of the closest, closer than with many Commonwealth countries. But, the fact remains that Burma is not in the Commonwealth. We develop these close relations with other countries. It is asked: Why is not Burma mentioned here? For the simple reason that the clause of reciprocity is there. It is not a question of our deciding; but the other country has also to decide and various other difficulties in regard to the laws of Burma. There are some laws which do not fit in with ours. Questions are

5. In a joint minute of dissent to the report of the Joint Select Committee, presented to the Lok Sabha on 21 November 1955, three members—H.N. Mukerjee, M. Nanadas and J.V.K. Vallabha Rao—said that India's association with the Commonwealth "entails certain obligations which are not only irksome but also somewhat repugnant and derogatory. The First Schedule which is an enumeration of the 'British Empire' countries, casts, as it were, a dark shadow on the entire measure."
6. The Baghdad Pact was a military treaty, the UK, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey being signatories with the USA maintaining political and military liaison with it. It was replaced by the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) when Iraq withdrew in 1958.

raised in this House in regard to them. So that, I should like this House, first of all, to keep in mind that by this Commonwealth relationship, there has been nothing which has come in our way, in the way of our dignity, prestige or freedom of action.

H.N. Mukerjee: Could not we make a gesture to Burma for reciprocal rights of citizenship as far as our Citizenship law is concerned at present?...

JN: I am perfectly prepared to discuss this with the Government of Burma. The honourable Member will realise that in this matter it is not we that might perhaps dislike any such approach. But, it may be embarrassing to the other Government. We do not wish to embarrass the other Government. We on our part are perfectly willing. We cannot say anything in this matter, because, we are a country with a large population which tends to expand. Burma is a country with a relatively limited population. For obvious reasons, they do not like to have a large population there in their country coming in. It is entirely for them to consider; not for us. I would be very glad indeed to consider this matter in connection with Burma.

Renu Chakravarty: But does South Africa like our giving them reciprocity? We are extending the citizenship rights to South Africa.

JN: We are not.

Renu Chakravarty: Because that is a part of the Commonwealth.

JN: I beg your pardon. We are not. All that you can say is that we are prepared to offer reciprocal rights to any country provided they behave. That is all.

H.V. Kamath: Any country outside the Commonwealth also?

JN: That is a separate matter. We will have to change the whole texture of our citizenship if we include every country in the world.

N.C. Chatterjee: If the honourable Prime Minister is correct when he says that we are not giving any reciprocal rights with regard to the Union of South Africa, why does he not agree to the deletion of the Union of South Africa from the First Schedule?

JN: I hope that we are gradually working up to a stage when there will be world citizenship. That is a different matter. Meanwhile, we have to have citizenship laws.

In the course of the development of our Constitution, we had, the House will remember, a period before we became a Republic when we were called a Dominion. Of course, we had long decided to change that status and become an Independent Republic. It took two or three years for us to frame our Constitution. Then we became an Independent, Sovereign Republic owing allegiance to no other authority, even nominally. This question of the Republic coming into the Commonwealth was a new conception, completely new conception from the point of view of the Commonwealth, because the Commonwealth till then was based on some kind of allegiance to the sovereign of the United Kingdom. Whether it could be fitted in or not nobody knew at that time, and so far as we were concerned, we rather doubted. We did not know how it could be fitted in, but we certainly desired for a number of reasons of vital import to continue our association. We thought that would be good for ourselves and for world peace. This was discussed at some length in the years 1948 and 1949 between us and the British Government and the other Commonwealth Governments, ultimately in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.⁷ It was their suggestion then, and their desire, that there should be some kind of notional, nominal link of this kind merely to....

H.V. Kamath: Sentiment?

JN: Not sentimental. There is no sentiment about it, but it is the other way. It is a notion which enables us to hold together, to meet, etc., and after much thought the only way discovered was that the British Government should introduce some clause in their Nationality Bill⁸ to enable this association on the basis of reciprocity....

There was no commitment, etc., but certainly there was a measure of agreement. We told them we would like, we were prepared at the right time to include in our Nationality Bill some kind of clause or reference, some enabling

7. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 8, pp. 245-272 and Vol.11, pp. 297-307. Though the final communique of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of April 1949 did not mention about Commonwealth citizenship, the Prime Ministers in a separate agreed minute, recorded that the Commonwealth countries should continue to regard themselves not as foreign countries in mutual relations and they should later take steps to enable themselves to accord preferential treatment to the citizens of and trade with other Commonwealth countries.
8. The British Nationality Act of 30 July 1948 recognized the concept of the common status of a 'Commonwealth Citizen'. A person who possessed the common status was not to be alien in any Commonwealth country of which he was not a citizen, and being not an alien, he was to have a position in a Commonwealth country in some respects different from and more favourable than that of an alien. Exactly how different his position would be would depend upon the legislation and law of each of the Commonwealth countries.

clause, so that, on the basis of reciprocity, we could give the same treatment which we got in the other country. It is not a common thing for all Commonwealth countries. It depends on the reciprocal arrangement we have with that other Commonwealth country. In regard to the United Kingdom, the privileges that Indian nationals have are very great. In fact, they are almost one hundred per cent. In regard to other countries they are more limited; we give them limited privileges. In regard to South Africa, far from any reciprocity or privileges, there is, if I may use the word, hostility between the two countries. So that, it is entirely an enabling clause, entirely something which is in our power to give or not to give. I am presently going to propose a small amendment which I think the House will probably approve in regard to this particular matter in reference to South Africa.

I can very well understand the natural sentiment and desire of the House not to put in or include the name of the Union of South Africa in such a Bill. But I would submit that our including the Union of South Africa is not at all to our discredit. What do we say? We are merely enumerating certain countries which for the present are in the Commonwealth, and we are saying that "we will give you such privileges if you behave." We do not give them anything. It is a challenge to them to do so. Today, no South African can come to India. Leave out everything else and the question of Commonwealth citizenship, they cannot enter India, because no South African, according to the rules we have framed at present, can enter India. No South African goods can come to India. We are completely cut off from each other from that point of view. Only by a special permit can a South African come here, and they have been very rarely issued, for some humanitarian work. I think it is not quite fitting for us to cut out the name of South Africa from the Schedule. We give nothing. We have everything in our power. It simply means that we are prepared always to open the door for any proper compromise if the others behave. That has been our policy in regard to every matter, that we are always ready, not to give up our policy or any basic principle, but to treat with the other party, negotiate a settlement, however hostile it might be for the present. That applies to large world questions too. They are very big questions. If each country is hostile to the other and they take up an attitude of refusing to deal with each other, then there is no solution left except conflict. So that, I submit from the practical point of view, the theoretical or again of following the general policy we pursue, we should never finally close the door.

So far as this Bill is concerned, it is true, and I myself share that sentiment, it slightly hurts me even to mention South Africa in this connection. I accept that. Nevertheless, I think for wider reasons it would not be right for us to delete one country.

Then the whole Commonwealth conception has been obviously a changing one, and it took a tremendous leap in a particular direction of change when an

independent Republic owing no allegiance to any outside authority was associated with this Commonwealth.

V.G. Deshpande: The Queen of England is the head of the Commonwealth, and that is the notional link.

H.V. Kamath: Symbolic.

JN: Yes, that is a symbolic link. I am told that Pakistan is going to become a Republic.

There are two or three factors which I should like the House to bear in mind. The first thing is that there is a large number, many millions of Indians abroad, abroad in what are called the British colonies today, and which I hope will cease to be British colonies and will develop themselves to freedom. There is no doubt that our Commonwealth connection helps us and helps them, helps us in dealing with them. Otherwise, all these millions of Indians would have to choose; they would either become absolute aliens in the country where they are living, or they have to give up completely their connection with India. Of course, when a country becomes independent like Ceylon, like Burma, naturally they have to choose, but forcing them to choose before they are independent puts them into a very embarrassing and false position. I do not think it is right that we should place these millions of our fellow countrymen in that position.

Then also, look at it as this Commonwealth might develop. I hope that in the course of the next year, the coming year, there will be an addition to the Commonwealth, the addition of Gold Coast. That will be a good thing when it comes off and I do hope it will come off and we are looking forward to it greatly. The addition of the Gold Coast again changes the entire character of this association of nations. Here is a full-blooded African nation for the first time being associated in this way. So, it is changing. If I may say so, the European character of it changes, and as it is, there are free Asian and African nations coming together, and I hope that subsequent steps may bring in perhaps Singapore and Malaya. So, the whole thing is a changing one. And from the world point of view, from the racial point of view, it is a good thing for these changes to take place. It may be that some members of the Commonwealth, notably the Union of South Africa may utterly dislike this change; it is very likely, because it goes against their basic policy. Well, they have to face their difficulty as to what they do in the circumstances, and not we. And I should like to place the burden of choice on them, whether they are so disapproving of these developments as not to tolerate them, and themselves retire into their own shells, If I may say so, cut off from the rest of the world. Why should I help them in the process? Why should I not have the widest sphere of influence, widest sphere of cooperation?

Therefore, I submit that from these wider points of view, it is desirable for us, more specially at the present day when these big questions arise, to have this Commonwealth link and association and thereby help in these larger causes of peace and solution of problems, world problems, apart from our own problems—they have helped undoubtedly. India can be influenced by other countries, but it should be remembered that India also can influence other countries, and has done so remarkably in the past few years.

I would therefore beg this House to accept this broad pattern which I again say does not give the slightest privilege or special position to any country except on a basis of reciprocity. It is an enabling thing; that is, if the other party suggests, it is for us to determine. There is one amendment, however, which I would like to suggest for the approval of the House. If you will refer to clause 2 (1)(c) of the Bill, you will find:

“Citizenship or nationality law in relation to a country specified in the First Schedule means an enactment of the legislature of that country which, at the request of the Government of that country, the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, have declared to be an enactment making provision for the citizenship or nationality of that country”.

This is an enabling clause. But I would like to add to this the following:

“Provided that in respect of the Union of South Africa, no such notification shall be issued except with the approval of both Houses of Parliament.”

That is first of all an indication of the special way we look at the Union of South Africa in this connection. Secondly, we want in this matter to bring every step to both Houses of Parliament and not leave it to Government. I submit that if this provision is added, some part at least of the sentiment we feel in this matter is met, and the broad advantages of the position are also maintained.

There is one small matter also which I might mention. In the First Schedule, some names are mentioned; their order should be changed; one or two names are not quite correct. That is a small matter....

H.V. Kamath: May I remind the honourable Prime Minister that the First Schedule lists at least one country which is outside the Commonwealth, that is, the Republic of Ireland? If that can be so, what is the bar to including some other countries outside the Commonwealth?

JN: It is true that Ireland is outside the Commonwealth. But being outside the

Commonwealth, it has continued, I believe, to be considered in a special way by the Commonwealth. Naturally, so far as we are concerned, we all very gladly welcome that special way. They have these economic and other relations; and we merely welcome it; we must.

4. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
6 December 1955

My dear Pantji,

I understand that Government are considering an amendment of Article 351A, CSR, to make it permissible to reduce the pension of an officer who has already retired, should any misconduct or defalcation come to light after his retirement. It is proposed, however, that the so-called ex-Secretary of State's Service Officers should be exempt from the operation of this rule. I understand that the Comptroller and Auditor-General² advised that it would not be proper to make any distinction between some officers and others. I entirely agree with the Auditor-General and I cannot conceive how any provision in the Constitution can possibly give immunity to a class of officers from disciplinary action even when there is misconduct. I hope no such distinction will be made.

I hope, fairly soon, to bring up this whole question of these privileged officers before the Cabinet. Unfortunately I have been so busy that I have not been able to do so. I feel rather strongly on this question and, if necessary, I shall propose that Constitution be amended. In any event, I do hope that no step will be taken to perpetuate any distinction between officers. Surely it is about time that we got out of the wrong practices of the British regime.

If any legal difficulties arise, I am prepared to invite officers, who are not prepared to serve under new conditions, to retire from the Service.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Asok Kumar Chanda.

5. A New Role for the Services¹

Mr Governor,² Chief Minister³ and friends,

I do not usually have the chance or the opportunity of addressing the Services as such, except sometimes in our rather narrow circle of Delhi. I am rather glad, therefore, that during my brief visit to Kurnool, this engagement has been made for me. The Governor just said about the essential part that the Services play at any time but most specially at a time when the country is trying to advance rapidly according to some planned method and advancing towards a socialist structure of society.

What exactly are the Services? What is their purpose? We have to be clear about that. The Services, as their name implies, are supposed to serve—obviously. Serve who?—the society, the people, the country. Why I say this, is because, the test always has to be how far the Services as a whole or any individual member of them is serving the larger causes that society has, that the nation has. In the past a great deal of attention was paid to what might be called Service Rules and Regulations, complicated rules running into thick volumes were made for them. Now, rules are quite right. There should be rules; there should be certainty as to what happens under a certain set of circumstances. The individual serving should have security and should not be dealt with autocratically or spasmodically just as somebody wants to. That is all right. Nevertheless, it is going rather beyond that mark, when the whole governmental structure, you might say, turns round the Services. Why was this so? This was so, because in the old days really, the governmental structure was the higher or the superior Services. That was the government, from top to bottom. The old Indian Civil Service and I am not talking of all the Services but the old Indian Civil Service and other senior Services were the people who laid down the policy in India, and therefore were the highest authority in India apart from some distant authority in England. The Services that were built up in those days in India were very competent Services; the senior Services fairly efficient Services. But there were two things about it. First of all they served naturally the larger policies which were determined by the British Government. They had to. That was the final authority. Secondly, being a service structure they thought of the good of India rather in the terms of the good of their own

1. Address to a gathering of over one thousand and five hundred members of the Civil Services of the Government of Andhra State, Kurnool, 9 December 1955. File No.79/56-Public I, MHA, NAI. Also available in JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.

2. C.M. Trivedi.

3. B.Gopala Reddi.

Services, which was not obviously always the same. It was rather the approach to the question, a mentality.

Now, that of course has changed and has to change for a variety of reasons. First of all, the country is independent. There is no British authority and no attempt by a foreign authority to impose its own wishes. Secondly, we have what is called a democratic structure where the final authority are the people of India who from time to time elect their representatives in Parliament and assemblies and the majority parties in those assemblies form governments. Now, these governments inevitably have to be responsive to public opinion. Therefore—the final authority—it is the public that becomes the arbiter. Naturally, the public does not consider every problem, every detail, it cannot, but the broad policies they have to decide upon. Therefore, the whole structure of Government in India has changed from rather an autocratic structure to a democratic structure—from a structure which was based in some outside authority to a structure which is based on an authority not only within the country but ultimately responsible to the people of the country. That is a basic change. Together with that other changes have come. That is to say, the state now thinks much more about social and economic problems. The state has become a dynamic state—not a static state. Of course, no individual or no state is ever completely static. It cannot be. If anything is completely static, it is dead. Only death puts an end to all movement. But broadly speaking, the previous state was a static state. It changed gradually. The present state has to be a dynamic state because of a larger number of forces at work apart from our own desire to make up for the lost time and build a new India. So our outlook becomes less and less political and more and more social and economic. Political, of course, to some extent it has to be. But the importance of the political element becomes less and less. It is the growth of a country, it is the growth of a social group, if that group begins to think more on economic and social lines and less on political lines. It is the measure of the growth of India today that we are thinking more and more on economic and social lines of five year plans, schemes of development and all this, rather than purely political questions. Now, if all these great changes have taken place in India and are continually taking place, obviously the Services have to adapt themselves to them, have to adopt methods to the changed conditions of work and the changed objectives of work.

Work for the Services has grown greatly in India. It is very difficult for me to say how much work has grown, let us say, in the Delhi Central Secretariat, but a senior civil servant was telling me that it was a hundred times more than previously. I think that was an exaggeration. But it is a fact that it has grown tremendously. That is to say, in two ways. One is, there are entirely new types of work which we have to do and which we did not do before. Let us say, take our Foreign Office. It is a new thing entirely. There was no Foreign Office

previously. Now, it is an enormous establishment, thousands of people serving abroad, hundreds here, vast number of various grades of people serving in the office, learning foreign languages, school of foreign languages, all kind of things and it goes on growing. We cannot stop it growing. Because, as an independent country we have to deal with other independent countries. We cannot ask somebody else to deal on our behalf. That is a sign of dependence. Then take again this, of course a rather temporary, in a sense temporary but, we have to face it—our Ministry of Rehabilitation in Delhi has to deal with eight to ten million people who came from Pakistan—refugees, nine to ten million people—to rehabilitate them. It has to deal with millions of little and big houses left by the evacuees. It is a huge organization spread out over various parts of India owning large properties, what is called evacuee properties, starting schools and colleges, all kinds of factories for them. It is a government in itself—the Ministry of Rehabilitation dealing with eight million people. I have given you two examples. I can give you, of course, any number. Our Scientific Departments have grown tremendously. Our Ministry of Commerce and Industry has grown very greatly because there is a new Ministry of Production, there is a new Ministry of Planning and so on. Our Ministry of Health functions in a bigger way, our Ministry of Education functions in a much bigger way, every ministry functions in a very much bigger way and many new ministries have come into being. Take Defence. Previously Defence was really an organization here to carry out the basic policies laid down in London, just to give effect to them. Now, we grow. We have to lay down our policies. We have to develop not only the outer structure of defence but the industrial apparatus behind defence. The Defence Ministry today owns great industries all over; just like the Health Ministry which owns great industries, runs great industries; just like a number of other ministries, Communications Ministry owns great industries making telephones; the Railway Ministry owns the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory and the Integral Coach Building Factory near Madras. You see, how all this goes on growing. It is enormous growth. People do not realize it. And I cannot say that everybody in government service is hard worked. But I do know that a large number of people in Delhi, especially senior people dealing with responsible work are very hard worked. I know in my Ministry of External Affairs, we start early in the morning and we do not come home till seven or eight in the evening. It is an all day effort and usually one has to work late at night also dealing with important problems. So this tremendous increase of work. Secondly, the nature of work has changed. It is much more responsible work. It is not carrying out orders merely, but much more responsible work. Thirdly, the work has become more and more social. The Planning, the whole Planning Department, the Planning Commission is new—with its big structure behind it. So you see how both the quantity and the quality of our work have changed and the direction in which it goes has changed.

Further, there has been a very big change—progressive change in the relationship existing between the Services and the people. In the old days the Services were a class apart from the people depending on the goodwill of the British Government and they were not dependent, of course, on popular goodwill; and in fact, you might say, the public interest and the Services interests were not identical always. Sometimes of course they were. In the case of some Services, let us take the police for instance, the average reaction of the public was hostile to the police. The poor policeman had to deal with difficult problems. Sometimes a policeman may have misbehaved but even if he behaved well the public reaction was hostile because it was hostile to the police as such. The police came in conflict. All those things become completely wrong under present conditions. Take again the police force. From the side of the police there should be the realization that they always not only serve the people but seek their cooperation. From the side of the public there should be this notion that the police force as a whole is serving us. A police force is essential in a country, it is absolutely necessary, and we should utilize its services, help them and cooperate with them in the detection of crime. I think that the relationship of the police and the public in the last five to seven years has changed greatly. The tension between the two, the dislike of each other is much less than it was. It has not gone completely yet, and sometimes it is possible over some matters people get excited or are excited. But we must realize the basic fact that anyone can misbehave. It is obvious whether he is a policeman, or a member of the public or a member of any profession—individuals may misbehave and misbehaviour should be dealt with, should be punished. But to consider the police as a whole as something evil is just childish nonsense. It is absurd. Because it does not matter what government there may be, they are bound to have police force, an efficient loyal police force; otherwise it is no good. Therefore, we have to change our old attitudes and develop new attitudes. Basically the attitude has to be, I repeat, as between the Services whatever they are—whether they are civil or military or police or anything else—one of active cooperation with the public—of active service to the public and on the public side also the same of welcoming that cooperation and giving their cooperation too.

In fact the so-called barrier, the so-called dividing line which in the past divided officials and non-officials should cease to be. We still use these words: official and non-official. They have ceased to have any meaning today. What am I? Am I an official or non-official. I do not know. I have been now for eight or nine years in the Government of India, obviously in an official capacity. Therefore, I am an official. On the other hand, because I am not a member of any permanent or impermanent Service, I am a non-official. Really these lines have no meaning now except for some statistical data somebody is compiling. He may do so. And this line should go. That is, in effect, there should be a

blurring over when they meet; the official must feel more and more as a non-official and the non-official should feel not as an official exactly but as one who is working in partnership with the official people for the same objects. Now, this kind of thing, you can observe happening today in the National Extension Scheme or the Community Projects where the whole essence of that project and the success of the project depends on how far the officials connected with it function as non-officials and not merely in the official routine habit; how far they can draw out the cooperation of the non-official elements of the people or the villager. If the official who is in charge cannot do that, it just does not matter how clever or able he is. He is not suitable to that task. The test is his capacity to draw out people, draw out the cooperation of the people in the village where he is working. That of course applies to every official, but more so in planning, more so in constructive and development work because there is something that has got to be done not merely in the routine way but in the creative way. So the whole outlook of officials and non-officials has to change.

Now, we talk about a socialistic structure of society. Obviously, that structure cannot be developed by some legislation, although legislation helps. But it really means building up a complex society. Society is very complicated with innumerable relations. Socialism is not a law. It is a structure governing production, distribution, mutual relationships, transport, everything. That takes time. It just cannot be done by a resolution or by decree. It may take less time or it may take more time. But, first of all, one should be clear in which direction one is going. If we are going in the right direction it is all well. We can speed up our process. Speeding it too much sometimes results in delay. That is to say, if you try to speed it up too much the structure may crack and the cracking of a structure means delay. You have to mend; you have to do something. Therefore, you will find that even in the biggest revolutions, so called revolutions that have occurred, after the revolution it has taken years and decades to build up the new society. The revolution did not build up. The revolution only removes obstacles to build it up. That is the most it could do. If an autocratic monarch is the obstacle we remove him. If something else is the obstacle that is removed. Having done that, then comes the slow, laborious process of building up a new society. Let us take Russia, the Soviet Union. A great revolution took place there thirty-eight years ago. We look at the picture now and we see great achievements there. We like some things and we do not like some things but that is neither here nor there. I am merely talking about the achievements. We see considerable achievements there. In thirty-eight years if you go back you will find the first ten years or more, twelve to fourteen years were not spent in building up but in struggling out of the morass of a revolution and civil war. It took these ten to twelve years just getting out of that, the problems which had followed the revolution, and gradually then they have started their

first five year plan, I think about fifteen years after the revolution. Now, they have their fifth or sixth Five Year Plan. I was telling our Russian guests the other day that they have got thirty years start of us. Exactly thirty years. That is, their revolution came in 1917. The changeover in our country, Independence came in 1947. Just thirty years after. They have got thirty years start of us but we hope to catch up in our own way.

Therefore, the Services must gradually cease to think of themselves as some select coterie apart from the rest of the people. They must think of themselves as part of the people of India cooperating in this great adventure of building up India. Of course, as for your Services, whatever your Services may be, you have your Service problems; certainly you should consider your own Service problems, deal with them in a cooperative way. That is a different matter. But let not your Service problems overwhelm your mind and make you forget what your major task is. While you are there, the Services, if I may use the word 'Services', the Services are not meant for the sake of the Services. The Services are not meant, if I may put it this way that it is partly correct, not 100 per cent, that they are not meant to provide employment to people. They do provide employment; of course, they should. But they are meant to get an odd job done—not just employment—to get something done. If you are not doing that something, then you are not serving your purpose. You are functionless. You may be drawing a salary. Therefore, it has to be looked at how to get that job done. Of course, there are many other considerations which come in. For instance, we have a problem, on the one hand, obviously, of enlarging the scope of employment widely; plenty of unemployment in the country. On the other hand, we have the difficulty, in many offices, that there are far too many people—a nuisance. Instead of efficiency, numbers bring down efficiency. It is probably better for us to pension them and let others do the work. I am telling you seriously. Consider this. It is better to pension off people and give them something adequate so that they may not just come in, encumber, and come in the way of the work of others. Of course, all these are temporary problems, I hope. That is to say, as our social, industrial and other work increases in scope it will go on absorbing more and more people till ultimately we hope that there will be no unemployment or, if there is, it will be what is called fractional unemployment for a short time of a few people. But in the meanwhile, we have to pass through this difficult period of transition. Inevitably, in this difficult period, there are maladjustments and many people unfortunately suffer. We should try to reduce that. But one cannot. It is just beyond our power to prevent all that happening. We have to go through the hard way. Every country has to. And again if you consider these countries where there had been great revolutions, remember this that the amount of suffering that has occurred in those countries is something tremendous. They may have achieved many good things in advance, but at a terrific cost and we

try as far as possible to avoid that cost. We try to advance peacefully to avoid the tremendous cost and suffering of conflict and violence. But some cost has to be paid in social change. If I change the land systems of India as we have been changing them, inevitably the people who had vested interests suffer. We do not want them to suffer. It is not our desire. But they have to suffer because they come in the way of the mass of the people. They are advanced. So they have to suffer.

In the old days our Services were graded in various ways—now they are graded, I believe these were the All-India Services, senior and junior, grades—I, II, III, IV and V, etc. Now obviously, in any kind of work there are different types of work. Work requiring highest responsibility. Take the Army. Now, it is no good my saying that our Commander-in-Chief and the private in the army should be put on the same level, and made to do the same work. They do different types of work. The private in the army—the soldier is a very fine soldier. It is true. But I cannot ask him to command an army. He has not got the knowledge and experience or ability to do it. He cannot do it. So, as in the military, it applies to other jobs too. Take a big engineering job. I want an absolutely first-class engineer and it makes no difference to me whether another man with 20 or 30 or 40 or 100 years experience is very senior. If another man is a first-class engineer, that man will be given the job and not the man of seniority. It is quite clear, if I cannot get a good enough man in India I will have to recruit him from Germany, Japan, Russia or America, because I want a man who can do the job. Fortunately, we have got plenty of very good engineers. But still, sometimes we had to recruit men with great experience for the big jobs. In the next stage, I do not think it will be necessary for us to get any engineer from abroad because our engineers are so good and they have got the experience now, even for the biggest jobs. But what I am saying is this: in the British times there was very much what might be called the caste system in Services, the British, of course, being the topmost caste of all. That is, there were rigid lines of distinction between various grades of Services and nobody could cross that barrier as a rule. Very rarely one might. The first barrier originally was the British and the Indians. Then a few Indians were allowed to creep into their region—the British region—and gradually that group. But even in the lower ranks, as you know, there was this caste system in Services and the various grades of Services. That is a particularly bad thing. There is one thing and, that is quite essential, that is according to function, according to the quality of work, one has to put a man in charge, who has that capacity to do that job, who has that training and experience to do it. Naturally, he will have greater responsibility but that does not mean that as a human being he is superior to another human being. That does not mean that he belongs to a higher caste than another—Service caste I mean and not the other—the other is bad enough, to bring it into the Services, it is worse. So we have to get rid of this feeling

of casteism in Services and that again, I will repeat, does not mean that we should put stupid people in charge of responsible work. All our work will suffer. We have to keep up standards. Our standards, generally speaking, by and large, are fairly good compared to any service standards, administrative standards in other countries. They are quite good. We want them to be better still. In some places there has been a tendency for them to go down, largely because of this excess of work, suddenly vast numbers of new people coming in without experience, without those standards and other things. But it is quite essential that standards of work, standards of integrity should be kept up, both these, because without them naturally one cannot go ahead fast and all our work becomes tainted work and there is a feeling that it also results in ultimately a lack of faith in the Services on the part of the people which is a bad thing. We must have faith. In the Services, like in any other people, there are good people and bad people. There are dishonest people and honest people—every type. Where there is a dishonest person, where there is an inefficient or incapable person, one should deal with that individual as such. One should not blame the whole Service. One should not blame the whole community and say that this is bad because one, two or ten individuals are bad. We should deal with individuals. For the rest, it becomes the duty of every person for his own sake, for the sake of the Service and, if you like, for the sake of the country to maintain certain high standards of work, of efficiency, of probity and integrity; thereby ultimately he gains too as well as others.

As I told you our work becomes more and more social and economic. The person who is becoming more and more important today is the engineer, is the technical man, is the scientist. In the old days, the person who was most important was the administrator. I do not mean to say that the administrator has become less important. Of course, he is important. He has to deal with human beings. He must be a man with experience and judgment and all that. But the fact remains that the other types of specialized work like engineers and the scientists are becoming more and more important and it may be, that you can get an administrator relatively easily. It is very difficult to get an absolutely first-class engineer or a first-class scientist. He is rare like every high class specialist is rare. There is a tendency, again derived from the British days, of treating the administrator at the top as well, far superior to a person engaged in any other occupation like engineering, science or education or anything. That is not a good tendency. Because, today our country is becoming more and more technical-minded. That is a sign of progress. We are going to turn out more and more engineers, educationists, scientists and the like and the future of the country is going to depend, I might say, more on the scientists and the engineers than probably on the administrators. Of course, it is rather difficult to distinguish and say that it should depend more on this, more on that, because the future of a country like India or any country depends on a multitude of

activities, on a multitude of specialists, experts, experienced men, men of wisdom and the coordination of all these activities which results in the particular work that we are doing. See, we are getting out of our old rather simple agricultural civilization, which has its virtue. Undoubtedly, the simple agricultural civilization had a certain virtue and it had, of course, many failings. But anyhow it was a civilization of poverty, it was a civilization of scarcity, it was a civilization of cooperative effort in the village working together, with many good points. But we just cannot have that because we want to get out of this rut of poverty and our population increases. That again reduces our levels, unless we produce more. So today we are entering the industrial age, the scientific age, the technical age, where the scientist and the technician and the technologist and the engineer plays a vital role in our society. Today we find some difficulty in finding employment for thousands and thousands of our young men or women who become BAs. There was no difficulty in finding employment for ten thousand overseers today if you produce them. You see, the difference that is taking place in India. We have a technical institute at Kharagpur.⁴ Every person, who is trained there before he leaves the institute, has got a job. There is a demand for trained technical people, while every person, you know very well, who leaves the college as a BA does not get a job today. It shows that the education of the college is not fitting in quite, to the new technical requirements of the present day. Of course, now vast numbers of people are being trained technically in India, much large number than previously, various ways, grades of training, so that the whole character of our Services is changing now. They will change in the course of next five to ten years. Our Services will become more and more technical Services. Even the administrative jobs will gradually be occupied by technical minded and technically trained people and that will be a sign of advance again.

So that, we are living in this dynamic age in India. India today is a dynamic country, and we have to be wide awake. Now, one fault of what has been in the past normally called service mentality is that it largely sticks to certain routine and thereby it is not to that extent a dynamic mentality. It is rather a static one. I am not referring, of course, to individuals but rather any profession, any group of human beings working along precedents, tend to become static. Nobody is more static than the lawyer. He is always working on some precedent of a law court laid down previously and producing rulings and the rest. Now, that is the static mentality. And the Service man also tends to get a static mentality because he goes according to precedent. Of course, he does not now, because he knows very well that India is changing, precedents do not count

4. The Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, which was the first in the chain of five higher technological institutes, started functioning in 1951.

and he himself is helping in changing those precedents, that is so. In every country, in every people, there are two types of forces at work. One is, what might be called continuity, continuing traditions, continuing habits, continuing structures of society, continuing beliefs and the like. That is a powerful cement which holds society together. We in India have this sense of continuity in a very powerful degree and that is what has made us function together for the last thousands of years. The other force is that of change which is the reverse of continuity and it is equally essential or more essential because, as I said some little while ago, anything that has ceased to change completely is dead. It is only death that stops change. Everything that is living whether an individual or a social group or a nation, if it is alive is constantly changing. It may be changing slowly or it may be changing fast. When you have a big revolution, that revolution means a sudden break with the past, the tremendous break cracks up and then you start the change. But you will find soon after the revolution how the old past creeps in again and the people who come later in the revolution link themselves up with the old past. Look at the French Revolution. A tremendous affair in its time and yet ten to twenty years later some of the gains of the revolution are kept but France went back to some large extent to its old habits, although the gains of the revolution and land reforms, etc., were kept. Take other revolutions. It is surprising how after a major revolution the old sense of continuity creeps in. The old sense of continuity is represented largely or in a way by, shall I say, nationalism. Take the Soviet Union. It has been a tremendous Revolution upsetting everything. But yet the changes of the Revolution subsist today undoubtedly in many ways. Yet Russia has during the last few years become very nationalistic. The old heroes of Russia of five hundred years ago are the present Russia's heroes again. So you see how these two processes of continuity and change which are really contradictory to each other function. Sometimes, too much continuity will become static, will become weak, no progress. Too much change may shake up and break up the structure completely and then you have to pick up the threads of continuity again. So that, one has to balance change and continuity. If there is a peaceful process of change the balancing becomes easier, provided it does not become too slow. If it becomes too slow, then the other factors come in, which tend to upset the balance. Anyhow, this wider question of change and continuity in all our nation's life or any nation's life might be considered from the very much narrower point of view of the Services. You have to keep both, a sense of continuity and a sense of change to adapt yourself to present conditions.

Above all, finally, the Services—whether they are All India Services or State Services—they have to remember that the basic thing in India without which no great thing can be done at all, is the building up of the unity of India. That is quite essential and I want you to realize that. You all talk about it—of course, but I want you to realize it in all its importance and essential

nature, whatever we have achieved in the past thirty to forty years in our struggle, in the last eight years of our Independence has been because in a large measure we have pulled together in India in spite of forces which disrupt and fissiparous tendencies. I think every member of the Services, whatever his Service may be, must understand and appreciate this; must understand that it is his duty to work for the unity of India, to break down barriers which come in the way of the unity of India and always to be a crusader in that behalf.

Here, coming back to Kurnool after two years and looking at things generally—and of course, during these two years we have had plenty of reports of what is being done in this and other States—I am happy to see not only the actual evidence of progress which one sees but much more so, by the atmosphere that I find here—a progressive, a self-confident atmosphere of achievement and of going ahead. So, I congratulate you all upon it and wish you. I am talking about the whole of the State, not only of your work—prosperity for the future.

Thank you.

6. Jallianwala Bagh Mural in Parliament House¹

I understand that the Lok Sabha Secretariat has asked the UK High Commission in Delhi for a portrait picture of General Dyer for use in connection with a mural in the Parliament building. I am rather surprised to learn this. It is obvious that such a request would embarrass the UK Government greatly. In any event, the External Affairs Ministry might have been consulted.

Apart from this, however, I should like to know what it proposes to do in this matter. I am entirely opposed to the idea of having any mural in Parliament building depicting the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.² I think that we should not depict incidents, which, though important, excite ill will.

1. Note to the Lok Sabha Secretariat, 29 December 1955. JN Collection. Copies of this note were sent to the Secretary General and the Foreign Secretary.
2. On 13 April 1919, when the people of Amritsar had assembled at Jallianwala Bagh, on the festive occasion of Baisakhi, R.H. Dyer, the local British Commander, marched in and with barely a warning to the assembly and leaving almost no escape route for the crowd, fired on unarmed people, including women and children, killing 379 persons and wounding nearly 1,200.

7. Nationality of Josh Malihabadi¹

In this matter of Josh Malihabadi,² there is no need for us to take any immediate action. A few days' delay will not harm anybody.

2. I should like you to write to our High Commissioner³ and ask him to send word to Josh that it is not possible for him to retain dual nationality or two passports. If he has applied for or obtained Pakistani nationality, he must necessarily cease to be an Indian national. As it has been stated officially by the Pakistan Government that Josh has already obtained Pakistani nationality, he should return his Indian passport to our High Commissioner.

3. He may further inform him that this action was being taken at the instance of the Prime Minister.

4. Our High Commissioner should address the Pakistan Government and enquire from them if it is a fact that Josh has accepted Pakistani nationality. It might be added that this enquiry is made because Josh had thus far been an Indian national and we should like to know definitely if he has changed his nationality. In that case, obviously, he would not be entitled to his Indian passport.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 30 December 1955. JN Collection.
2. Shabbir Hasan Khan alias Josh Malihabadi (1898-1982); eminent Urdu poet, journalist and film lyricist; worked in Translation Bureau, Hyderabad, 1924-36; author of more than twenty-five books including *Yadon ki Barat* (autobiography, 1970); wrote lyrics for numerous films; migrated to Pakistan in 1956.
3. C.C. Desai, India's High Commissioner in Pakistan.

8. Arrangements During Tours¹

Para 2 of the Prime Minister's Note:² Use of open cars. I think that our experience has shown quite clearly that, normally speaking, it is neither possible

1. Note to G.B. Pant, Union Minister of Home Affairs, 31 December 1955. JN Collection.
2. The reference is to the Prime Minister's note of 3 November 1955 to A.V. Pai, Home Secretary, printed in *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 306-307.

nor desirable to use a closed car.³ If there are any remote risks involved, they have to be faced. An open car helps in keeping the crowd at some distance because they can see me. In a closed car they tend to crowd all round the car and it is not easy for the car even to move. Also it is a suffocating experience for those inside the closed car to be surrounded by crowds. I have no doubt that an open car has to be used. The proper course is always to have an open car and a closed car. There is usually a spare car. This should be a closed car which may be used when occasion arises.

Para 4 of PM's Note: The actual rule⁴ is not objectionable, but it is not followed and, as is said, overzealous officers go much beyond it.

The thirty feet rule is also not objected to.⁵ But I have repeatedly seen that instead of this thirty feet, the space extends to sixty or even seventy feet. It is this that must not happen.

Para 5 of PM's Note: I did not suggest that this space should be filled up with people.⁶ What I said was that members of my party or those accompanying me and sometimes Ministers and the like should be accommodated there. There is no question of a tussle over this.

Para 6 of PM's Note: Considerable open spaces are apt to upset the entire meeting.⁷ It is almost impossible to keep large parts of them free and almost inevitably people rush in. Every attempt should be made to avoid this. This really is a matter for the organisers and it should be made clear to them that there is a risk of arrangements made being upset at the meeting if large open spaces are not at least partly filled.

Whatever rules⁸ might be framed, they have to be applied reasonably having regard to the particular circumstances. Too rigid an application of rules leads to difficulties. Usually the Security Officer accompanying me goes ahead to the meeting and he can make slight variations whenever he thinks fit.

3. On 25 November 1955, B.N.Mullick, Director, Intelligence Bureau, commenting on Prime Minister's note of 3 November to A.V. Pai, wrote to the Home Minister that the existing rule that PM would generally travel in a closed car, except in some exceptional circumstances when an open car must be used, should be observed.
4. Mullick wrote that the "instructions are that when the PM is travelling in a car, the crowd should be kept at a distance of ten feet on each side of the car."
5. Mullick felt that the rule of thirty feet gap between the rostrum and the first line of crowd, had worked satisfactorily and should not be changed.
6. To Nehru's suggestion for accommodating some special people in the thirty feet space, Mullick replied that sometimes pressmen, photographers and distinguished persons accompanying the PM had to be accommodated there and permission to accommodate people there would create "a great deal of tussle."
7. Mullick wrote that "organisers sell tickets to raise money and therefore they make reservations of certain enclosures. As all tickets are not sold, spaces are left unfilled."
8. Mullick stated that "according to the rules, only two enclosures are to be reserved, one for women and the other for distinguished visitors as suggested by the PM."

9. Traffic Management in Agra during PM's Visit¹

The traffic arrangements made for my passage through various parts of Agra city appeared to me very much overdone. Every time I had to go to any place, the traffic was stopped throughout the route for some considerable time.² As I was staying at the Circuit House and usually had to go several miles, the result was great inconvenience to the public.

2. Two notable examples of this were brought to my notice. Today, Dr Bhabha³ had to go to an important lecture. He was stopped once, then he tried another route and he was stopped again and it became too late for him to go to the lecture and he came back to the Circuit House. The President of the Science Congress, Dr. Krishnan,⁴ was stopped according to him, for more than fifteen minutes at one particular place and arrived very late for an important engagement at the Science Congress.

3. These two examples are enough to indicate that the arrangements made caused great inconvenience to the public. I do not know what instructions you have received from the Home Ministry in Delhi, but I have been informed repeatedly by them that traffic will not be stopped except perhaps for a minute or two.

4. I can understand special arrangements near the place of destination where people gather, but when I am merely to pass through the city, which I did repeatedly here, then it is undesirable to stop the traffic or indeed to make any special arrangements, except that some additional police might be posted along the route. The mere fact of stopping the traffic draws attention to my passing

1. Note to the District Magistrate of Agra, C.B.L. Dubey, Camp: Agra, 3 January 1956. JN Collection.
2. Apart from inaugurating the 43rd session of the Indian Science Congress and addressing a public meeting, Nehru also spoke to the Association of Scientific Workers of India on 2 January, opened a children's museum and attended a children's rally at Agra Club on 3 January during his two-day stay in Agra.
3. Homi Jehangir Bhabha was Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, since 1949, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, GOI, since 1954.
4. Maharajapuram Sitaram Krishnan (1898-1975); Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, 1949-51; Director, Geological Survey of India, 1951-55; Mineral Adviser, GOI, 1955-57; Director, Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad, 1957-58; Professor of Geophysics, Andhra University, 1958-61; Director, National Geophysical Research Institute, 1961-63; Professor of Geology, Osmania University, 1963-65; author of *Geology of India and Burma*, *Iron Ores of India* and nearly one hundred scientific papers.

and large crowds collect. The most objectionable feature, of course, is that other people suffer, and that should not happen.⁵

5. The same day, enclosing a copy of this note, Nehru wrote to the Home Ministry: "To stop traffic for several miles in a busy city for a fairly long time appears to me to be completely wrong...I should like you to issue explicit instructions against this practice of stopping traffic generally."

10. Cash Gifts to Government Staff¹

You sent me a note on the 26th December about the various gifts in cash which the King of Saudi Arabia had made to the Rashtrapati Bhavan staff. Also at Simla.

I confess I do not like this direct gifts being given to the servants and I would have liked this to be made clear to the King. However, this had been done and no further action is necessary.

Normally it is probably the right practice to pay over these cash gifts from guests to the gratuity fund for distribution to the normal Class IV staff. But, in a rather special case like that of the King of Saudi Arabia, when large sums were paid to the servants directly as well as to the gratuity fund, I think it would have been advisable and fair to distribute some part of this money to some other members of the staff who normally do not get money from the gratuity fund. In some way or other they serve the guests too although they do not come into direct contact with them.

1. Note to Yadu Nath Singh, Military Secretary to the President, 9 January 1956. JN Collection.

11. Discipline in Police and the People¹

The All India Police Sports are an annual affair. So is my message to them.

Everybody must recognise the necessity of the police and the importance of the work they do. Whatever the future and whatever the government in any country, a police force is necessary. But what kind of a police force must we have? That is the question which we should always bear in mind. The police force of an alien power is an imposition and it can never gain the cooperation of the people. It functions for different aims and serves a government which is basically hostile to the people. Thus, even the obvious social duties of the police tend to become somewhat diverted to wrong ends.

Under a free and democratic government, the functions of the police force must become largely social. It would deal with crimes and public order and would do so in a manner so as to gain the goodwill and cooperation of the public whom it is meant to serve.

Power, it has been said, tends to corrupt and the greater that power, the greater that risk. A prime minister faces this risk most. So do other ministers or officials of government. So does a policeman. In each case the individual has the great power of government behind it and he has to be very careful not to misuse this power. For this reason, democracy has devised many methods to control individual power and authority and to spread it out as far as possible. It has also encouraged public criticism even of the highest in the land so that no one should consider himself above the public. Parliament or other legislative assemblies are the guardians of the people's freedom and the proper use of power.

In spite of all these checks and controls, there is still the fact of power being wielded by the individual and the risk of his using it in the wrong way. The only additional remedy is for the individual himself to exercise self-control and self-discipline. This self-control and self-discipline is the measure of the greatness of a nation or an individual. It is the weak and those who lack self-control who try to show their strength or impose their authority by shouting and improper behaviour.

This applies to the person in authority as well as to those on whom authority is exercised. It applies to the official and the policeman on the one hand as well as to the public on the other. Both have to learn the lesson of self-control

1. Message for the Sixth All India Police Sports Meet which began at Gwalior on 1 February 1956. 10 January 1956. From the Press Information Bureau. Also available in JN Collection and newspapers of 1 February 1956.

and cooperation. Those who blame the police incessantly are not acting rightly and their criticism loses weight. The policeman who forgets that his main duty is to serve the people and not to exercise authority over them, is also acting wrongly. Thus, there is the dual responsibility.

Every policeman is a citizen and thus a member of the wider public. Every citizen bears some responsibility for the maintenance of good order and social harmony. The two functions overlap.

Sports and athletics are good in themselves and also because they encourage the cooperative spirit and friendly emulation. They should be conducted like all games in the spirit of the game. Indeed, all our work, whether we are policemen or others, should be conducted in the spirit of the game.

My good wishes on the occasion of this All India Police Sports Meet at Gwalior.

12. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi

28 January 1956

My dear Radhakrishnan,

Your letter of the 28th January about Humayun Kabir.² The question does not appear to be a very simple one.³ Nobody has any objection to Humayun Kabir enrolling himself as a voter anywhere, but the point that has arisen is that the office of the Secretary and Educational Adviser to the Government of India be exempted from the normal rule applying to Government servants and should be placed in the same category as the President, Vice-President, Governors, Central Ministers and the Speaker. I confess I do not see how this can be done with any justification. Kabir is certainly holding a contract appointment as

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 35(8)/56-PMS.

2. Radhakrishnan had intimated that the Union Law Ministry turned down the application of Humayun Kabir, Secretary and Adviser in the Union Ministry of Education (a voter in Delhi) for enrolment as a voter in West Bengal, who wanted to contest the Rajya Sabha election. Radhakrishnan wanted to know if something could be done in this matter.

3. Since the Representation of the People Act 1950 allowed registration of those persons in the electoral roll of a particular Constituency who were ordinarily resident in that constituency, Kabir wanted exemption from the application of normal rule through incorporation of the office of the Secretary and Adviser to the GOI in the category of President, Vice-President, Central Ministers, Governors and Speaker under Section 20(4) of the Representation of the People Act, 1950.

Secretary. The question is not of Kabir but of that particular appointment. If the Education Secretaryship is placed on a separate footing as some kind of a political appointment, there is no reason why some other secretaryship should not be treated likewise.

I do not know what one can do about it. Kabir is a voter in Delhi State. The difficulty that arises is his being transferred somewhere else while he is in Government employ.

I am not competent to discuss the legal aspect but I have read the note by the Ministry of Law and I find no answer to it.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 25 January 1956, K.Y. Bhandarkar of the Law Ministry, wrote to Kabir that "... it would be difficult to justify the declaration of any office in the Secretariat much less the selection of only one such office...for special treatment," that is exemption from application of Section 20(4) of the Representation of the People Act, 1950.

II. STATE GOVERNMENTS

1. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi
20 November 1955

My dear Medhi,²

Thank you for your letter of November 16. Also for your telegram. No more agreeable gift could have been made to me on the occasion of my birthday than the contribution of 87 acres of land for the construction of 55 schools. Please convey my gratitude to all those who have made these gifts.

In your letter, you mention the visit of the Czechs and their offer to build a ropeway as well as various other factories. So far as the ropeway is concerned, this appears to me obviously a desirable proposition, subject to its being examined fully. About the other proposals, I cannot say anything without much greater examination by our Planning Commission. I should imagine, however,

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to G.B. Pant, the Home Minister.
2. Chief Minister of Assam.

that the building up of a motor car and bodybuilding workshop is a very big affair. Apart from costing a tremendous sum of money, the question is how far our consumption requires it. As it is, the three automobile factories³ that are functioning in India, part building and part assembling, rather overlap. Some people advise us that until the demand rises greatly, even these are too much.⁴

You mention the invitation the Czech Deputy Minister gave you to visit his country. A visit abroad should be for a specific purpose and generally it is not advisable for Ministers and, more especially, Chief Ministers to go abroad except when it is considered necessary for a particular object.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The reference is to Hindustan Motors Ltd., Kolkata, Premier Automobiles Ltd., Mumbai, and Standard Motor Products of India Ltd., Chennai.
4. The total number of automobiles manufactured in India rose from 16,500 in 1950-51 to 25,000 in 1955-56.

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
22 December 1955

My dear Sachar,

Your letter of December 20 about Varma² and the Chandigarh Project.³ Having read this letter, I find no reason given by you to enable me to change my opinion, which is in favour of Varma continuing in charge of Chandigarh. I do not understand at all this business of superannuation. It may be good enough for normal services, but it has absolutely no meaning in regard to specialists, experts and the like. In no country in the world are experts treated in this way.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab.
2. Parmeshari Lal Varma (b.1901); served in Punjab in various capacities, 1924-50; Chief Engineer and Secretary, Government of Punjab, in addition to his duties as Chief Engineer, Secretary and Chief Administrator, Chandigarh Capital Project, 1950-56; Member, Union Public Service Commission, 1956-62.
3. Varma reached the age of superannuation at this time but Le Corbusier, the Architectural Advisor to the Punjab Government, wanted to retain him till the completion of the project to which Nehru agreed. But Sachar, the Chief Minister of Punjab, was not in favour of this as it would mean violation of the prevailing Service Rules.

They are much too valuable to be put in the shelf. We take enormous trouble to train up people and then we do not utilise their services to the fullest extent. A number of engineers and eminent health officers, after retiring from here, have got very important jobs in other countries or in the UN Organisation. It seems to me quite absurd that when we require competent men in India we should push them out and allow some other country to use them or allow them to run to seed. This is bad economy and bad business. No private business does that and indeed no government in any other country does this. We have got strange ideas derived from British times when there was some kind of administrative police state here which had little to do with experts or specialised personnel. The ICS was the supreme authority. Even the ICS people fixed 60 years as their own age of retirement while the age for others was 55. Anything more partial and ridiculous, I cannot imagine.

The position of the administrative services is rapidly changing, although they themselves do not seem to recognize it. A first-class engineer is far more important in the scheme of things than any administrative officer, however high in the scale he might be. Indeed, I hope that in future engineers and others will be put in charge of administration more and more.

These are general considerations which induce me to keep P.L. Varma in service, whatever the job he may occupy, because to retire him is national waste which we can ill afford. So far as my information goes, he is a first-class engineer and knows his job. That is enough for me.

The second question is whether he should continue in this particular work which he has been doing. If he is not to be retired, then there seems to be no reason why he should be made to do some other work and leave the work with which he has been associated intimately during this period. But my major reason is that if the person in charge of the whole conception, that is Corbusier, expresses his definite opinion about those who should work with him, we should accept it. That is the only way to get responsible work done. If Corbusier is not good enough, it is a different matter and he can go. But if we consider him good enough and wish to keep him, then we should abide by his advice, unless there are very strong reasons to the contrary. I know of no such reason. In fact, there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that Varma is an able and competent man for the job. There is no question of indispensability. People die and have to be replaced. But if a man is good at the work he is doing, then one does not needlessly do something which might have adverse effects on that work. The only real thing to be considered is how the work will progress and not what the Service Rules are. Those Service Rules anyhow are completely out of date and have to be changed. We have in fact changed them at the Centre in so far as any specialists, scientists, engineers, etc., are concerned.

You refer in your letter to some matters which make you consider that the

officer's continuance in service is undesirable. I do not know what these matters are, except that you mention a talk that is going on in Chandigarh that an extension of service is going to be granted to Varma because of intervention from the Centre. Who is responsible for this, I do not know. Much depends on what was said and in what context. There can be little doubt that Corbusier has been talking about this, as he talked to me in the strongest terms.⁴ But even if Varma mentioned it, while certainly it was wrong on his part, that is not so important as to induce us to take a step which we consider undesirable from other points of view.

I confess to an extreme dislike of our Service Rules which have been framed from the point of view of not of any work in hand but the promotion of people to soft jobs.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 5 December 1955 Nehru wrote to C.P.N. Singh that Corbusier who came to see him, had suggested that Varma should continue in his post till the Chandigarh Capital Project was completed.

3. To K. Kamaraj Nadar¹

New Delhi
23 December 1955

My dear Kamaraj,²

Our Information & Broadcasting Ministry has drawn my attention to a correspondence going on between them and the Madras Government. This refers to certain rules that are being framed for the showing of documentaries and newsreels in cinema theatres in Madras State. The former Madras Cinematograph Rules under which these documentaries were exhibited in cinemas were declared

1. File No.43(23)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to B.V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting.
2. Chief Minister of Madras.

ultra vires by the Court.³ These Rules had been framed under the old Cinematograph Act.

New Acts and new Rules in line with the Cinematograph Act of 1952⁴ have been passed and framed by all the states except Madras. Your State has not come in line with this during the last two years and has only recently taken up the question of passing a new Cinematograph Act on the lines of the Central Act of 1952.

The Madras Government has written to the I & B Ministry here that they propose to frame Rules according to which only those documentaries can be shown in Madras State theatres which are passed by a committee appointed by the Madras Government and that the committee will have the authority to reject, modify or cut out whatever they consider necessary. The reasons given are that the people in Madras State do not want to see anything which is not related to the work carried on in the State or with subjects which are familiar to them. They have stated in their reply that "the Madras Government are firmly of the view that the provisions of their law should not be used to impose on the public or the management, films which are against local taste or sensibilities". I must say that I have read this reply of the Madras Government with great surprise and I really do not at all appreciate the position they have taken up. These Government of India documentaries supplied by the Films Division, are known to be excellent both technically and in regard to their content. All over the world they have been highly appreciated. Every state in India welcomes them. Naturally, they are meant to cover all parts of India and they are prepared under a programme which is settled by consulting all the state governments and Ministries in the Government of India. The basic idea underlying them is to lay stress on the great developmental works all over India and to promote national consciousness. I cannot conceive of how these documentaries can be against any local taste or sensibility.

If it is said that people in Madras State are not interested in what is happening in the rest of India, that is an extraordinary thing and not very complimentary to them. Surely, it is our object to show pictures in each state to give them an idea of India as a whole and the work being done there, just as they should see pictures of the rest of the world too to have some idea of

3. Reversing the Madras High Court judgment and order of 24 August 1951 in *R.M. Seshadri Vs. the District Magistrate, Tanjore and Another*, the Supreme Court held that no licence holder of a Cinema House "could be compelled to exhibit films as falling in the scope of National Reels in Cinema House." The Court also held that the condition 4(a) and 3 of the Madras Cinematograph Act prescribing compulsory exhibition of Government approved documentaries and newsreels were void as against Article 19(1)g of the Constitution.
4. In fact, the Bill was introduced in the Parliament in November 1952 and was passed in April 1953.

the world. To confine pictures entirely to local subjects is to prevent national development and to confirm a narrow parochial outlook which is not good anywhere.

If every state followed the line suggested by Madras State, then there will be no purpose in producing documentaries by the Films Division. Indeed, that means there will be hardly any documentaries because each state has not got the equipment or the capacity to produce these documentaries. Possibly, some private companies might occasionally produce a documentary, but usually they are not interested in these.

If the Madras State view is accepted, it would become impossible to give publicity to the five year plan. Also, if one state started preparing documentaries it would hardly be able to do so on an economical basis which is only made possible by an all India coverage. The Films Division deal with three thousand theatres in India. Thus, the major item in five year plan publicity would collapse.

What the Madras State suggests is a double censorship and a censorship on Government of India films or rather documentaries. This is very extraordinary. The odd thing is that the Madras State is not apparently interested in double censorship in regard to feature films either from abroad or from India. They accept them as they are, once they have been passed by the Central censorship. Thus, the poor Government of India is distinguished especially and is made liable to censorship by the Madras State even though private films in India and abroad are not treated in this way. Surely, this is extraordinary. If the Madras Government accepts the approval of the Central Films Advisory Board for others films, there is all the less reason for it not to accept that approval for documentaries and newsreels prepared by the Government of India.

In this matter there has to be uniformity. Apart from the reasons I have mentioned above, the very idea that each state should live in its own shell even in regard to documentaries and five year plan publicity seems to me contrary to our entire national outlook. You will remember these documentaries are usually quite brief and bring out some national activity.

We have had a good deal of trouble with some of the Madras film producers who actually went to the courts to put a stop to the compulsory exhibition of these documentaries.⁵ The courts supported them because the Rules were out

5. R.M. Seshadri, the owner of a cinema theatre in Tiruthuraipundi in Tanjore district, objected to certain conditions in the licence imposed by the District Magistrate under the old Cinematograph Act making it compulsory to screen the newsreels and documentaries and moved the Madras High Court which held that the conditions imposed were reasonable and in the interest of general public. However, the Supreme Court reversed this decision. As the exhibitors in Madras and Andhra won the case against the Government compulsion and these films were not shown there, the revenue of the Films Division declined from Rs. 32 lakhs to Rs. 28 lakhs in 1954-55.

of date, but any encouragement given to these film producers is to encourage obstruction on the part of vested interests. I think this is highly undesirable and I am sure the Madras Government does not wish to do so. As a matter of fact, even the private film producers do not suffer at all by showing a ten-minute documentary. If any principle is involved in this, it is the other way. To permit these vested interests and private industry to come in the way of national work and national publicity, would lead us to an intolerable position.

I hope you will look into this matter and have it settled soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Relationship of Chief Commissioner with Ministers¹

The Chief Commissioner of Delhi² is an upright and conscientious person, but I think the way he treats his Ministers is not very proper. In effect, he ignores them or, at any rate, he creates that feeling in them which is as bad. A permanent official must learn how to deal with Ministers. The fact that the Chief Commissioner is in a way superior in status to the Ministers, being the Head of the Delhi State, does not do away with the fact that the Ministers represent the people, and there should be as little interference with their work as possible.

2. I think you should send for Pandit and explain this to him. The fact that the Delhi State is likely to cease to be in some months time makes no difference.³ This is a general principle which all our officers must remember.

1. Note to A.V. Pai, Union Home Secretary, 24 December 1955. JN Collection.

2. Anand Dattatraya Pandit.

3. The Chief Commissioner's Province of Delhi which had a Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers, became one of the six 'Union Territories' with effect from 19 October 1956 when the President gave his assent to the States Reorganization Bill 1956.

5. To Nawab of Bhopal¹

New Delhi

31 December 1955

My dear Nawab Saheb,²

Your letter of the 20th December.³ There is no doubt that some Christian missionary schools in India have done good work. At the same time we have been rather hesitant in increasing the numbers of these schools. There is always a risk of their creating new problems in the future.

However, there is no objection in principle to this and, if you are satisfied, you can go ahead with this proposal. We must of course make sure about the personnel of the school. Also as to which Christian denomination is supporting it.⁴ Some denominations are not to be encouraged because they have a tendency to meddle in politics.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.40(39)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Mohammad Hamidullah Khan.
3. Hamidullah Khan had written that he had been approached many times by Christian missionaries for assistance in establishing a missionary school for girls in Bhopal. Since some of those schools in India had done excellent work in the past he was inclined to help them but as he was not fully aware of the Central Government's policy in this regard he sought Nehru's advice.
4. On 9 January 1956, Nehru informed the Nawab that there was no objection to Roman Catholic missionaries but visas would be required by them for coming to Bhopal and normal procedure for consideration of visas would be followed. He also added that where adequately trained personnel were available in India foreigners should not be engaged.

6. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

31 December 1955

My dear V.T.,²

The Ministry of External Affairs, of which I am in charge, have drawn my

1. File No. 17(99)/56-61-PMS.
2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

attention to a letter from the Chief Minister of UP. In this letter the Chief Minister has stated that no funds have been sanctioned by the Planning Commission for the development of Indo-Tibetan border areas in Uttar Pradesh.³ Apparently, detailed plans were submitted to the Planning Commission at one stage and there was some desire to fit them in. But in view of the overall cut, this item has disappeared.

I have not looked through your allotments to this or like matters. But I do feel that we cannot possibly ignore the development of these areas on the border. Apart from their having suffered great neglect previously, they have a considerable strategic and political importance.

There is also the question of development of roads in Northern Sikkim and the likelihood of having to give some aid to Bhutan. These items are important.

I understand that in the draft Five Year Plan of Nepal it was tentatively agreed to make an allotment of seven to eight crores apart from our present commitments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister of UP, had written to Nehru on 2 December 1955 that the State Government had asked for special provision for the Indo-Tibetan border area, outside the State ceiling, in their representation to the Planning Commission for allocation of funds. But the Planning Commission replied that they were not aware of any such proposal. He requested Nehru to take it up with the Planning Commission. In fact, the issue of the development of the Indo-Tibetan border areas had been under discussion with MHA and MEA and Planning Commission since 1951. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 204.

7. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
8 January 1956

My dear C.P.N.,

Day before yesterday, as I learnt later, Maulana Sahib met Bhimsen Sachar and Partap Singh Kairon and had a talk with them about their behaviour to

1. JN Collection.

each other. I do not quite know what the talk was but I understand that he suggested to them that they must pull together.²

That afternoon, Sachar came to the meeting of the National Development Council. At the end of the meeting, as we were walking out, he came to me and said something about wanting to see me to discuss some matters and show me some maps. Presumably, this had to do with the states reorganization business. I told him that there was no point in his seeing me as we seemed to differ about many matters. He had better see Pantji. That was all the conversation we had.

Yesterday, I received a letter from him in which he said that as I no longer had confidence in him, he felt that he should resign from his post as Chief Minister. With this, he attached a brief letter addressed to you resigning from Chief Ministership. I sent him a reply last night acknowledging his letter and saying that it was true that a number of events had made me lose confidence in his judgement. I added that I was forwarding his letter to Pantji who could deal with it as he liked.³

I am informing you of this. No doubt, Pantji will write to you more on this subject. We are terribly busy at present with the states reorganization matter as well as the Second Five Year Plan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The differences between Sachar and Kairon had surfaced on many occasions after the general elections of 1952 starting with the allocation of portfolios. The dissident MLAs led by Kairon were unhappy with Sachar's handling of the allegations of nepotism and corruption levelled by the opposition and his lenient attitude towards the Akali movement.
3. Sachar's letter of resignation was accepted on 14 January and Kairon succeeded him on 23 January 1956.

8. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
10 January 1956

My dear Sachar,

I have your letter of January 9th. I am glad you wrote to me.

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to C.P.N. Singh.

Your previous letter certainly irritated me not because of the expression of your views but the whole manner of doing it and your informing me that you had to take a step immediately.² This would not have been courteous to anyone. Also, it indicated to me a certain irritation on your part that I had interfered in this matter at all and your desire to make it clear that you would stand no nonsense from me, if I may put it crudely.

You raise, what you call, two points of principle. One is: must a person like Corbusier's judgement prevail over the Punjab Government's. The other is: whether a state government must necessarily adopt whatever the Centre lays down.³ The answers to these questions are quite simple. It is the state government that bears the responsibility and must decide. That, of course, does not exclude the fact that the state government may decide wrongly and can be told so. As regards the second matter, there is the Constitution which lays down precisely in what matters the State Governments must follow the Centre's direction and in what matters they have full authority to decide for themselves and even not accept the Centre's advice.

You seem, however, to have overlooked certain aspects of these questions. I function in a variety of ways. I am the Prime Minister, I am also a leading member of the Congress organization of which we are all members, and, thirdly, I consider myself justified, because perhaps of a larger experience of India and the world, to advise my colleagues and comrades. If the Centre as such had wished to advise you in any matter, the Home Minister would have written to you officially and not I in a personal way. It is, of course, quite open to you not to accept my personal advice or opinion in any matter.

In any important matter, I do not function by myself, even though I am Prime Minister. I take the advice of my colleagues in the Cabinet either formally or informally. That is the way of democratic government. I am often overruled by my colleagues and sometimes converted by them. Often we find a middle way. There is no other method of working of democracy except by the fullest consultation and by the largest measure of agreement. It is not in consonance with this democratic way in a parliamentary government, for action to be taken

2. On 31 December 1955, Sachar, in connection with P.L. Varma's superannuation (see *ante*, pp. 273-275) wrote that (i) Until the existing Service Rules were changed on Central Government pattern, "it was important to ensure their observance evenly"; (ii) grant of extensions to individual officers was "fraught with grave dangers and certainly leads to demoralisation" of senior officers; (iii) retirement of "some of our ablest engineers" had not resulted in deterioration of standards and this had prevented frustration in the lower ranks. He also criticised Le Corbusier's advocacy of Varma.
3. Sachar had referred to the decision of the Central Government that in regard to scientists, technicians, doctors, engineers, etc., the Service Rules of the Centre should be extended to the states, whenever considered necessary.

in any important matter without this fullest consultation. Certainly, there is a larger responsibility on the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister, but neither the Prime Minister nor the Chief Minister can function by himself or can be any other than a first amongst equals, each of who has to share joint responsibility.

You appear to have made a principle about adherence to Service Rules. I see no principle there. Service Rules are made to facilitate good work being done, not to obstruct it. I presume that you have extended the term of some officers from time to time beyond the normal age limit for special reasons. Therefore, that is not a rigid rule. Apart from this, the question arises as to whether the old Service Rules are suitable in the new conditions we function in. We are not functioning as the old British Government did. We, as a Government, have undertaken new duties and responsibilities and our domain of work has extended vastly in the social and industrial sphere. The old Civil Service, individuals apart, is neither trained for this wider purpose nor fully competent to deal with it. Every competent observer from abroad or in India has said so. You might remember Dr Appleby's report.⁴ Our Planning Commission said so in the First Five Year Plan. We have indeed taken some steps, though not adequate enough to my thinking, to make some changes. We hope to go much further in the future. Therefore, when you refer me to your Service Rules, I am not impressed. Indeed, the impression created upon me is that you have not quite realized that we are functioning in a new state and in a new way. Unless we realise this fully, we shall not be able to understand the problem, much less to solve it.

I am not concerned with Varma or Corbusier. Since you have referred to principles, I have been unable to find any principle in your arguments. It is possible, of course, that you may have information in your possession which I do not know, and hence you are the best person to judge. But the reasons you have given for an adherence to certain Service Rules appear to me to be totally inadequate and, what is more, a wrong approach to this question.

You will perhaps agree with me that I have some sense of the people. I can feel their pulse. I can do so because I allow them to feel my pulse and I want to be in tune with them. Hence, to some extent, the reason of the influence I possess with them. I am not rigid with them. I react to them even as I want them to react to me.

I have a feeling that you have not got that popular touch and are rigid in your thinking and, therefore, in your actions. You function more as an official than a politician in touch with the people.

4. Paul H. Appleby, consultant to the Government of India on public administration, had in his report of January 1953 suggested reorganization of the Government Services.

It is for this reason that I wrote to you the other day that I did not have confidence in your judgement in many matters.

As I said above, I am glad you wrote to me frankly. I am answering you in the same spirit.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. The Woodlands behind Rashtrapati Bhavan¹

I am alarmed at the prospect of the Defence Ministry putting up some building on the land behind Rashtrapati Bhavan. That land, and more especially the lovely wood behind Rashtrapati Bhavan should surely not be touched by any building. I do not know where exactly the building is going to be put up. But if it touches the wood at all, it will ruin something that is very lovely and desirable. Will you please let me know, how this matter stands, because I am taking a great interest in it? I gather that it is proposed to put up a Defence Services Club.² However important such a club might be, it has no business to spoil Delhi.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Secretary, Ministry of Defence, 11 January 1956. JN Collection.
2. A defence services club, which was functioning in the National Stadium area, was renamed as the Defence Services Officers Institute and shifted to the Dhaula Kuan area in 1966.

10. To Tara Singh¹

New Delhi

15 January 1956

My dear Master Tara Singh,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th January, which I have read with care.²

I am very much concerned at the tension in Amritsar over processions and the shouting of slogans. I entirely agree with you that we should avoid any conflict and disharmony, more particularly on an occasion of the celebration of a day which should be honoured by every Indian. I am sure this can be avoided with a little goodwill.

You have sent me a long statement which you have issued on Justice Falshaw's³ report.⁴ You will appreciate that I can hardly discuss the report of a High Court Judge appointed to carry out an impartial enquiry. Nobody can accuse him of partiality. It is always possible that even a High Court Judge may be misled or may not have all the facts before him. That applies to every matter that goes up for judicial determination. But it is presumed that the fairest way of having an enquiry into any matter of dispute is to have it considered by a high judicial authority who is used to considering matters calmly and objectively without fear or favour. Even when one disagrees with his decision, one accepts it. There is no other way of deciding any matter in dispute, apart from direct agreement between the parties concerned.

I am naturally unable to form any opinion myself of the events in Amritsar because I am not in a position to know all the facts.

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to G.B. Pant, A.K. Azad and U.N. Dhebar.
2. Describing the delicate communal situation in Amritsar since the last *morcha* in July 1955, the Akali Dal leader, Tara Singh, had written that the members of Jana Sangh and some district officials sympathetic to them had been trying to bring about a clash between the Hindus and the Sikhs. He feared that on 19 January 1956, the birth anniversary of Guru Govind Singh, the 'Maha Punjabists' with the support of local officials might attack the Akali Dal procession, which might develop into a bigger riot. He assured Nehru of restraining the Sikh processionists but sought his intervention for providing military protection for the procession to avert a possible clash.
3. Donald Falshaw (b.1905); joined ICS, 1927; served as District and Sessions Judge in various places, 1933-38, in Lahore and Delhi, 1939-46; Additional Judge, East Punjab High Court, 1947-49; Puisne Judge, Punjab High Court, 1949-61; Chief Justice of Punjab, 1961-65.
4. Tara Singh had written that the findings of Justice Falshaw, who had enquired into the riot which occurred on 29 November 1955 on the occasion of the last birthday celebrations of Guru Nanak, were generally against the Akalis. Tara Singh issued a statement on 1 January 1956 criticising the Judge's remarks against him as presumptuous.

In regard to the shouting of slogans,⁵ normally, slogans expressing a viewpoint without offence to others, cannot be objected to, but the same slogan in a wrong place may be undesirable or, shouted in a wrong context or environment, may create reactions which are not desirable. A slogan may also be not only expressive of a viewpoint but also aggressive or offensive. Then, it is undesirable. Everything depends on the surrounding circumstances.

In any event, violence of any type or threats to commit violence cannot be justified.

Personally, and quite apart from the particular matter at issue in Amritsar, I have often stated my opinion that indiscriminate use of slogans does not help a cause and merely creates excitement. We have become a mature nation now, facing great problems and try to solve them peacefully and cooperatively. That requires a peaceful atmosphere. That does not mean giving up of any right but only the right approach to a problem.

I earnestly hope that the anniversary of Guru Govind Singhji's birthday will be celebrated in a proper and respectful way and that all sections of our people will join in it. Guru Govind Singh was a great man and a great son of India who deserved respect from all of us. I have drawn the attention of the Punjab Government to your letter to me⁶ and I am sure that they will take adequate precautions, but the best precaution of all is for all of us to create an atmosphere of harmony.

For some time past, I have been wanting to meet you and your colleagues again but we have been overwhelmed with work. We are now suggesting that you might come with your colleagues to see us on Sunday, the 22nd January, morning at 9.30 am at my house. I hope this will suit you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Tara Singh pointed out that though the Government had withdrawn the ban on shouting of the slogan *Punjabi Suba Zindabad*, the Maha Punjabists, with the support and encouragement of the local officials, objected to shouting of the said slogan and attacked them, while the supporters of Punjabi Suba did not object to slogan shouting by their opponents.
6. On 12 January, Nehru requested G.B. Pant, the Union Home Minister, to speak to the Punjab Chief Minister about Tara Singh's request for special police or military arrangements on 19 January and to impress upon the local authorities to take every precaution because of Tara Singh's accusation against them for encouraging troubles.

11. To Brish Bhan¹

New Delhi

17 January 1956

My dear Brish Bhan,²

I enclose copy of a letter I have received from an MLA of Pepsu.³ He has warned me not to send it on to you but, obviously, you must see it. We have to be very careful not to produce any impression of discrimination. I suggest that you ask Atma Singh to see and to discuss this matter with you. Also, you might discuss it with your Sikh colleagues in the Cabinet and see how they feel about these matters.

I have received another letter⁴ from Atma Singh, in which he gives some instances, copy enclosed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Pepsu.
3. In his letter of 9 January, Atma Singh, MLA from Kapurthala, wrote that the Chief Minister and the Secretary, PWD, were persecuting the Sikhs in the PWD and committing "all sorts of irregularities." Sikh MLAs on being approached in this regard pleaded helplessness by saying that Brish Bhan was 'Panditji's man'. He appealed to Nehru to intervene.
4. On 15 January, Atma Singh brought to Nehru's notice a case of gross favouritism in Pepsu PWD, of promoting Harbans Lal, Executive Engineer, to the rank of Superintending Engineer while there were several charges of corruption and wastage of public funds against Lal. An order of his dismissal was kept pending, because Lal was a class and caste fellow of Brish Bhan, Atma Singh alleged.

1. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

17 December 1955

My dear Bakhshi,²

Thank you for your letter of December 14th. D.P. Dhar came to see me this evening and gave me the latest information about developments there.³ He spoke, of course, about the visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev.⁴ I am very glad this visit has passed off so successfully. There is no doubt that the Soviet leaders have come back with excellent impressions of Kashmir. They spoke highly of you. Evidently, you have created a very good impression upon them.

What they said about Kashmir was, on the whole, good.⁵ It has created a new situation and this is to our advantage. Probably, they spoke so strongly because Pakistan was foolish enough to protest against their going to Kashmir.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.
3. D.P. Dhar, a Minister in Jammu and Kashmir Government, suggested extension of Brigadier R.M. Billimoria's term as Commandant of the Jammu & Kashmir State militia in view of his role in moulding the State militia into an efficient force and his wide experience of the conditions in Kashmir. The same day, Nehru wrote to K.N. Katju, the Defence Minister, recommending extension of Billimoria's term for one year.
4. Bulganin and Khrushchev visited Kashmir from 9 to 11 December 1955.
5. In a speech at Srinagar on 9 December, Bulganin called Kashmir "part of northern India" and its inhabitants "part of Indian people." Khrushchev, at a civic reception in Srinagar on 10 December, said that the Soviet Union had always considered that the Kashmir question should be decided by the people of Kashmir, and added that the status of Kashmir as one of the states of the Republic of India had been decided by the people of Kashmir themselves.
6. Disclosing in his speech in Srinagar on 10 December that the Pakistan Government had protested against the Soviet leaders' visit to Jammu and Kashmir State, Khrushchev said that one could not but look upon it as an unprecedented case of interference in other people's affairs. On the same day a spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Office said that the Pakistan Government had told the Soviet Embassy earlier that a visit to Kashmir by the Soviet leaders would be susceptible to the interpretation that "they would be appearing to be partial in the dispute". He further said that Pakistan regarded the visit as "certainly not a friendly act."

2. Condition of the Families of Political Prisoners¹

I have received the enclosed letter from Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai.² I have not spoken to her since her return nor did I read most of the communications she sent while she was in Kashmir. I am a little worried, however, about this report of hers about the condition of the families of the political prisoners. I do not know how many detenus or prisoners there are in the Jammu and Kashmir State at present. At one time, I was told, there were very few, but it may be that others have been recently arrested. Presumably, this refers to some of the old detenus and not the new ones.

2. I wish you would enquire into this matter. Obviously, it is far better for the State Government to help the families than for Mridula Sarabhai to collect money and send them. It is not so much a question of money which can easily be found, but the manner of helping. It does no good to the State Government to have this kind of a story circulated about it.

3. I suggest that you send for Mridula Sarabhai and have a talk with her about this aspect of the question. You might write to somebody in Kashmir, say D.P. Dhar, about it also.

4. I understand that Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad is coming here in two or three days. You might talk to him also.

1. Note to Vishnu Sahay, Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, Government of India, 24 December 1955. JN Collection.
2. A prominent social worker and a devoted Gandhian who took up the cause of the political prisoners and detainees in Kashmir and their family members.

3. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi

11 January 1956

My dear Yuvaraj,²

Your letter of the 11th January³ has just reached me.

1. JN Collection.
2. Karan Singh, *Sadar-i-Riyasat*, Jammu and Kashmir.
3. Referring to his talk with Bakhshi who conveyed the decision to release Shaikh Abdullah, later in January, on the advice of the Government of India, Karan Singh pointed out that this involved formidable risk until it was "found possible to declare that the Kashmir dispute is finally closed", or at least "until the State Constitution has been completely enacted and the Constituent Assembly dissolved..."

During the last year or more, the question of Shaikh Abdullah's⁴ release has often been discussed. Obviously it is a difficult question and one has to balance various factors. So far as I am concerned, my whole mind rebels against the long detention of any person without trial. I have objected to this so often in the past that naturally I do not like it. But I realise that sometimes circumstances compel one to take action which is normally undesirable. In the balance, therefore, I left it to the judgment of the J & K Government to decide what they should do in the matter.

In every such case the advantage that one gains by the action taken gradually diminishes and the disadvantage increases. It has seemed to me that this stage was passed some time ago. It may thus become progressively more risky to release Shaikh Abdullah. Some time or other that risk has to be taken and it is impossible to keep him or any other person indefinitely in detention. That very detention will become an increasing factor for instability and for reactions against us in India and abroad, apart from its effect in Kashmir itself.

You say that it would be desirable to keep him in detention till it is found possible to declare that the Kashmir dispute is finally closed. That, I think, is not feasible. In fact, so long as Shaikh Abdullah is in prison, the dispute will not be finally closed. It is only when he has been released and we have faced the consequences of that release and survive them, that it will be possible for the situation to develop towards a final end.

There are the risks which you have mentioned.⁵ The question is whether the risks grow less or more by delay. The question also is as to whether internal stability in people's minds and administration will become more favourable later. These are factors which it is difficult for me to judge. But I am inclined to think that there will be no marked change for the better within some months or so and the change might well be the other way. People in J & K State are

4. He was dismissed from the Prime Ministership of Jammu and Kashmir on 9 August 1953 and arrested the same day under the Public Security Act.

5. Karan Singh had discussed the probable repercussions of the release of Shaikh Abdullah, and pointed out, that apart from the distinct possibility of widespread lawlessness as a result of Abdullah becoming "a rallying point for disruptionist forces and disgruntled factions", he might "browbeat enough MLAs to gain majority in the Assembly." Karan Singh was also apprehensive of "large scale desertions or even sabotage" in a section of the administrative service in "an atmosphere of communal excitement" and "a real danger of serious differences emerging within the ruling party itself" which would be subjected to severe strain with undesirable results. Karan Singh concluded that, peace and stability being the prerequisites for progress and consolidation in the economic and constitutional spheres in the State, any step which would play into the hands of disruptionist forces, was to be avoided.

at present conscious of the considerable improvements, economic and other, in the State. They will forget them a little later.

This is my broad line of thinking. But, as I have said above, I have avoided imposing my wishes on Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad or his Government. If he has come to the conclusion that this is a suitable time to face the risk, I would abide by his decision and certainly not come in his way. I have no doubt that, internationally speaking, the release would have powerful effect in our favour. Internally I cannot judge. But I have a very uncomfortable feeling that our position is constantly undermined by Shaikh Abdullah's detention both internally and abroad.

I realise fully the risks involved. But one does not solve a problem or really avoid risks by running away from them. Therefore, after giving a great deal of thought to this matter, I have felt that Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad should take the action he has decided upon. This is as favourable an opportunity as is likely to occur. Of course, we should be fully prepared. Having got over this difficulty the future of the Kashmir problem will be very much simpler.⁶

I would add that the visit of the Soviet leaders to Kashmir and its effect on the internal and external situation, which has been all to the good and has influenced many people in the right direction, is a factor to be considered. The conditions in Pakistan and in 'Azad' Kashmir are bad. Shaikh Abdullah may behave very foolishly but the effect of his behaviour is likely to be less now and can be dealt with more easily.

All these are speculations and appraisals of a difficult situation which has to be faced now or later. The question is what the most suitable time will be. It is bad to live in apprehension all the time. It is better to take the ghost out of our minds and deal with it.

Ever yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6 The following two paragraphs were handwritten by Nehru (see Karan Singh, *Sadar-i-Riyasat: An Autobiography*, p. 21).

4. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi

20 January 1956

My dear Yuvaraj,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th January.² The question of including Jammu and Kashmir in our decisions regarding states reorganization did not arise. It is of course possible to include that State in the northern zone. But that will have to be subject to the approval of the Jammu and Kashmir Government.

It would certainly be a good thing for safeguards to be given for linguistic minorities in Jammu and Kashmir.³ How exactly this could be done will have to be thought about.

Jammu and Kashmir State may have been mentioned in the Constitution as a Part B State, but it has obviously been treated differently. In fact, it has been treated as something slightly more than a Part A State. In future there are going to be no Part B or Part C States. There will be only one category of states. In view, however, of our special agreements with the Jammu and Kashmir State, these agreements will necessarily stand unless they are varied.⁴ They cannot be varied unilaterally.

I am sending a copy of your letter to Pantji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. KS-27/56, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Karan Singh stated that the exclusion of Jammu and Kashmir from the northern zone in the communique issued by the Government of India on 16 January would deprive the State of the benefits of coordinating on matters of common concern with adjoining states. He also said that the State's inclusion in the zone would act as a stabilizing factor.
3. The recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission concerning linguistic minorities, Karan Singh wrote, should not be overlooked in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, on the ground that the Commission's recommendation did not directly pertain to the State. The Jammu and Kashmir State had two important linguistic minorities, the Dogras and the Ladakhis.
4. Karan Singh pointed out that the existing arrangement for Jammu and Kashmir did not ensure that the Sadar-i-Riyasat would always be someone who would enjoy the complete confidence of the Centre, and felt that the question of the headship of the State merited careful consideration, especially in view of the decision to abolish the institution of Raj Pramukh and to bring all states under the same system of governorship. He suggested that "the present phase" would be the ideal time to get over the problem, when there would be far-reaching constitutional changes affecting the whole country.

VISIT OF THE SOVIET LEADERS

1. Towards Stronger Bonds of Friendship¹

Sisters and brothers,

The formal part of this meeting is over. Now, we can relax and I shall talk to you informally for a few minutes. Those of you who are assembled here today will remember this day for a long time. I had gone to the Soviet Union a few months ago² and met the great leaders there. We exchanged views on various subjects. Now, two of their leaders are visiting India³ and we will hold talks. They are bound to benefit both the countries. A greater significance than a mere meeting of leaders attaches to these visits. That is obvious from the fact that when I went to the Soviet Union, I was greeted with great affection by the people. Similarly, the warm welcome given to Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev by the crowds thronging the route from Palam to Delhi and here at the Ramlila Maidan has a special significance. It is not the meeting of a few leaders but of two nations meeting and getting to know each other. Therefore, in a sense, it is a significant and historic event. We have gathered at a historic moment in time which is bound to have far reaching consequences for the good of the world and certainly for India.

Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev left the Soviet Union for India from the city of Tashkent and arrived here at 2.30 p m. They were here in a few hours, crossing great mountains and flying over many countries. You can gauge from this how close the world is becoming. We are neighbours of one another.

For a long, long time, the Himalayas have stood sentinel on the borders of India. People have come and gone through the passes for thousands of years. The Himalayas had been regarded as constituting a barrier. But now they are no longer so. On the contrary we want them to be a link between India and the countries which lie beyond. We want to establish friendship and cooperation with them and set an example to others.

I am sure you remember the lessons taught by our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and the stress he laid on amity, cooperation and unity. He went so far as to say that we should try to be friendly even towards our enemies while not bowing down to pressure or fear. That is a principle which has become more than ever essential in this world of ours today. It is true that the world has

1. Speech at a civic reception at Ramlila Maidan in honour of Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister, and Nikita Sergiyevich Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Delhi, 19 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. In June 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 29, pp. 201-232.
3. Bulganin and Khrushchev arrived in New Delhi on 18 November 1955.

moved a few steps towards peace. But there are a thousand knotty problems to be unravelled. So constant vigilance is absolutely essential. Constant effort has to be made to maintain friendly relations with others. It is obvious that we have to start at home first. If there is internal unity, it will be reflected in our international relations. We are proud of the fact that we have no enemies in the world, only friends. Even towards the countries which may sometimes be annoyed with us, we have extended a friendly hand.

When we claim to have friendly relations with the whole world, it is obvious that our foremost duty is to be friendly towards our immediate neighbours. In this connection, we reached an agreement with China⁴ which solved some of our problems. The principle of *Panch Shila* accepted at that time is gradually gaining wider recognition. Mr Bulganin referred to that just now. The fundamental principles are non-interference in one another's affairs, non-aggression, mutual harmony and tolerance and friendship with one another. This was the concept accepted at the Bandung Conference by nearly thirty nations. I am very happy that such a country like the Soviet Union has also accepted them and I am sure that if the world follows these principles, most of its problems would be solved. The root of conflict between nations will be weakened.

On the one hand, we find that our guests could come to Delhi from Tashkent within a few short hours which makes it obvious that the world is becoming a close-knit place. There is constant exchange of ideas, knowledge and science. In spite of the differences of customs, traditions, life style, climate, clothes and food habits, the countries are drawing closer to one another. The idea of One World may be a long way away. But that is the only goal that is possible to mankind. There is no other alternative except complete destruction. Therefore it has become more than ever essential to maintain peace in the world and to root out the causes of conflict. We must make an effort to reduce tension in the world.

It is obvious that there is no magic formula for all this. It cannot be done by chanting mantras. But if the efforts are continued, the world will undoubtedly go in that direction. Therefore, we want to maintain friendly relations with every nation in the world. We are happy that millions of Indians have got an opportunity with the visit of the Soviet leaders to understand these issues. We hope that the relations between the two countries will become closer. We must abide by the principles of *Panch Shila* and while remaining true to our traditions, we should open the doors to new understanding with other countries and learn from their experience. We will certainly try to take full advantage of others' experience for that is how we can progress. Gone are the days when nations

4. The five principles of international conduct, termed as *Panch Shila*, were included for the first time in the India-China Agreement on Tibet signed on 29 April 1954.

thought constantly of warring with one another and cunning and deceit. No intelligent human being can tolerate this any longer because only ruin lies in that path. So I congratulate all of you, the citizens of Delhi and India, on this occasion. I hope that this day will go down in history as a major landmark.

2. India's Path¹

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,
Our distinguished guests from the Soviet Union have been in Delhi now for two and a half days. During this brief period they have witnessed the extraordinary welcome that the people of this city have given them. For me to say anything here to add to that welcome appears almost superfluous, for our people have spoken in a clear voice and we are but the representatives of our people. Nevertheless, I should like to extend on behalf of myself and our Government our warmest welcome to Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev and our other guests from the Soviet Union.

2. This is not a mere formal matter of welcome. Events have demonstrated that there is a deeper friendship and understanding between the peoples of our two great countries which are more significant than the formality of welcome. That understanding and friendship have progressively grown, even though the paths we have pursued in our respective countries have varied. But in spite of this difference in approach in dealing with our problems, which are inevitable in the circumstances which conditioned our countries and our peoples, there has been no element of conflict between us and there has been an approach to one another in many important fields of human activity. I am happy that this should be so not only for the present, but in the future to come. We are neighbour countries and it is right that there should be a feeling of neighbourliness and friendship between us for the mutual advantage of both our countries and our peoples. I believe also that this friendship is good for the larger causes of the world and, more particularly, for the most vital cause of all, the peace of the world.

3. We, in India, have been conditioned by our heritage and by our great leaders as well as by the peaceful methods we adopted in our struggle for

1. Substance of a speech in Hindi at a state banquet at Rashtrapati Bhavan in honour of Bulganin and Khrushchev, New Delhi, 20 November 1955. JN Collection.

freedom. Much more so, therefore, do we believe in world peace and cooperation. Indeed for us, as for many other countries, this is a matter of the most vital significance. For, if war descends upon the world with all its terror and terrible disaster, then the great work that we have undertaken to build up our country will come to an end.

4. It is only eight years since we became sovereign and independent and these eight years have been spent by us in facing, with all our strength, the manifold problems that confront us. They are great problems, for they involve the future well-being of 370 million people who have suffered for long from poverty. We are confident that we can solve these problems and build up a socialist structure of society in our country giving opportunities of well-being and progress to every single individual. But we know that the task is hard and takes time. Nevertheless, no task is too hard for a people determined to succeed. We are so determined and we have faith in our people.

5. We believe not only that the ends to be achieved should be good, but also that the means employed should be good, or else new problems arise and the objective itself changes. We believe also that the great cause of human progress cannot be served through violence and hatred and that it is only through friendly and cooperative endeavour that the problems of the world can be solved. Hence, our hand of friendship is stretched out to every nation and every people.

6. We welcome the cooperation and friendly assistance of other countries. But we realise that a nation develops by its own labours and by its own strength. It was by relying upon ourselves that we gained Independence and it is by doing so that we hope to advance to the new objectives that we have placed before ourselves. We are not strong in a military sense or in the world's goods, but we are strong in our faith in our people. In this world of fear and apprehension, I should like to say with all humility, we are not afraid. Why should we be afraid when we wish to be friendly with others? Why should we be afraid when our people have faith in themselves?

7. We have no ambitions against any other country or people. We wish them all well and we are anxious that freedom and social and economic progress should come to all countries. The denial of this freedom, as well as racial discrimination, are not only improper, but are the seeds from which grows the evil tree of conflict and war.

8. We do not presume to advise others, but we are convinced that it is not by military pacts and alliances and by the piling up of armaments that world peace and security can be attained. Not being military minded, we do not appreciate the use of military phraseology or military approaches in considering the problems of today. There is talk of cold war and rival camps and groupings and military blocs and alliances, all in the name of peace. We are in no camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and goodwill which should include as many countries as possible and

which should be opposed to none. The only alliance we seek is an alliance based on goodwill and cooperation. If peace is sought after, it has to be by the methods of peace and the language of peace and goodwill.

9. It was my privilege, as you know, to visit the Soviet Union and to receive a warm and affectionate welcome there. I should like to express my deep gratitude to Your Excellencies and to the people of the Soviet Union for their affection which went far beyond any formality. I saw in the Soviet Union mighty tasks undertaken and many accomplished for the well-being of the people. I saw, above all, the urgent and widespread desire for peace. With this great work and this vital urge I felt in tune and I saw that the field of cooperation between our two countries was rich and wide. Your Excellencies' visit to India will, no doubt, help in this process of a deeper understanding and cooperation. It is, therefore, doubly welcome.

10. I earnestly trust that your visit here will help the great cause of peace and cooperation for which all of us stand and that you will see for yourselves how the people of India are devoting themselves not only to their own betterment but to the wider causes of human advancement.

11. I should like Your Excellencies to convey to your Government and your great people our greetings and messages of goodwill and cooperation.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to raise your glasses and drink to the good health of Their Excellencies, Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev, as well as to the cause of peace in the world.

3. Talks with the Soviet Leaders -1'

The Prime Minister referred to the German position and remarked that at present there was an impasse between the Soviet views and the views of the Western

1. Record of talks with N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchev, New Delhi, 21 November 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. Also present at the meeting were A.K. Azad, G.B. Pant, N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, K.P.S. Menon, Indian Ambassador in USSR, and S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, on the Indian side; and Andrei Andreevich Gromyko, First Deputy Foreign Minister of USSR, and Mikhail Menshikov, Soviet Ambassador in India, on the Soviet side. At their talks held on 19 November, Khrushchev replied to enquiries made by Nehru about the achievements of the conference of the heads of Governments of France, UK, US and USSR held at Geneva in July 1955 and the conference of their foreign ministers, also held at Geneva from 27 October to 16 November 1955.

Powers.² Apparently this impasse will continue. He asked whether the Soviet leaders expected any other development in the near future.

Khrushchev replied that "contact between the two Germanys would gradually be developed, if the Western powers maintained the same position as now." He noted that Konrad Adenauer, the West German Chancellor, was stubborn, but the Social Democrats were likely to come into power and their leader, E.P. Ollenhauer, was in favour of making contact with East Germany.

3. The Prime Minister thought that elections in the United States would stand in the way of the US Government changing their policy. With this view Mr Khrushchev agreed. The Prime Minister enquired whether the Soviet Union would stand by their present policy of favouring the development of contact between the two Germanys. Mr Khrushchev answered in the affirmative.

4. Discussion then turned on disarmament and the Prime Minister wanted to know what the present position was.

Khrushchev stated that the Soviet Union had not made any new move after their proposals of 10 May 1955. The US, however, devised the Eisenhower scheme of inspection and flying over each other's territory and made it a condition precedent to the acceptance of the Soviet proposals. The Eisenhower proposals were not genuine since flying would take place only over the USSR and the US. But flying over the US would be useless for the main military forces and installations of the US were in England and Germany. On the other hand, the USSR had suggested an inspection which would be real: there would be control and inspection at points of importance, such as sea ports, railway centres, airports, highways, etc; if there were no troop movements beyond a particular line no surprise attack would be possible. The US were, however, withdrawing from the Soviet proposals, Khrushchev added.

7. The Prime Minister remarked that the Eisenhower scheme referred to control but not reduction of forces. Mr Khrushchev's reply was that the Western Powers say nothing about reduction. The Soviet Union suggested prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and a solemn promise not to use them. They

2. Khrushchev stated, during his talks with Nehru on 19 November, that the US wanted unification of Germany at the cost of liquidation of East Germany, but the USSR would never agree to Germany being reunified and a reunified Germany joining NATO. Khrushchev also said that the USSR was keen on preservation of social achievements in East Germany.

went further and agreed that atomic weapons can be used only as a reprisal measure with the consent of the UN Security Council.

Khrushchev said that provocation might occur and provoked side might use atomic weapon. Khrushchev said that the Western Powers suggested inspection of atomic plants. The Soviet Union said that this would be espionage; it was not control. For instance, from a technical point of view if atomic energy was used for electric power the same energy could be used for the construction of atomic bombs....Then they said that if there were no means of discovering atomic bombs, there was no need to discuss the use of atomic weapons at all. They said that the Soviet are very powerful in conventional weapons and they must balance such superiority with superiority in atomic weapons. Thus the discussions were proceeding in a vicious circle. That was why the most important thing was for the people to fight for peace and disarmament.

9. The Prime Minister referred to experimental explosion of atomic weapons. Mr Khrushchev said that the Western Powers refused to discontinue such experiments.

10. The talk then moved on to the Council for peaceful uses of atomic energy.³ The Prime Minister pointed out that in the Government of India's view the Council should be a larger body than that envisaged and should consist of representatives of different territories. Mr Khrushchev said that they also were in favour of broadening the Council and giving of equality to all members....

16. The Prime Minister referred to the present relations between Israel and the Arab States—how they were opposed to each other. Israel was better armed. The Arab States were buying arms from Czechoslovakia because nowhere else they could get them. This had produced a reaction in UK and US. What was Mr Khrushchev's appreciation?

Mr Khrushchev said that the facts published in the press corresponded to reality. Nasser⁴ requested Czechoslovakia for the sale of some weapons. Czechoslovakia consulted the Soviet Union and they advised Czechoslovakia to sell to Egypt. Their advice was governed by their desire not to let any country dominate Egypt. The Soviet Union liked Nasser's policy of resisting the pressure from the Western Powers....

18. The Prime Minister referred to newspaper reports about Israel obtaining arms from the US and enquired whether a kind of arms race was not being set

3. The reference is to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

4. Gamal Abdel Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt.

in motion in this area. Mr Khrushchev said that he did not think so. If the Arabs were strong it would not profit the US to start a war there. They are trying to press the Arab States.

19. The Prime Minister enquired whether Israel might not start a preventive war before the Arabs became strong. Mr Khrushchev did not directly deal with this point but said that the Arabs' desire to be strong was a natural development; they had the right to be strong. In his view it was not in the interest of the UK, USA or France to start any war in the Middle East. France is deeply entangled in Morocco; it was like a powder barrel. UK was involved in the Suez Canal and the US was interested in the large oil wells in the Middle East. If war started all of them would be thrown out by the Arabs. A new nationalist spirit had highly developed among the Arabs. Though this did not help them during the last War, Mr Khrushchev said that the situation was different now.

20. The Prime Minister then referred to the Baghdad Pact meeting⁵ tomorrow. He said that the US was giving 20 million dollars to Pakistan to improve their airfields, ports, etc. Mr Khrushchev said that the Americans had told them indirectly that the Baghdad meeting was UK's doing. They had also told Soviet Union that it was UK which was responsible for bringing Iran into the Baghdad Pact. The Prime Minister pointed out that all the same, America was sending observers to the Baghdad Pact meeting and had declared her intention to link up militarily and politically with the Baghdad Pact. India was interested because of America spending on Pakistan's defences. Undoubtedly, they would send large number of technical personnel to Pakistan.

Mr Khrushchev said that all this proved that the American talk of disarmament was intended only to mislead world opinion. It confirmed the Soviet views.

21. The Prime Minister enquired whether in the Soviet view the tension in the Far East and the Taiwan area was now greater or less. Mr Khrushchev said that the tension was less. The Diem⁶ business, he said, was a result of US interference in South Vietnam. The US were afraid of a general election in Vietnam because they knew that Diem would lose. In Korea nothing would happen. Even Syngman Rhee⁷ kept his mouth shut. The contact between China and the United States in Geneva⁸ had been very useful. The Chinese, he said, were good politicians. They would not take a wrong step....

5. The inaugural meeting of the Baghdad Pact powers, namely, Iraq, Turkey, UK, Pakistan and Iran, was held in Baghdad on 21 and 22 November 1955.

6. Ngo Dinh Diem, President of South Vietnam.

7. President of South Korea.

8. The talks between the Ambassadors of China and the US started in Geneva on 1 August 1955.

4. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

21 November 1955

My dear Bakhshi,²

I have just received your letter of November 20th, in which you tell me about the arrest and detention of Afzal Beg.³

I am writing to you especially about the King of Saudi Arabia⁴ and the Soviet leaders. The King of Saudi Arabia has changed his mind and has decided not to go to Kashmir. So, we are removing Kashmir from his programme.

On the other hand, Bulganin and Khrushchev have changed their minds in the opposite direction, and now want to go to Kashmir. They told me so only this evening. The Yuvaraj has been pressing them to go there⁵ and, ultimately, they agreed.⁶ The question is how to fit this into their programme. We cannot suddenly change their programme for the next week or ten days, and after that they go to Burma for five days. Therefore, they cannot go to Kashmir before they go to Burma. In the ordinary course, they would have returned from Burma, I think, on the 6th or 7th December and spent two days in visiting Sindri, Damodar Valley, etc., reaching Delhi on the 9th forenoon. According to present programme, they would have stayed here till the 12th morning and then returned to the Soviet Union.

The most convenient date for them to go to Kashmir without upsetting their present programme would be the 9th December. They would like to spend

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to G.B. Pant.
2. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.
3. Bakhshi informed Nehru that Mohammad Afzal Beg had been arrested on 19 November as his activities were threatening to create some confusion in Kashmir. Bakhshi wrote that the Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front, which Beg founded in August 1955, had taken recourse to sabotage and creating violent disturbances in the State and that propaganda literature, money and equipment were being sent to Beg and other leaders of the Plebiscite Front by intelligence agencies in the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Beg, arrested and detained along with Shaikh Abdullah in August 1953, was released in December 1954.
4. Abdul Aziz Bin Ibn Saud, the King of Saudi Arabia, arrived in India on 27 November 1955 on a fortnight's visit.
5. In the course of a conversation with Khrushchev and Bulganin at the Prime Minister's House, Karan Singh, Sadar-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir, had suggested that the Soviet leaders should pay a visit to Kashmir.
6. Nehru wrote to Karan Singh the same day informing him about the decision of the Soviet leaders to visit Kashmir.

a clear day there, that is, if they go on the 9th, they would return on the 11th morning.

Any other programme for them would mean our cutting out the visit to the Damodar Valley, etc. That might enable them to go there two days earlier. What do you advise and what will the weather be like from the point of view of flying? This is important because we cannot allow them to be hung up there because of bad weather.

I have no idea of the number of their party, but I take it, it may well be thirty to forty persons, including our own men accompanying them.

I am writing to you immediately. Tomorrow, we shall ourselves think about possible programmes for them and I may telephone or telegraph to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
23 November 1955

My dear Bakhshi,

It is almost certain now that the Soviet leaders and party will go to Srinagar on the 9th December....

You will of course receive them at the airport. As for other functions, I hope that you will not have too many. It will be right to give them a party in the Shalimar Gardens. I think that a lunch with the Yuvaraj will be desirable. In fact, it is really at the Yuvaraj's insistence that they decided to go.

They should visit the Kashmir Emporium and be taken in a *shikara* over the Dal Lake and possibly the river. There should be no river procession or any other procession. You will remember that very special security precautions have to be taken with them.

I have no idea yet of the number of party that will accompany them. It is a fairly large party. We shall let you know. Please remember that both Bulganin and Khrushchev have to be treated equally in every way. Thus, in the car

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

taking them from the airport, they should be put together. The Yuvaraj may sit with them and if there is room in the car you can also be in it.²

I am a little anxious about your banquet. I fear your normal food will upset them completely and I do not want them to feel ill in the last stages of their visit. I would also suggest that your banquet should be a relatively small one. Not too many people should be invited. It will be far pleasanter for them and you will be able to talk to them a little through interpreters. In a large crowd this is not possible, your party in Shalimar Gardens will of course be much bigger....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Karan Singh recorded in his memoirs, *Sadar-i-Riyasat: An Autobiography* (p.18), "After the elaborate reception at the airport we went towards my convertible Chevrolet for the procession into town. Both the leaders had to sit behind, and as the Sadar-i-Riyasat I had to do the same. The result was one of the tightest journeys I have ever had. Khrushchev ... roared with laughter as he told me of a similar ride with Maharaja Jayachamaraj Wadiyar (who was about three times my size) during their visit to Mysore."

6. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi
23 November 1955

My dear Tiger,

It is almost settled now, though not quite, that the Soviet leaders will go to Srinagar on the 9th December. They will be flying direct from Jaipur reaching Srinagar airport at about 12.30. They expect to return to Delhi on the 11th morning at 9.30. Thus they will have nearly two days and two nights there. I am waiting for confirmation of this programme from them. As soon as I know positively, we shall inform you by telegram.

I think you should go to Srinagar for this occasion. In fact, it was largely due to your insistence that they agreed to go there.

I have spoken to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad on the telephone. He thinks of arranging a party in the Shalimar Gardens. That is all right. He also suggests

a banquet. I am rather nervous of Kashmiri banquets. I fear that the food they will get there might upset them. I have told Bakhshi of this.

I think it would be desirable for you to give a lunch to them in your house.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Please refer to your telegram 276 November 6th about Egypt and Israel. I do not know what we can do in the matter except that we should continue to avoid doing anything which might make any peaceful approach more difficult. I do not personally think that any major conflict is likely. The Soviet leaders here were of the same opinion.² We can certainly say that every attempt should be made for peaceful settlement.

2. We have had long talks with Bulganin and Khrushchev about various matters. Khrushchev did most of the talking. They did not seem to be worried at all about recent developments. They realised that all that might add temporarily to tension but that would not go far.³ They blamed the US but were almost gentle towards UK.⁴ They said that the treatment given by US and UK to France was almost insulting.⁵

1. New Delhi, 25 November 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Krishna Menon was leader of the Indian Delegation to the UN General Assembly.

2. See *ante*, pp. 305-306.

3. In reply to a question from G.B. Pant, Khrushchev said on 21 November that "some kind of an attempt will be made to increase the tension following the failure of the recent Geneva talks but tension will not increase. The situation is such that militant powers will not find an opportunity of increasing tension although the process of restoration of confidence will be retarded."

4. Giving his impressions of the summit conference at Geneva, Khrushchev told Nehru on 19 November that the position of the British Prime Minister, as compared to the position of the heads of two other Western countries, "was more supple and agreeable... Eden's opinion about European security approached the Soviet position. If others had agreed on the basis of the Eden suggestions some agreement would have been possible."

5. Khrushchev said on 19 November: "The attitude of the US to France was almost insulting. Neither does Great Britain any longer respect France.... The unity among the three western countries was only on the surface."



RECEIVING NIKOLAI A. BULGANIN AND NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV AT
NEW DELHI AIRPORT, 18 NOVEMBER 1955



WITH BULGANIN AND KHRUSHCHEV, NEW DELHI, 1955

3. Even as regards Taiwan issue and Indo-China they were not worried and indicated that nothing serious was likely to happen. The Chinese, they said, were very clever and knew how to deal with Americans. Khrushchev throughout was very confident.

4. The Soviet leaders have had tremendous receptions here which of course were Government sponsored. That inevitably has created powerful reactions in Western countries.

5. Bulganin and Khrushchev will be returning to Delhi after visiting various places in India as well as in Burma on the 11th December. They will finally leave on the 14th December morning. We shall have further talks with them later.

8. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi

26 November 1955

My dear Tiger,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th November.²

Information reaches me that both Bulganin and Khrushchev are on the point of collapsing because of the strain of the heavy programme.³ They have asked me to cut out many items from their future programmes, and I am doing that. This means that, in Srinagar, their programme must be very light indeed. Bakhshi had suggested taking them to Pahalgam, but I did not agree. Let them spend a day and a half in Srinagar itself, with plenty of time to rest. Also, they would have time to do some official work. They are getting papers from Moscow almost daily.

I agree with you that Gulab Bhavan is the best place for them to stay from every point of view. The party should be kept together. That place will also be proper from the security point of view, and this is important.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Karan Singh suggested that during their visit to Srinagar the Soviet leaders might stay at Gulab Bhavan, which had been converted into a hotel.

3. Nityanand Kanungo, Union Minister of State for Commerce and Industry, who was accompanying the Soviet party during their visit to South India, informed the MEA from Bangalore on 26 November that warm climate and the strain of heavy programme had affected the health of the Soviet leaders and they wanted curtailment of their future programme.

9. Air Service between India and USSR¹

Since the arrival of the Soviet leaders here, there have been references on several occasions to a direct air service between India and the Soviet Union, that is to Central Asia, probably Tashkent. I suggested to the Soviet leaders that while such a service was desirable and we should discuss this matter, something else could be arranged very early and without much difficulty. This was to connect our service to Kabul with Soviet service from Tashkent to Kabul. I believe we have already a regular service to Kabul going once or twice a week. Whether there is a regular service from Tashkent to Kabul or not, I am not sure. Anyhow, this is a matter for the Soviets to fix up with the Afghan Government. So far as we are concerned, we should try to synchronize our service with the Soviet service from Tashkent to Kabul. This is largely a question of timing on our part.

2. I suggest that on the return of the Soviet party to Delhi, this question might be discussed with them by your Ministry.

1. Note to Jagjivan Ram, Union Minister of Communications, Kolkata, 30 November 1955. JN Collection.

10. The Relevance of *Panch Shila*¹

Now it is my turn to say a few words to you. I would like to felicitate all of you and the city of Calcutta for the splendid welcome and hospitality you have extended to our guests over the last two days. Congratulations to all of you. It has cast a heavy burden on the organizers in charge of the arrangements—on the State Government, the municipal corporation, the police and everyone else. But more than anyone else, it is the public which must be felicitated. So I congratulate you.

Our guests, the leaders from the Soviet Union, arrived in Delhi twelve days ago and they have toured India in these twelve days. They went to see

1. Speech at a civic reception to N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchev, Kolkata, 30 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

the Bhakra-Nangal Dam in the Punjab which is one of the biggest projects we have undertaken in India. Then they went to Uttar Pradesh, to the Terai near Bareilly, which was a huge malarial swamp and has been cleared by the Government of Uttar Pradesh. That too is a great achievement. Our guests went over to the project on elephants to see some big agricultural farms. From there they went to Agra. Agra is, of course, famous. Then they went to Bombay where they were given a very warm reception. From Bombay they went to Bangalore, and then to Coimbatore. In all these places—yes, they went to Poona also—they saw all that we are doing, building huge river valley projects and factories. They visited the rural areas too and saw the improvements being made in agriculture. They visited tea and coffee plantations, banana plantations, etc., because they are interested in everything—not merely in big industries but also in the way we farm. Then they went to Madras which is another big city and there too they received a great welcome. So they saw a little of South India and then they have come to Calcutta. They have received a fantastic welcome everywhere. But there is no doubt about it that the grandest welcome they have received is in Calcutta, and I feel that all of us who are participating in this function will remember this day for a long time to come because this warm reception, this enthusiasm, all this have become a great milestone in our historic association. This visit and our talks with them, the great affection shown by our people—all this will have a far-reaching impact not only for our country but also for the Soviet Union and to some extent it will be a historic event for the entire world too. I feel that it will have an impact on world peace and cooperation and coexistence.

As you know, our guests have talked about *Panch Shila* wherever they have gone. *Panch Shila* is a Sanskrit word and the concept has come down from ancient times. The five principles that we have outlined were accepted for the first time between China and India. Then others too followed suit and most countries of Asia and Africa and some European countries too accepted them. In fact, the concept is gaining wide currency—not merely the word *Panch Shila* but the idea behind it. What is that? The idea is how relations between two countries should be conducted. It implies mutual respect for one another, for the independence and sovereignty of one another. *Panch Shila* also incorporates the principle of non-aggression against other nations and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. Conflicts arise when one country interferes in the affairs of another. If you think about it, if all nations were to abide by these principles and believe in equality and friendship towards all nations and learn the importance of coexistence, then the root causes of all conflicts in the world will be ended.

I mentioned coexistence. What does it mean? When nations or people believe in the same way of thinking, they can coexist. But when peoples and nations holding diverse views and opinions or following different ideologies

learn to live together, then coexistence acquires some significance. What it implies is that nations differ in their thinking and approach and each nation must be allowed to progress in its own way. Every country must stand on its own feet for no country can be strong by depending on another. Yes, they can seek the cooperation and help of others. But ultimately, each nation has to stand on its feet and learn from its own history and experience. You can learn from books or from other's experiences but book learning does not take you very far. The real lessons to be learnt are from a nation's own experience and the ups and downs of its own history to make it strong. Therefore, if a nation seeks to progress, it has to abide by some universal principles which are applicable to the whole world but its actual progress depends on its own way of thinking and approach and strength. Therefore *Panch Shila* implies that all nations must believe in peaceful coexistence and taking advantage of the cooperation of others they should find their own path towards progress.

The idea of *Panch Shila* is not new. I would say that it has been an underlying principle of Indian civilization and culture right from the beginning. This concept has prevailed for thousands of years. I do not mean to say the people of India have always been great or that we are great now but the idea itself is an ancient one. Let me give you an example: 2,200 years ago there was a great ruler in India named Asoka. Asoka has had his messages engraved on huge rocks which are there even today for everyone to read, in every corner of India. Asoka has talked about many things. I shall tell you about one. He has said that one who respects the religions of others begets respect for one's own and one who maligns other religions brings dishonour upon one's own.² Therefore, everyone must learn to respect one's own religion as well as that of others. Only then will our own religion gain stature. He defined *Panch Shila* in terms of religion. What is its relevance in today's milieu? The views of all nations and parties and groups, in matters political, social or economic, must be treated with equal respect. No ideology or views should be maligned by any nation or group, because then it leads to conflict and war of words and a slanging match. If we abide faithfully by our own principles, it is bound to influence others. Emperor Asoka had drawn our attention to this ancient example of our Indian culture more than two thousand years ago. Abide by your own principles, respect others' views and ideas and, if you agree, accept them, and

2. Rock Edict XII of Asoka, located at Girnar in Kathiawar, reads: "...The faiths of others all deserve to be honoured for one reason or another. By honouring them one exalts one's faith and at the same time performs a service to the faith of others. By acting otherwise, one injures one's own faith and also does disservice to that of others. For if a man extols his own faith and disparages another because of devotion to his own and because he wants to glorify it, he seriously injures his own faith...."

if you do not, it does not matter. But even if you disagree, you should not malign others' views.

Therefore *Panch Shila* teaches us to respect diverse viewpoints and ideologies and the importance of learning from one another's experience. It also teaches us the importance of chalking out a path for ourselves looking to what suits us best and to seek the cooperation of others and never to malign others. You can imagine that if all nations abide by these principles, there would never be any conflict in the world. Wars and conflict occur when there is interference in others' internal or external affairs. This is why the principle of *Panch Shila* is becoming famous in the world and getting widely accepted.

It is true that there is another major debate which has had a deep impact on nations and that is over the nuclear issue. That has led to grave fears of destruction for the entire world.

So we are very glad that we have as our guests great leaders from the Soviet Union and that the visit has been marked by amity and friendship. They will go back from here carrying this message of friendship and cooperation. Ultimately we must bear in mind that it is thirty-eight years since the Russian Revolution occurred and only eight years since we got our freedom. That means that they have had thirty years—30 to 34 years—to put their house in order. India too will have reached very far in 30-35 years. Perhaps we may not have to wait that long. We believe we can learn much from the great advances made in the Soviet Union in many domains of human activity. We can benefit from them and therefore we want to cooperate with them in every way, cultivate friendly relations with them, as we do with all other countries.

We had British rule in India for nearly two hundred—150-175 years. We opposed it and launched a struggle against them and fought for our freedom. But having become independent, we do not harbour any animosity or bitterness and anger against them. We have friendly relations with Britain even though we may hold divergent views. Let me tell you that you will not find another example of two countries which had been enemies in the past coming together in mutual cooperation and friendship once the problem between them had been resolved. India wants to have friendly relations similarly with other nations. We cannot help it if someone forces a conflict on us. However, on our part, our hand is extended in friendship towards all nations.

The Soviet Union is a great superpower. Secondly, they are our neighbouring country and, thirdly, they have had new experiences and learnt a great deal that is new after the great revolution in their country, and others can learn much from them. So too can we. Therefore, it is a good thing in every way that ties of friendship and cooperation between our two countries should grow. If they wish to learn anything from us, our doors are always open. We can learn from each other.

Mr Khrushchev mentioned Goa just now. Well, I welcome the views that

he has given about Goa.³ I have known that he holds these views. A few days ago I had said that the issue of Goa is like the touchstone with which one tests gold. On this issue, one can judge where all the nations really stand⁴ because it is an issue over which there can be no two opinions. Now, if any country sides with Portugal over this issue or even chooses to maintain silence, that would make it abundantly clear that their thinking is confused. What is this, some kind of a joke? You can imagine what patience we have shown for years over the Goa question and what the Portuguese regime has been like. Well, let's leave that aside, but the question is what the other countries of the world think over a matter which is crystal clear. Everyone has many things to say about freedom and sovereignty, etc., the real test of a nation is the stand it takes over any issue.

As you are aware, the poor citizens of Goa have had to bear terrible hardships for years; hundreds of people are in jail and now people from other parts of India also, including as far as I recall, a Member of Parliament,⁵ are in prisons in Goa. That is their way of functioning. So I would like to ask the great powers of the world why they are keeping quiet over such an issue? Why have you decided to maintain silence? Well, I don't expect immediately detailed explanations of their stand. But this is a serious matter which is constantly in our minds and just because we are not taking immediate action, let no one in the world think that the Goa question has died down or that we have forgotten it. Such issues can never be forgotten until and unless the right and final solution is found.

Attention of the world is instantly drawn to military alliances and pacts. It is strange that on the one hand there is talk of peace, and, on the other, new military pacts and alliances are being forged. Just a few days ago, one more

3. Condemning the continuation of colonial domination over certain parts of Asia and Africa, Khrushchev said that some countries were still clinging to colonial possessions like "blood-sucking leeches." He declared that Goa was part and parcel of India and expressed the hope that before long it would be liberated and would merge with India as her integral part.
4. Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha on 17 September 1955, "Goa ... has become an acid test by which we can judge of the policies of other countries. Does any country actively support or encourage Portuguese intransigence in Goa?...Or, are there any countries that ... passively support or acquiesce in this position? ... Or, lastly, do these countries realise that Portuguese domination in Goa cannot and must not continue, not only for normal reasons and causes, but because it has become an affront to civilized humanity, more especially after the brutal and uncivilized behaviour of the Portuguese authorities there."
5. Tridib Chaudhuri, founder member and General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and Member of Lok Sabha, was sentenced to imprisonment from 1955 to 1957 by a military tribunal in Goa for leading *satyagrahis* into Goa in 1955 as part of a movement launched by the Goa Liberation Aid Committee.

new military pact⁶ was announced right here, in one corner of Asia. I do not wish to say very much about it at the moment except to say that it will have to be talked about on another occasion. But I would like to draw your attention to the fact that these matters are very serious and there is bound to be an impact on the rest of the world as well as on India. Therefore, we are extremely worried. We are opposed to military pacts and the world being divided into large armed camps, constantly engaged in preparations for war. This cannot lead to the problems of the world being solved or to peace. Nobody has the right to advise other nations what to do. Each nation has the right of self determination. We have kept ourselves aloof from these military pacts. I do not wish to say anything demeaning about these large armed camps into which the world stands divided. But at least we can stand apart from them. We have tried to befriend both sides and succeeded to some extent. I feel that this is how we can serve the world and our own country as well.

So, I welcome our honoured guests from the Soviet Union on behalf of all of you and myself. I am happy that the bond of friendship between the two countries is growing stronger and that this is a zone of peace and friendship. I want that this zone of peace and friendship should keep expanding. Our friendship is not against any country; neither are we against any country. I want that this zone of peace and friendship should expand to embrace the whole world. Our guests will leave for Burma tomorrow for a five-six days' visit there. They will then come to India again, spend four-five days in Delhi and in a couple of other places, then go to Kashmir for two days and after that go back to their country. I hope they will go back loaded with great wealth of goodwill, love and our message to their country. They are aware that there are powers of good and evil, of enmity and anger and bitterness but ultimately the greatest power on earth is that of friendship and love. If all the countries of the world were to follow this path, then all the problems would be solved.

Congratulations once again to all of you and thanks for attending this reception peacefully. This meeting will come to an end, but please remain quiet till the end. We will have the national anthem, and leave only after that. So please remain seated. Now say loudly: Indo-Soviet friendship *zindabad*; world peace *zindabad* .

6. The Baghdad Pact countries, at their first meeting held in Baghdad on 21 and 22 November 1955, decided to set up a permanent council of the Pact. The US decided to establish military and political liaison with this organization and its representatives also attended the meeting as observers.

11. To U Nu¹

New Delhi

1 December 1955

My dear U Nu,²

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd November and for a copy of the full draft of the speech which you had intended to deliver at the Mayor's reception in Moscow.³ I have read this draft with great interest. Although I knew more or less what had happened in Burma in recent years, this account has thrown some fresh light on it.

As you know, the Soviet leaders have been here and they have received tremendous ovations. Partly the reason for this great reception was the feeling among our people that I had received a great reception in the Soviet Union, and they should therefore reciprocate in even a better measure. The Communist Party, of course, joined in these receptions, but they have been very much in the background. I gather that they are much perplexed as to what they should do. While the Soviet Union has received a great fillip in India, this has no relation to communism.

This morning I saw the Soviet leaders off from Calcutta on their journey to Burma and they will be with you now. You will, no doubt, have talks with them about various matters. So far as our talks are concerned, we have only discussed thus far the international situation. Nearly all the talking has been done by Khrushchev who described in detail what had happened in Geneva where the so-called Summit Conference took place and recently at the Foreign Ministers' Conference. He criticised strongly the United States' attitude, though he had some good words to say for Eisenhower.⁴ As regards England, he was quite gentle. France, according to him, played an unimportant and contradictory role at these conferences. In fact, Faure⁵ and Pinay⁶ spoke different

1. JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Myanmar.

3. U Nu visited the Soviet Union from 20 October to 3 November 1955.

4. Khrushchev told Nehru on 19 November, "We always respected Eisenhower as a commander of the European forces during the last War. His relations with our military commanders were sincere. Eisenhower does not want war and wants to lessen international tension. We cannot, however, say the same of Dulles... Dulles will remain reactionary ... and nothing will come out of any conference so long as Dulles remains in politics."

5. Edgar Faure (1908-1988); French writer and politician; leader, Radical Socialist Party; Prime Minister, 1952 and 1955-56; President, National Assembly, 1973-78.

6. M. Antoine Pinay (1891-1994); French industrialist and politician; Independent Republican; Prime Minister, March-December 1952; Foreign Minister, February 1955-56.

languages.⁷ Khrushchev particularly mentioned that the behaviour of the United States, and to some extent even of England, towards France was almost insulting.

I listened to what Khrushchev and Bulganin said and except for occasional questions I did not say much. We are, of course, going to meet again on their return from Burma when we shall have further talks.

The Soviet leaders are eager and anxious to give technical and other assistance to India. There is no question of any gift of any kind. Some of our officers have discussed the various aspects of technical assistance with their officers and it is likely that we may agree to technical assistance in some of our projects.⁸

The Soviet leaders, and more especially Khrushchev, have been speaking in public here in a somewhat propagandist tone.⁹ This has not been in relation to communism, but rather to their foreign policy. Many of us have felt that it was not quite appropriate for Khrushchev to make our receptions an occasion for this kind of speech. However, as they were our guests, we did not wish to say anything about it. In my speeches I have always laid stress on our friendship with the Soviet Union as well as with other countries. Also, on our policy of non-alignment. So, although I have not criticised their speeches, I have actually made clear where we stand. They have accepted that stand.

I think that both Bulganin and Khrushchev have been considerably impressed by what they have seen in India. They have been impressed by the progress made by us in industrial, agricultural and other fields. But, most of all, they have been impressed by the popular backing that we have. Because of

7. Khrushchev said that the two French delegates at the summit conference in Geneva differed between themselves: Faure took a more positive attitude but his position within the Government was not stable; Pinay was reactionary.
8. A joint statement issued by Nehru, Bulganin and Khrushchev on 13 December welcomed the development of cooperation between India and USSR in the establishment of the Bhilai Steel Works, and the talks that were proceeding at the time in regard to a number of other projects. It also envisaged further such opportunities of cooperation in the wake of the Second Five Year Plan.
9. Addressing a joint session of the two Houses of Parliament on 21 November, Bulganin said that Soviet policy was based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and that the USSR had no bases outside her own country. He also said that the German problem should be left to the German people. Speaking in Mumbai on 24 November, at a dinner given by the Indo-Soviet Friendship Society, Khrushchev accused the Western Powers of having started the Second World War by sending "the troops of Hitlerite Germany against our country." He also accused the US, Britain, France and Japan of having sought, by armed intervention, to overthrow the Russian revolution in its early stages. Khrushchev also said that the Western Powers would get nowhere so long as they spoke from a position of strength. Speaking in Bangalore on 27 November, Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union had exploded a hydrogen bomb "of unprecedented power" but it desired the total prohibition of all atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons.

the great receptions they have had, they have been surrounded by a feeling of friendship. This has resulted in their relaxing. They have talked freely and not been rigid or restrained as diplomats, and more especially the Soviet people, usually are. Even apart from politics and in spite of the difficulty of language, our general conversations have been on a relaxed and friendly level. On the political plane, I think they attach a great deal of importance to friendly relations with India and I have no doubt that they would go as far as they can with this end in view.

I have not spoken to them at all about communist activities. Some communist Members of Parliament who were introduced to them¹⁰ did not receive much encouragement from them. In fact, they said that they were interested in meeting Indian nationals as such and not others. Our position in regard to communism here is, of course, different from your position.¹¹ You have an active problem to deal with while we are in control of the situation here so far as communism is concerned, and the Communist Party is puzzled and perplexed. There was thus no particular reason why I should discuss the Communist Party with them. In your case the position is not the same and I should imagine that some private talks on the subject of communist activities in Burma would be desirable. Perhaps, when the Soviet leaders return to India, I might mention this subject also, chiefly in connection with Burma.

I went to Calcutta yesterday to take part in the public reception to the Soviet leaders there. This was a tremendous affair and it is estimated that two million people assembled in the Calcutta Maidan. I presided over the function. Towards the conclusion of the meeting, I spoke in Hindi.¹² I enclose a paper giving the substance of my speech in Hindi, as this might interest you.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. A.K. Gopalan, Bhupesh Gupta and Hiren Mukerji, Communist Members of Parliament, were among the invitees to a State banquet given by Nehru at Rashtrapati Bhavan on 20 November.
11. The Government in Myanmar, controlled by the socialist Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, was faced with armed risings of communist rebels.
12. See *ante*, pp. 312-317.

12. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 302 November 28.² I am sending a personal message to Eden regarding Baghdad Pact.³ I think it would be better not to make public statement at this stage.

2. As you know Khrushchev and to some extent Bulganin have been making propagandist statements here which have evoked some criticism both here⁴ and abroad.⁵ We have avoided controversial statements and merely stated our position clearly. Our talks with Soviet leaders took place before these statements by them. On their return to Delhi on 11th December we shall have further talks and possibly issue a joint statement.

3. Bulganin and Khrushchev visiting Kashmir for two days on return from Burma. We did not press them at all to go there. Indeed we did not mention Kashmir. Yuvaraj who met them here invited them and ultimately they agreed to go.

4. Both Bulganin and Khrushchev have been greatly impressed by what they have seen here and their reception. The strain of tour and functions has

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon suggested that Nehru might issue a public statement making India's position clear on military pacts and pointing out the harmful consequences of the Baghdad Pact.
3. See *post*, pp. 384-387.
4. For example, *The Times of India* published an article signed 'Onlooker' which commented, "When our own Parliament is converted into a pulpit from where foreign guests... attack countries with whom we have no basic quarrels, it is time to be more than slightly wary" for "our behaviour as welcoming hosts might be construed as something more than slightly juvenile." The *Hindusthan Standard* said in an editorial that the occasion of Khrushchev's hydrogen-bomb speech at Bangalore would appear to most Indians as ill chosen, and added that the Soviet leaders had come to India on a goodwill mission, and whatever complaints they might have against other powers "are not of any direct concern to us."
5. The correspondent of *The Times*, in a report published in the paper on 26 November, commented that "visiting statesmen of most countries would probably have refrained on the ground of abuse of hospitality from giving a warning as Mr Khrushchev did" to the Western powers in Mumbai. A.M. Rosenthal, in a despatch from Bangalore published in *The New York Times* of 27 November, wrote that the purpose of the Soviet leaders' visit to India, Myanmar and Afghanistan was "to try to break what remains of Western political influence in the non-committed countries of Asia and to substitute their own." Calling the Soviet leaders travelling salesmen, the paper editorially stated the same day: "They are out to peddle their wares, including a new H-bomb scare, and if they can make sales they do not mind appearing ridiculous."

been very great and there was danger of their health breaking down. We have, therefore, made their subsequent programme light. They have felt relaxed and friendly and possibly because of this they have talked in public in a somewhat unrestrained manner.

13. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi

2 December 1955

My dear Tiger,

I have spoken to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad on the telephone about the programme of Bulganin and Khrushchev. We now hope that they will reach Srinagar airport at about 11.30 am on the 9th December. Bakhshi wanted to give them lunch at the airport but this is neither desirable nor necessary now. They will thereupon go straight to the Weir and participate in the boat procession, after which they will proceed to the Palace Hotel and have lunch.

The rest of the afternoon should have no formal function, but it will be a good thing if they can go for a drive to Nishat Bag, Harwan and Dachigam. But this should depend entirely on their wishes in the matter. Quiet dinner.

The next morning, 10th December, they should have an easy time. The only engagement before lunch should be to go to the Emporium. If they feel like it and there is time, they can be taken on a *shikara* on the Dal Lake. Then lunch.

I gather that there is a big reception at the Shalimar in the afternoon and, later, there is the banquet and, possibly, some music or dancing. This is all right subject to two considerations. One is this that they do not understand Indian music, and it is no good having this kind of high class music. What they would like are folk songs or folk dancing. Secondly, they must go to bed early. I want them to rest there. They have not been well. If possible, you should release them by 10 o'clock or at the latest by 10.15 or so.

I have already told you that food should be light. For safety's sake, have a little boiled chicken prepared apart from your regular menu, in case Khrushchev or one of them is not well and wants it.

Bakhshi wanted some other functions at the Nedou's Hotel and some children's show. I have told him to cancel these. These are not necessary at all.

Indira is thinking of going to Srinagar at this time. She cannot accompany

1. JN Collection.

the Soviet people because they will go direct from Jaipur. Therefore, Indira will go a day before, on the 8th December, by the normal service plane. She will return with them on the 11th. I think it will be better if she also stayed at the Palace Hotel with these people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
2 December 1955

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st December. I am glad you met Bulganin and Khrushchev. Your estimate of them appears to me to be right, except for your comparing Khrushchev to Hitler. It is true that Khrushchev is the usual party chief but he is utterly unlike Hitler. Khrushchev is a very well informed person and knows a great deal about industry, agriculture, mining (he was a miner), building, etc. He has also a good grasp of the international situation, though he looks upon it, of course, from his own viewpoint. Hitler was strongly imaginative and considered himself to be some kind of a messiah. He was a very ignorant person, broadly speaking....

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 37(17)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Extracts.

15. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

2 December 1955

Nan² dear,

I have been sending you long telegrams containing messages for Anthony Eden.³ One was about the admission of members to the UN⁴ to which I have received a reply from Eden. The other, sent today, is about the Baghdad Pact.⁵ This is a very serious matter. I know that, having joined this military alliance, the UK can hardly back out of it at this stage. Nevertheless, it is important that they realise fully how we feel about it and the very serious consequences of the steps they have taken. N.R. Pillai had spoken to Malcolm MacDonald⁶ on this subject some days ago. Thereupon MacDonald communicated with the UK Government and came to see me. We had a fairly long talk.⁷ In spite of this, I have thought it necessary to send you this message for Eden.

I have sent you another telegram⁸ today in connection with the Soviet leaders' visit here. This has obviously agitated people in England and America and elsewhere. The speeches of Bulganin and Khrushchev have rather overstepped the mark and Khrushchev especially has been very expansive and propagandist. Obviously we could not enter into a public argument with him, though I intend having a talk with them about these matters before they leave, but that will be a private talk.

I am inclined to think that Khrushchev had spoken as he has done more through habit than with any deliberate intention of carrying on an intensive propaganda. This is the first time he has visited a country outside his own group. They were surrounded by a friendly atmosphere and Khrushchev expanded and spoke more or less in the vein that he might have done in some communist country.

The visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev has of course been a significant event of some world importance. It is good that other countries are somewhat

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. High Commissioner of India in the UK.
3. British Prime Minister.
4. See *post*, pp. 376-378.
5. See *post*, pp. 384-387.
6. UK High Commissioner in India.
7. For Nehru's talks with Malcolm Macdonald, see *post*, pp. 239, 381-382.
8. Saying that "certain remarks made by Bulganin and more especially Khrushchev in India... were certainly of a propagandist character", Nehru stated in his telegram, "We have not thought it desirable to issue any controversial replies. But I have repeatedly made India's position clear and pointed out that while we seek friendship and cooperation of the Soviet Union, as we do of all other countries, our political, economic and social approach is different.... You may informally convey this on a suitable occasion to the UK Government."

shaken up by it. People in England and America are very courteous to us and friendly but in the final analysis they treat India as a country to be humoured but not as an equal. Indeed, the United States hardly treats any other country as an equal. The British Foreign Office of course cannot get out of its old traditions.⁹ The world goes on changing and the UK and the USA somehow cannot catch up to it and then blame others.

Yesterday, I returned from Calcutta, where I saw a meeting which I think was the biggest of its kind at any time anywhere. The whole of the Calcutta Maidan was filled and it is not an exaggerated estimate to say that there were two million people present. Some people even say three million, but that, I think, is an exaggeration. The largest meeting I had seen previously was also in the Calcutta Maidan some time ago when it was estimated that one million people were present. Nowhere else in the world are there such gatherings except possibly vast crowds on occasions like a coronation or an aerial display. Here we had a disciplined mass of humanity sitting down quietly and trying to follow the speeches. The effect of this crowd was overwhelming.

To say that this vast crowd came because they were interested in communism or even in Bulganin and Khrushchev would be absurd. All kinds of factors contributed to these enormous receptions all over India. Of course there was great interest in Bulganin and Khrushchev as the leaders of a very great country. There was curiosity. There was the snowball effect of each place vying with the other to give a bigger reception. There was the great publicity about all this. There was also a general friendliness and every party and group joined in it. One of the major reasons affecting our people was the memory of the reception I had had in the Soviet Union and the desire to better it.

I think also that there is a basic feeling of sympathy for the Soviet Union among many of our poorer classes. This is not a sympathy with their policy but it indicates a feeling that the underdog is treated well there. When Bulganin and Khrushchev came to my house on the first occasion, I was a little surprised to find our gardeners coming with garlands for them. This was entirely spontaneous on their part....

Yours,
Jawahar

9. In a statement on 22 November, the British Foreign Office described Bulganin's references to the situation in Germany, in his address to the Indian Parliament, as "thoroughly hypocritical." Its spokesman said, "The fact that there is a disunited Germany is due exclusively to Soviet interference in the affairs of Germany", and added that V.M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, had made it plain that, in the Soviet view, German unity could only be achieved if what Harold Macmillan, the British Foreign Secretary, had called at Geneva "the odious system at present existing in East Germany" was maintained, and provided that an all-German Government was "peace-loving" in character, which meant a communist regime.

16. Indo-Soviet Cultural Cooperation¹

I had an hour's talk today with Mr Mikhailov,² the Soviet Minister for Culture. Mr Rashidov,³ the Soviet Ambassador⁴ and our Ambassador, Shri K.P.S.Menon, were also present.

Mr Mikhailov was anxious to encourage cultural and like cooperation between the two countries. He made the following proposals:

1. The Soviet technicians should make a film on India. This would represent both the artistic side of India and the new projects and developments. Mr Mikhailov said that his people knew little about India and had no idea of the big things that were being done here. He himself and his companions had been greatly impressed by the beauty and the new life of India. He would like the film to be a kind of poem of India.

This film would be an ambitious venture and would take at least six months or more. They were prepared to do it in cooperation with some Indian film company or with the technical and other cooperation of the Government of India.

I told him that I welcomed the idea and was attracted by it. I suggested that he might discuss it with our Minister for I & B, Dr Keskar.

2. He suggested that artists, musicians, dancers, acrobats, etc., should go to the USSR next year. He wanted a good troupe and suggested that some of the artists they had seen during their visit to India might be included in that team.

I said that this matter could be looked into. I referred him in regard to this and other matters to Secretary-General, N.R. Pillai, who could put him in touch with other Ministries, wherever necessary. It was desirable, however, that all such activities should be coordinated through the External Affairs Ministry.

3. Exchange of youth delegations was referred to. Mikhailov said that he had discussed this with Maulana Azad whom he had seen this morning.

1. Note, 3 December 1955. File No. 1(123)-Eur/55, MEA.

2. Nikolai Alexandrovich Mikhailov (b.1906); Soviet Government official; worked with the *Pravda*, 1937-52; Ambassador to Poland, 1954-55; Minister of Culture, 1955-60; ambassador to Indonesia, 1960-65.

3. Sharaf Rashidovich Rashidov (b.1917); chairman, Uzbek Writers' Union, 1949-50; chairman, Presidium of the Uzbekistan Soviet Socialist Republic, 1950-59.

4. Mikhail Menshikov, Soviet Ambassador in India.



WITH BULGANIN AND KHRUSHCHEV PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURE FOR MYANMAR,
KOLKATA AIRPORT, 1 DECEMBER 1955



SIGNING THE JOINT STATEMENT WITH BULGANIN, NEW DELHI, 13 DECEMBER 1955

4. Exchange of Professors: It was suggested that since we had thirty-one universities, there might be a representative from each of them, that is, thirty-one in all might go from India.
5. Selected Soviet professors might come to India to lecture for two or three months.
6. Mikhailov suggested an exhibition in India on people's education in the USSR. He had discussed this also with Maulana Azad, who had suggested that this might be organized some time in February-March and last two months, visiting four or five important towns.
7. Exchange of students, more especially for study of languages—Hindi in India and Russian in the USSR. Also students to study art, history, etc.
8. Exchange of sporting and athletic teams and developing contacts between the athletic associations of the two countries. Also Soviet coaches to come to India for sports and athletics.
9. Art exhibitions in both countries, that is, exhibition of Indian art in the Soviet Union and exhibition of Soviet art in India.
10. A Soviet circus to come out to India. Apparently Shri Kanungo had suggested this. The Soviet acrobats who had come here, I was told, were much appreciated.
11. Film festivals: Indian film festival in the Soviet Union and Soviet film festival in India.

All these proposals are, taken separately, feasible. But obviously if they come in a bunch, then the burden will be very great. Each suggestion might be examined.

I said that contacts between India and the Soviet Union would become much easier if there was a direct air service from India to Tashkent. This could be discussed. Meanwhile, it should be easy to connect our service to Kabul with the Soviet service to Kabul on the other side. In this way, travel between India and the Soviet Union could be made easy and would not take much time. I suggested that this matter might be discussed with our Communications Ministry.

Mr Rashidov mentioned specially that contacts might be developed between India and Uzbekistan. I said that the best way to do that was to develop this air service to Tashkent.

I suggested that I should like to induce our Minister of Education, Maulana Azad, to pay a visit to the Soviet Union next summer. Mikhailov said that he had already invited Maulana Saheb this morning and Maulana had agreed. Discussing the time of such a visit, I suggested that towards the end of June or July would probably suit Maulana Saheb best. Mikhailov said that July and August were good months for a visit.

These various proposals concern a number of Ministries, apart from External Affairs— I & B, Education, Communications and Health (for sports coaches). Also our Akademies dealing with cultural subjects. SG might help in getting these matters considered by various Ministries and coordinate their activities. In particular, I think two matters should be taken up immediately. One is the question of the Soviet film on India and the other is the air service to Tashkent which, to begin with, should be a coordination with the Soviet line from Tashkent to Kabul.

I am sending a copy of this note to Minister of Education, Minister of Communications, Minister of I & B, and Minister of Health.

17. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

5 December 1955

Nan dear,

I have just received your letter² of December 1.

We have been following the reactions of the British Press to the Russian visit to India and have a fair idea of what was written there. As a person who has all along been rather friendly to England and the British, and who has a great deal of the British background in him, I feel distressed at the way the British people are rapidly going to pieces. I thought they had some restraint in them.

I can understand their displeasure at much that Bulganin and Khrushchev said. I did not approve of some of their remarks. But the point is that it does no good to get angry over a situation one does not like. One should seek the reasons for these situations arising. To imagine that the giving of some money will buy us up is, to say the least of it, a basic misconception. It is the policy of a country that affects another country. The Middle East system of alliances, culminating in the Baghdad Pact, is a hit at India, which is bitterly resented

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to the Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary.
2. Mrs Pandit wrote that the press coverage in Britain of the Soviet leaders' visit to India was "was quite fantastic The venom was sometimes beyond belief and papers of all shades of opinion seemed to meet on common ground." She further said that the propaganda "has resulted in a degree of hostility which is quite unreasoned."

here. Dulles' joint statement with the Portuguese Foreign Minister³ has produced even stronger reactions. Everything that the US might have done to India is likely to be forgotten in the anger caused by this.

If the British people think that they can deal with Asia by hobnobbing with Nuri el Said Pasha⁴ or out of date reactionaries like him, they are mistaken. They have already become very unpopular in Egypt and some other Arab countries. Their stock is low in Asia. India has helped to keep it up. Only today I spoke in Parliament in defence of the Commonwealth relation.⁵

The rumour that we are going to invite the Queen or a member of the Royal Family⁶ is completely without foundation. I think it had its origin in something that Durga Das⁷ wrote in *The Hindustan Times* to the effect that if Queen Elizabeth came here, or President Eisenhower, they would get as good a welcome as Bulganin and Khrushchev.⁸

The British Press Correspondents here and indeed the Americans also are a singularly poor lot. Louis Heren⁹ of *The Times* was intelligent, but he was full of malice. His messages to *The Times* were tendentious to a degree. I am glad he is gone.¹⁰ I wonder if people realise how public opinion in India reacts

3. In a joint statement on 2 December, John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, and Paulo A.V. Cunha, Foreign Minister of Portugal, criticised the "statements attributed to the Soviet leaders ... concerning the Portuguese province in the Far East" and accused the Soviet leaders of attempting to foment hatred between the East and West." On 28 November, Bulganin, calling the Portuguese rule over Goa as "a shame to civilized people", said that there was no justification for the continued existence of the Portuguese colony, and added, "The sympathies of the Soviet people are always on the side of those fighting colonialism." For Khrushchev's comments on Goa, see *ante*, p. 316.
4. Nuri el Said, Prime Minister of Iraq, presided over the inaugural meeting of the Baghdad Pact powers on 21 and 22 November. Britain became a Baghdad Pact power in April 1955 with its adherence to the Turko-Iraqi treaty of February 1955.
5. See *ante*, pp. 247-254.
6. Mrs Pandit wrote that such a rumour had been going around.
7. Correspondent of *The Hindustan Times*.
8. In fact, A.M. Rosenthal wrote in *The New York Times* of 27 November, "Most foreigners (in India) agree that if the Government spent as much time and energy in preparing the visits, Queen Elizabeth or President Eisenhower would get the same magnificent welcome from the Indian people. But that is just a theory, and may never be tested."
9. (1919-1995); British journalist; Foreign Correspondent of *The Times* in India and Pakistan, 1947-48 and 1953-55, Middle East, 1948-50, Korean war, 1950, South-East Asia, 1951-53, and Germany, 1956-60; American Editor and Chief Correspondent in the US, 1960-70; Deputy Editor and Foreign Editor of *The Times*, London, since 1970; wrote *The New American Commonwealth* (1968), *No Hail, No Farewell* (1970), *Growing up Poor in London* (1973) and *Growing up on The Times* (1978).

to the type of messages that are sent from India or that appear in the British Press. If the British public opinion is important, it might be remembered sometimes that there is such a thing as the Indian public too and it is the latter's opinion that counts in India.

I am glad that Moulik,¹¹ your PRO, is doing well.

I am much surprised, though I really should not be surprised at anything that the British Press says or does, at the comments on the Russian leaders' visit to Kashmir. It is implied that I am terribly upset by their visit. Further that Kashmir is boiling over with discontent and trouble. Both of these statements are completely untrue.

When we were drawing up the Soviet programme for India, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad wanted us to include Kashmir. I informed K.P.S. Menon in Moscow about it and he asked me to include it provisionally. Later I was told that it should be deleted. There the matter ended. When Bulganin and Khrushchev were here, Karan Singh met them at various functions and pressed them to go to Kashmir. Ultimately, they decided to go there for two days and we have fixed this up. There is no question of my feeling embarrassed about it. Indeed I am glad they are going there. I did not wish to press them to go there myself lest they might be embarrassed.

As for the conditions in Kashmir, this year there had been a record number of tourists. There is some little trouble caused by a group of people. But the whole of the Valley is extraordinarily peaceful. Mridula succeeded in getting permission to go there after many attempts and she is there now. I am afraid she has done little good there.

Madame Sun Yat Sen is coming to India on the 16th of this month and is likely to stay for about three weeks.

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

10. Mrs Pandit wrote that it was due to pressure exerted by Moulik, Public Relations Officer in the Indian High Commission, that *The Times* decided to transfer Heren from India. However, Louis Heren, in his memoirs, *Growing up on The Times*, stated: "My reports of minor clashes and exchanges of fire [with Chinese troops] were angrily denied by Delhi. The Indian High Commissioner in London accused me of all known journalistic sins plus enmity to India and a life-long dedication to communism."
11. Moni Moulik (b. 1909); worked as Information Officer and later as Director, Information Service, in the Indian Embassy in Washington, 1949-53; Information Officer, Indian Embassy, Tokyo, 1953-55; joined as PRO, Indian High Commission, London, August 1955.

18. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi

5 December 1955

My dear Edwina,

...The visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev has evidently raised the temperature of some of the British papers or their writers. Some indeed have worked themselves up into a frenzy. I have been wondering if there has been a basic change in the character of those who write in the newspapers in England. I associated some restraint and some balance of mind with them but evidently this is lacking now. I am distressed because this kind of thing has big reactions on our own people and, out of anger and bitterness, little good can come....

My visit to the Soviet Union was shown previously in films taken by our own people as well as by the Russians. Both these films were very popular and were widely shown. The tremendous welcome I received there impressed our people greatly, and there was an evident desire to show to the Russians that we could do better in this respect. Also, of course, there was a great deal of curiosity about these men who play such an important part not only in their own country but in world affairs. In addition to all this, there is a basic sympathy among the common people for Russia. This is not for communism which they know little about, but it represents rather a feeling that the underdog in Russia has done well. When Bulganin and Khrushchev came to my house the first time—I think it was for lunch—I was a little surprised to find that our gardeners, quite unexpectedly, came up with a garland to welcome them. Both of them were naturally tremendously impressed by the welcome they received everywhere in India. They told me that they had tried to give me a big welcome but they had been put into the shade by us. They will try to do something better next time I go there.

As they went from city to city, a great deal of publicity in the newspapers preceded them, with the result that larger crowds assembled. Last of all, in Calcutta, there was a gathering at a public meeting-reception in the Maidan, which was truly stupendous. We are used to big gatherings in India, but this one broke all records. It is estimated moderately that two million people were present there, and most of them sat on the ground quietly and in a disciplined manner throughout the proceedings. It was a remarkable sight.

Both Khrushchev and Bulganin, and especially the latter, relaxed and became more and more expansive as the tour progressed. Possibly, they were a little intoxicated by these crowds and their welcome and imagined more in it than it represented. They realised, however, that a good part of the welcome

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

was due to the fact that we were welcoming them and had asked the people to do so.² My stock I think rose with them when they saw how popular I was with the crowd. Bulganin was more impressive and, to some extent, restrained in his behaviour. Khrushchev was blunt and crude in his utterances. Many things that he said were not suitable for the occasion or, indeed, otherwise desirable. I suppose, being used always to speaking in his own country or in the other communist countries, he could not adopt any other method. I did not wish to enter into public controversies or arguments with them, but I merely stated what we stood for. At the great Calcutta meeting, I spoke,³ rather oddly, about Asoka and the message of tolerance and peace that he delivered two thousand two hundred years ago. I tried to make out that the so-called Five Principles, or the *Panch Shila* as we call them (this means the five foundation stones), were nothing new to us but represented India's thought for ages past. In this connection, I referred to Asoka. I doubt if either of them had ever heard of him.

So, this visit of the two Soviet leaders was to some extent an education for them, as it no doubt was for us. Khrushchev confessed, as he was going to Burma, that he was overwhelmed with new impressions and ideas, and it would take him a long time to sort them out. I do not think, of course, that we converted them basically, but I have no doubt that they had some glimpses of some things which they were not aware of and, almost unconsciously, this will affect their thinking and action in future. I think they were impressed by our achievements as well as the popularity of our Government. They went to Burma from here and will return here after a few days, when they go to Kashmir. Then Delhi and on to Kabul.

The British Press has been making out as if this visit of theirs to Kashmir is very embarrassing for me. Why they should think so, I cannot make out. I am quite pleased at it. It is true that I did not press them to go there because I did not wish to embarrass them. A suggestion was made by the Prime Minister of Kashmir to include this Kashmir visit in their programme. This was communicated to Moscow before they came here. At that time, they asked us to leave it out. So, I did not mention it again. When they were in Delhi, however, the Yuvaraj, who was here, pressed them again and again to visit Kashmir and ultimately they agreed. I welcomed this, and we have made arrangements accordingly.

I imagine that my visit to the Soviet Union and Bulganin's and Khrushchev's visit to India have probably widened their outlook in many ways

2. A public holiday had been declared in Kolkata on 30 November, when a public reception was given to the Soviet leaders.

3. See *ante*, pp. 312-317.

than all the moves and counter-moves and military threats of the United States. After all, if we are to live at peace with each other and avoid war, then the only possible course is to give up the military and the threatening approach. That does not mean that we should become complacent but it does mean that the approach of friendship pays, and the approach of the cold war only produces a like reaction on the other side. More and more I begin to feel that the way of doing things is almost more important than what is done.

While there has been this feast of friendliness between the Soviet leaders and the people of India, we have had the Baghdad Pact, the culmination of a series of Middle East alliances. This has come as a shock to our people, accompanied as it has been by another big outbreak of war and jihad propaganda in Pakistan. Pakistan now almost openly boasts that they are going to build their military strength with the help of aid from the West and then speak to us with strength. The UK Government's Middle Eastern policy apparently revolves round people like Nurie el Said Pasha and his like, remnants of the past century who are totally unaware of what is happening in Asia now. I remember Nuri Pasha seeing me last year in Delhi.⁴ We could hardly find a common language of thought. He was not interested in any kind of economic or social development or even industrial change. He said nothing counted but guns and advised me to get them from whatever source I could. That, of course, is his own policy in Iraq. The guns, of course, are pretty useless against any strong country, but they come in handy to frighten and suppress his own people. How long can this last? And what is likely to be the reaction on the people of that country in regard to the other countries supporting Nuri Pasha and his kind?

It surprises me how little many people in the West understand the mind and heart of Asia, how little they appreciate the great changes that have taken place and are taking place here. The Russians, for all their single track mind, are much more conscious of these changes and try to fit in their policy with them. Hence, their greater success in diplomacy.

Mr Dulles, in his wisdom, signed two days ago a joint statement with the Foreign Minister of Portugal, in which he supported Portugal's stand in regard to Goa, etc. Of course, he has every right to do what he chooses, but I wonder if he realised that his action will produce blazing anger in the minds of many people in India who, rightly or wrongly, feel deeply about Goa. I took a course in regard to Goa which hardly any other country would have dared to take. I staked all my reputation and prestige and went against public feeling. I stopped

4. Nuri el Said met Nehru on 22 and 24 March 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 500.

a great movement backed by public opinion and passion.⁵ I succeeded. Large numbers of our people had been shot dead by the Portuguese even though they were unarmed and completely peaceful. Many were put in their prisons. Some are still there, including a Member of our Parliament. Our American friends accuse us of ingratitude.⁶ We are grateful for the help they have given us, but there are some things more important than money, and Dulles has hurt us to the quick....

Within a few days, Madame Sun Yat Sen is coming here for a three-week visit. Meanwhile, we are busy with refashioning the map of India. This is a terrible job, and I do not see much light yet. Passions have aroused and old friends have fallen out. However, I suppose we shall see this through also with our usual luck. I do think we are rather lucky. Looking back, I am surprised at many of the things we have managed to do and the difficulties we have overcome....

Forgive me for sending you this typed letter, but I thought I could write more in this way than otherwise.

Yours
Jawahar

5. A resolution drafted by Nehru and passed by the AICC at New Delhi on 4 September 1955 strongly disapproved of any mass entry into Goa or even individual satyagraha inside Goa by Indian nationals. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 368-372.
6. *The New York Times* said in an editorial on 27 November 1955: "The United States has sent to India many millions of dollars, in cash or kind, but there are some Indians who consider 500 Russian technicians and a Russian market for 35 per cent of India's exports a greater gift."

19. Talks with the Soviet Leaders—II¹

The Prime Minister stated that the visit of the Soviet leaders had given great pleasure to the people of India. It was a historic event and in many ways the people of India had greatly profited by it. It had opened the door to future

1. Record of talks with N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchev, Prime Minister's House, New Delhi, 12 December 1955. JN Collection. Also available in S. Dutt Papers, NMML. S. Dutt and two interpreters were present at the talk.

exchange of delegations and similar visits between the two countries. With this appreciation Mr Khrushchev agreed.

Proceeding, the Prime Minister said that Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev had keen eyes and wide experience and he would therefore like to know their broad reactions to what they had seen in India, more especially their opinion about our failings.

Mr Khrushchev said that he could only repeat what he had already said. They were most struck by the friendly reception from people everywhere—from heads of states, ministers, mayors and ordinary people in factories and elsewhere. So far as the factories were concerned, if they would pass any judgment, they would be taking too much on themselves. They could only take a quick look and see merely the exterior. They felt, however, that the people were working there with enthusiasm and were happy. He had told the Director² of the factory for the construction of wagons that they should start the production of electric locomotives. In the Soviet Union they had taken a little time to start producing locomotives because the older ones were getting out of date. In India steam locomotives were being produced. In the Soviet Union they were changing over from steam to electric locomotives. Mr Khrushchev thought that the Indian engineers would not probably dispute this point. The second observation he would make was that all the factories in India seemed to be built of metal. This was uneconomical. The day before he had seen the Soviet engineers here building metallurgical factories in India. He was told that the Indian engineers were used to building on metal.

It was difficult for the Soviet visitors to express any opinion about agricultural concerns in India. They found the milk colony in Bombay³ interesting. The idea which they in the Soviet Union had of India when they were in Moscow had changed. The conception of India was inculcated in them by “colonisers of India”. That is why the Soviet visitors felt that they should have more exchanges in the cultural field, translation of books, more people to go from one country to the other to know each other better, etc. The people of India were talented, they were united and they were enthusiastic about building. Such, in brief, Mr Khrushchev said, was his running impression; this was not based on any detailed analysis.

2. Karnail Singh, General Manager of Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory in West Bengal. The Soviet leaders visited the factory on 7 December.
3. The Soviet leaders visited the Aarey Milk Colony in Mumbai on 24 November.

Mr Bulganin added that to speak frankly they knew India badly—knew it by books not written by friends of India. What they saw in the south, north and east of India struck them with surprise. “Your people also know my country badly. It would be a good thing if your people knew our people better and our people knew your people”. He agreed with Mr Khrushchev’s other observations.

Mr Khrushchev said that in the states he had the impression almost everywhere that they had solved the food problem. The next Five Year Plan would lay emphasis on the development of heavy industries. The only exception was Madras where the Governor expressed alarm at the industrial development of India and its likely consequences on the future of the handicraft industries.⁴ People, however, said that the Governor was a philosopher. From their discussion with the people in India they (the Soviet leaders) had the feeling that the Indian people had the right approach to the problem of industrialization.

The Prime Minister said that we in India were in favour of using the highest technique. There was the risk, however, that in using such higher technique suddenly we might add to the number of unemployed. India had a large population. If a large number of artisans were displaced suddenly, that would create a special problem. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the Prime Minister added, all our handicrafts were destroyed by the British and people were compelled to live on land. As a result, they became very poor. Broadly speaking, the Indian Government wanted to take the people away from land-to industries, big and small. In the process of developing industries, however, enough people could not be absorbed because a higher technique required a smaller number. That, however, was a temporary phase. While the people were not being absorbed in industries, Government would have to find employment for them in small cottage industries. The essential problem was one of finding employment for a large number of people. The Prime Minister said that he agreed with Mr Khrushchev that we in India should concentrate on higher technique, but we could not do that quickly. Hence, we had to provide for intermediate stages. We were proceeding by experience without any rigid basis, the intention being not to create unemployment. All new heavy industries in the country were State industries. In India we started planning five or six years ago. We had very little statistical data. During the last five years along with

4. At a State banquet in Chennai on 28 November, Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Madras, expressed his disagreement with Khrushchev’s view that industrialization was the only way for a country to develop, and pointed out that every eleventh person in Madras depended on handloom for his livelihood.

experience we collected enough data on which to base the Second Five Year Plan. We could change the Plan from year to year. In planning for heavy industries, we would like to profit by the experience of the Soviet Union. We would like experts in machine building industries to come to India and discuss with the Indian Planning Commission. That was our broad approach. We laid emphasis on cottage industries. We had to do so in order to cope with the present situation.

Mr Khrushchev remarked that their point of view had probably been misunderstood. They did not think that there was a conflict between heavy industries and cottage industries. In the first years after the Revolution they had to support cottage industries which produced articles required by the people in the towns. In India also articles produced by the cottage industries were needed. In the Soviet Union they gave preference to heavy industries so that the machine building industry would be the chief industry of the country. Some people were expressing the opinion that as there was a large number of unemployed people, factories should be constructed with a view to absorbing these people, though the factories might not be up to date, and that attempts should not be made to mechanise the processes. Mr Khrushchev considered this approach wrong. If they would not follow the best methods, they would not produce the right technicians and the cost of production would increase. Only workers needed for high technical operations should be employed. If as a result some workers would remain unemployed, the profit from the efficient industries could be used to support other people or organise village industries.

The Prime Minister said that he saw no conflict. The heavy industry must be at the highest technical level and the best factory must be put up. On the other hand, cottage industries were also important. In fact, one-third of our total cloth was produced on handlooms. He did not want to put up too many textile mills for that reason. He wanted to concentrate on the highest technical efficiency. He had put a cess on mill products in order to support and improve the cottage industries.

Mr Bulganin said that they started on the lines to which Mr Khrushchev had referred. The same problem came up in the Soviet Union also as in India and they had to pass through the same stages. There were all kinds of disputes. In the Soviet Union they had small and village industries which produced goods worth five thousand million roubles.

The Prime Minister said that there was no conflict between heavy and

cottage industries; there might be conflict between the light industries and cottage industries.

Mr Khrushchev said that while pushing forward the heavy industries one must remember the form of government in that particular country. In order to survive they in the Soviet Union had to save time. They, therefore, had to push forward with their heavy industries. The same was being done by the other peoples' democracies and for the same reason. These democracies consulted the Soviet leaders. The Soviet Union advised them not to push forward too fast. "We don't want them to copy our development because the Soviet Union has her strength and can hold back the capitalist countries. It is therefore not necessary to create difficulties for people in the peoples' democracies in the process of developing their industries. China can also develop her industries more quickly. We give China aeroplanes, artillery, etc. They can build their heavy industries."

The Prime Minister said that apart from the reasons given by Mr Khrushchev conditions were different in different countries and the people had to adjust themselves to these conditions.

Mr Khrushchev replied that they in the Soviet Union supported both agriculture and heavy industries so as to make it very hard for imperialist countries to attack them. They had given a good deal of attention to armament, manufacture of jet aircraft and such like things.

The Prime Minister then said that in order to remove any misunderstanding he would like to know what the visiting leaders thought was the role of the Communist Party in India. He said so because it was often coming in conflict with the nationalist sentiment in India and Burma. Thereby ill feelings were created against the Communist Party and many opportunities of cooperation were lost. Till the Second World War, members of the Communist Party were also members of our national organization. During the War there was a split. Our fight was against the British. For some time after the Nazi invasion had started, the Communist Party did not support the British. Later, they supported the British war efforts in India⁵ at a time when all of them (Congress leaders) were in jail. The Communist Party was then in close contact and cooperation with the British in India. The communists had then to go out of our national

5. The Communist Party of India (CPI) supported the war effort from 1941 in defiance of the nationalist tide.

organization. War ended two years later and India became independent. After a lapse of another two years India became a Republic. Until this year the Communist Party was saying that the Indian people were not independent; they even opposed our National Day celebrations. The result was great feeling against the Communist Party in India. The Communist Party leaders were very much confused as to what they should do. They changed their policy every six months. They also said that when they were in doubt about the right line of action, they had to get directions from the Soviet Union. Early in 1951-52, some principal leaders of the Communist Party went to Moscow secretly, that is, without passports. They came back and said that they had got directions from Mr Stalin. At least that is what they said. The line then laid down was one of full opposition to Government and, where possible, petty insurrections.

The Prime Minister added that he had not referred to 1948-49 when insurrection took place in parts of Hyderabad State at the instance of the Communist Party.⁶ This year, when he went to the Soviet Union and received such tremendous welcome, the Communist Party in India became confused as to what line they should take internally. Last September, one of their principal leaders, A.K. Ghosh,⁷ went to Moscow and said he had come back with fresh instructions. He said to his party that they should play down opposition to Government, but must be ready to start insurrection again when necessary. That is a broad position which made the Prime Minister feel that (a) the Communist Party would often indulge in violent outbreaks, and (b) it relied on instructions from Moscow. Also it appeared to the Prime Minister that the Communist Party got considerable sums of money from outside. They had few sources of income in India, but they had purchased here valuable properties, estates, etc. The Prime Minister wound up by saying that he would like to know the views of the Soviet leaders on the situation.

Mr Khrushchev said that it was difficult for him to say anything on this subject because there was exaggeration in regard to the part which the Soviet Communist Party was supposed to be playing in leading Communist Parties in other countries. With the abolition of the

6. The communists launched militant mass movements in various parts in India in March 1948. The agitational activity lasted for nearly three and a half years and at its height seriously affected Telengana in Hyderabad, Malabar in Travancore-Cochin, Tripura, Manipur, Andhra and parts of West Bengal, Bihar, eastern UP and Maharashtra. The Telengana struggle was called off in October 1951.
7. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh (1909-62); accused in the Lahore conspiracy case, 1929; member, Central Committee of CPI since 1933; member, politbureau, CPI, 1937; became General Secretary, CPI, 1951; edited CPI's monthly journal, *New Age*; wrote, among others, *Bhagat Singh and his Comrades* and *Communist Answer to Pandit Nehru*.

Comintern⁸ there was no organisation for leading the Communist Parties in other countries. The Cominform⁹ never got together even once. The fact was that they in the Soviet Union did not have information about the Communist Parties in other countries. The Soviet leaders did not even know before they went to Burma that more than one Communist Party existed in Burma.¹⁰ U Nu had the same feeling as the Prime Minister. Mr Khrushchev said on his word of honour that they (the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) had no connection with the Indian Communist Party. They knew few Communist leaders in India except some who went to attend the 19th Session of the Communist Party Congress.¹¹ To this Session Communist Parties from all the world over sent delegations and fraternal greetings.

Mr Khrushchev proceeded to say that he did not know of any Communist Party leaders in India visiting Moscow in September. Both he and Mr Bulganin were on leave then. They did not meet anybody. Last year, Mr Khrushchev said, he had met Maurice Thorez.¹² Thorez was then ill, and Mr Voroshilov¹³ and Mr Khrushchev saw him in a sanatorium. They watched a game of volleyball there. He knew Mr Maurice Thorez before. He also knew the Communist leader Togliatti¹⁴ from the days of the Comintern. He knew by name the Secretary of the Communist Party of India, Mr Ghosh. He had seen him but never

8. Acronym for Communist International, founded in 1919 by Lenin to claim Communist leadership of the world socialist movement. It was dissolved in 1943 as a gesture of support for the Allied war effort.
9. The Communist Information Bureau or Cominform was organised in 1947 by the USSR to coordinate the exchange of information between East European and some West European Communist parties.
10. There were two main Communist parties in Myanmar: (1) The Red Flag Communist Party (Trotskyites), also known as Communist Party, Burma, was led by Thakin Soe. It was the first political group in Myanmar to rebel against the Government and go underground in 1947; (2) The White Flag Communists (Stalinists), who called themselves the Burma Communist Party, was led by Thakin Than Tun. It went underground in March 1948.
11. Held in October 1952.
12. (1900-1964); French Communist leader; became a militant Communist, 1920, and Secretary General, French Communist Party, 1933; its President since 1944; led a campaign against Nazi Germany in the late 1930s and supported the rearmament programme until the German-Soviet pact of August 1939; was vehement in his attacks upon French policy and strong in his support of the Soviet attitude; semi-invalid since 1950.
13. K.Y. Voroshilov; President, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.
14. Palmiro Togliatti (1893-1964); Italian Communist leader; Secretary of the Comintern, 1935-39.

had an opportunity of a discussion with him. This, Mr Khrushchev said, he was saying sincerely. So far as their taking leadership of all Communist Parties in the world was concerned, they had no intention and did not propose to do so. Mr Khrushchev had no information of what place the Communist Party occupied in India. From information which he had, he had the impression that the Communist Party of India had been put in an awkward position by the action of the Soviet Communist Party. This itself indicated that there was no coordination between the Soviet Communist Party and the Indian Communist Party.

The Prime Minister remarked that there was no doubt that, as Mr Khrushchev said, the Communist Party of India exaggerated their contacts with the leaders of the Soviet Union. He was referring to such influence because the Communist Party themselves said so. It was possible that in Moscow, Ghosh did not meet Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev, but when he came back he said that they (the Communist Party of India) should tone down their opposition to Government but still be ready to be aggressive. The Prime Minister said that the Soviet people should not be misled by the Communist Party of India. What he was worried about was not what the Communist Party said or did in India, but its effects on Indo-Soviet relations. Their activities stood in the way of good relations between the Indian people and the Soviet people.

Mr Khrushchev replied that this depressed them too. "Our relations should not be disturbed by misunderstanding."

The Prime Minister referred to the articles in the Bucharest newspaper, *For a lasting peace, For a People's Democracy*, which was supposed to represent the official Communist policy. Another difficulty, which created misunderstanding, was that the Communist Party of India sent misleading reports to Moscow about conditions in India.

Mr Khrushchev: "If they send reports, we do not see them at all. Whom do they send these reports to? I do not find time to read the newspaper referred to by the Indian Prime Minister."

The Prime Minister observed that articles, sometimes signed, appeared in the *New Times* of Moscow. Mr Bulganin said that he had not seen those articles. The Prime Minister pointed out that their importance lay in the fact that they created misunderstanding among the Indian people about the Soviet Union. In Burma, the Communist Party was carrying on an insurrection against the Government. Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev knew that the Western Powers were making a big propaganda over this. Their propaganda was that the Soviet

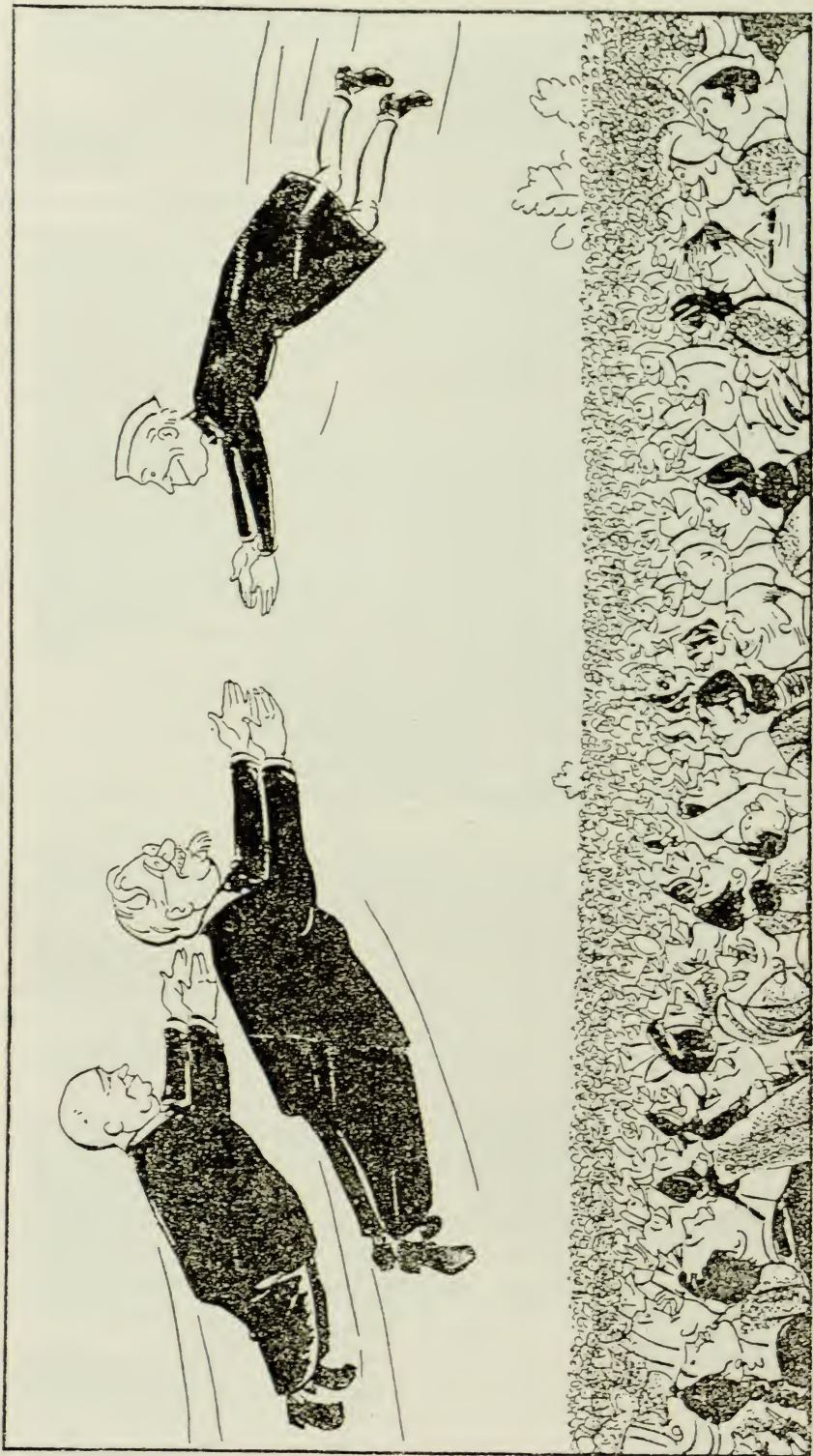
Union was trying to create a world empire with the help of international communism in other countries. This frightened other people. As an illustration they (the Western Powers) pointed to what was happening in Burma and had happened in India.

Mr Khrushchev asked what he could say about this. If the question was put in a general way, he could only say what was known to him. There was a thing like communist teaching. It would be there whether the Soviet Union existed or not. How could they in the Soviet Union stop communist activities all over the world? How could they prevent teaching of the communist doctrine? So long as the class structure existed, the Communist Party also existed. If they were to take up the position desired by Mr Dulles, they would have to ask the Communist Parties all over the world to discontinue their activities. In that case they would be laughed at. These other parties would say that it was in their own interest that they were working. This was not a realistic suggestion. The Communist Parties were born out of conditions within a particular country. How could they take responsibility for the parties in other countries? The question of a political party was fundamentally a question for the country itself. They could only take up the position of their own country. Referring to the Communist Parties in Burma and India, he said that they (Soviet leaders) as communists had sympathy for communists elsewhere. The question however was not one of sympathy or understanding. It was one of leading other Communist Parties. They had no organization for doing so. They had abolished the Comintern. The question of the abolition of Cominform concerned other countries also.¹⁵ After all, Mr Khrushchev said, the socialists had their own international organizations. Nobody wanted them to discontinue such organizations. The question of the existence of a party was a question of conditions within a country. Wishful thinking could play no part in it. How wisely a party could be led depended on the local leaders.

The Prime Minister agreed that parties grew out of people's convictions. He had no objection to the Communist Party of India functioning nor did he expect Mr Khrushchev to issue orders to liquidate or wind up parties. Mr Khrushchev interjected that even if they wanted to issue such order, they would not be listened to. Who were they to give orders?

The Prime Minister said that he referred to this problem from the point of view of friendship between India and the Soviet Union. He did not want any

15. The Cominform was disbanded in 1956.



New Delhi visit of Soviet leaders Bulganin and Khrushchev



BIDDING GOODBYE TO BULGANIN AND KHRUSHCHEV, NEW DELHI AIRPORT,
14 DECEMBER 1955

misunderstanding between them, such as would occur if it was felt that the Soviet Union was directly encouraging the local Communist Party. It was commonly believed in India that large sums of money came to the Communist Party from outside in various ways. There was another minor matter. He was told that Indian nationals were employed in Soviet embassies and the embassies of other peoples' democracies in Delhi on the recommendation of the Communist Party in India. All these were little things which created the impression of close direction from outside. Another minor thing he wanted to mention was the way the peace movement was carried on in India. This was more to encourage communism than peace. This made the movement somewhat suspicious. The Prime Minister was anxious that they all would act in accordance with the Five Principles so as to avoid any misunderstanding. It would be a great gain if this impression could be created in the mind of all, including the Communist Party of India. Nobody in the world could oppose the Five Principles, but many people said that the principles were not acted upon honestly.

Mr Khrushchev said that the Prime Minister of India had referred to finance coming to the Communist Party from outside. He did not know where it came from. He could only speak from personal experience. When the *Pravda*¹⁶ came into existence in the early days of Bolshevism, the workers, among whom Mr Khrushchev was one, used to donate funds. He was not in a position to say anything about employment in embassies. He agreed that the Soviet Ambassador should be very careful. The Prime Minister intervened to say that he was not complaining against the Ambassador. He was a fine man whom they all liked.

Mr Khrushchev referred to the Five Principles and said that they all had subscribed to them with the Prime Minister of India. They were good principles and they corresponded to the interests of his country and other countries. It was very difficult to prove whether they were being acted upon sincerely. Referring to the Communist Parties he said that in every country there was a Communist Party. A Communist Party naturally got sympathy from the Soviet Communist Party. There was a bond of sympathy among the Communist Parties all over the world. The socialist parties also believed in solidarity. They had an international organisation¹⁷ today. Therefore, there might be elements which might suggest that merely because they belonged to an international organisation, they (Soviets) were supporting the Communist Parties in other countries. There was solidarity between

16. The *Pravda* came into existence in 1908. It was published from Vienna by Trotsky.

17. The Socialist International.

the proletarian classes. Czechoslovakia voted for the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union voted for Czechoslovakia. There was no contradiction in such support because the society in both the countries was based on the socialistic pattern and the countries were going the same way. That is why they supported each other. They could not liquidate the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties would exist where working classes existed. "The Communist Party in India also gets sympathy from the Soviet Union. It may like to take advantage of our experience and increase its influence among the people. We cannot take responsibility for the Communist Parties in India, Burma and elsewhere. We told the British and the Americans that if we were so powerful why did the British Communist Party lose its only two seats in Parliament?"¹⁸ Everything depends on local conditions and leadership and wisdom of the people in the countries concerned. Therefore, if we looked at the question soberly, these things should not come in the way of good relations between India and the Soviet Union. You should take the attitude of the Communist Party of India more critically. Its attitude does not reflect the attitude of the Soviet Union. Mr Ghosh might have seen Stalin who was a great man. He (Mr Ghosh) might ascribe things to him (Mr Stalin) which he did not say. The influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is great among the Communist Parties of the World."

Mr Khrushchev illustrated his point by the example of a communist friend of his who was leading a detachment against Russians in Caucasia. The people of his friend's detachment were unwilling to fight and hesitated about whether to attack or not. His friend said that he would ask Mr Lenin whether they should do so or not. The place was two thousand kilometres from Moscow and he had no means of communicating with Mr Lenin. All the same his friend said to his men that he had spoken to Mr Lenin on the telephone and that Mr Lenin's order was to go and attack. So the men of his detachment carried out the order. This was a true story. Mr Khrushchev's friend took advantage of the unlimited trust of the people in Mr Lenin. It was possible that the Communist Parties had similar connection with Moscow.

The Prime Minister observed that he hoped that Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev would not mind his frank talk. He was expressing what was in the mind of other people and their views.

18. The British Communist Party won two seats in 1945 but could not retain these in the subsequent elections held in 1950. In the elections held in 1951 and 1955 also, the Party could not win any seat.

Mr Khrushchev's reply was that they were not merely not hurt, they were grateful. Frank conversation could take place only among friends. These frank exchanges of opinion would not worsen relations. He was the Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Mr Bulganin was the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. They had an equal position. They were glad that they had come to India and strengthened the personal relations with the Indian leaders. If they had done anything to weaken the Government of India, they would be very sorry. They would do everything to strengthen friendly relations with India. "Don't put anything the CPI says, good or bad, on our shoulders. Let the CPI be responsible to the people and answer the Government and the people. In our relations we shall carefully observe the Five Principles which you and Mr Bulganin signed."¹⁹ He added that he did not want anyone to weaken the Indian Government or the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister replied that he talked as a friend to a friend. They might or might not agree, but he could assure them that they would have frankness from him as friends. That was the correct thing to do, Mr Khrushchev observed, adding that they were very happy. The Prime Minister reciprocated the hope that they would have close personal friendly relations. This hope was shared by Mr Khrushchev who said that personal contacts had a great significance.

19. On 22 June 1955 in Moscow.

20. Talks with the Soviet Leaders—III¹

Mr Bulganin referred to the talk which Mr Rasulov² had had with the Indian agricultural experts about the supply of equipment for

1. Record of talks with N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchev, Prime Minister's House, New Delhi, 13 December 1955. JN Collection. Also available in S. Dutt Papers, NMML. Andrei Gromyko, N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt and two interpreters were present at the talks.
2. Jabar Rasulov (b. 1913); Soviet politician; chairman, Tadzhik Council of Ministers, 1946-55; Deputy Minister of Agriculture, USSR, 1955; Ambassador to Togo, 1960-61.

agricultural farms in India. In these talks full agreement had been reached on all questions, for example, the names of the machine implements which would be useful for a farm in India. A document had been signed about the presentation of these machinery in which the Soviet Government had requested the Prime Minister of India to accept them as gifts from the Soviet Union. Mr Khrushchev added that some equipment mentioned in the agreed list would probably have to be changed. These changes could be effected later. Meantime, the document could be formally signed. The Indian agricultural authorities wanted assistance of experts from the Soviet Union for running these machinery and some agricultural engineers. The Soviet Government was agreeable to this. In a similar document signed with China, the Soviet Union had named the experts which they would send. In the document with India names were not mentioned, but the Soviet Government had generally agreed to assist the Indian authorities in every possible way.

The Prime Minister expressed his gratitude for these gifts³ and said that the Minister of Agriculture⁴ in India had informed him sometime ago of the talk which he had had with the Soviet Minister.

Mr Khrushchev said that they wanted to help India with their experience in these matters. Thereby India could save a good deal of time and profit by the Soviet experience.

Mr Bulganin said that he had mentioned another small matter to the Prime Minister. This was about the gift of an aeroplane. They would request the Prime Minister to accept the aeroplane as a present from them.⁵

The Prime Minister thanked them for their generosity saying that he was almost overwhelmed by it.

The Prime Minister then referred to the telegram which he had received from Shri Krishna Menon in New York, regarding the admission of 18 members

3. Agricultural implements, consisting of a crawler-type diesel tractor, a mould board plough, a disk harrow, a harvester-combine, a hay carrier and a few seed drills, were received by Nehru from Menshikov on 21 December 1955.

4. Ajit Prasad Jain.

5. An Ilyushin-14 passenger aircraft was presented to Nehru on behalf of the USSR on 24 December 1955. Nehru christened it "Meghadoot" (messenger of the clouds).

to the United Nations.⁶ Mr Krishna Menon had the impression that even if the Security Council would approve of the admission of 18 members, the Soviet Union might not agree. The Prime Minister read over the telegram and promised to give the Soviet leaders a copy of it.

Some discussion followed in the course of which Mr Gromyko pointed out that even if the Security Council had accepted the proposal for admission of new members, it had to go before the General Assembly where it had to receive two-thirds majority. The Soviet delegation would like to be sure that the General Assembly would accept all the 18. Their fear was that the General Assembly might not accept all of them.

The Prime Minister intervened to say that it would be disgraceful if such a thing happened.

Mr Khrushchev said that the General Assembly might insist on voting on each case separately, adding that even the improbable might happen. Asked by the Prime Minister whether there was any way out, Mr Khrushchev said that they had been thinking of some method by which the General Assembly would accept all the 18.

The Prime Minister remarked that a large number of countries were sponsoring the proposal for the admission of 18 new members and they would work for the success of this resolution. If this was frustrated, the anger of all the countries would be on those responsible.

Mr Gromyko said that it was possible that the voting in the General Assembly on individual proposals would not be the same as on the "package deal". Mr Khrushchev added that he was sure that work was going on behind the scenes in the United Nations. They knew the direction of such work: Albania and Outer Mongolia might be kept out and they had to think of steps against such a possibility. They had

6. A resolution moved by New Zealand and Brazil came before the Security Council asking for a favourable consideration of the applications for membership of 18 countries, in pursuance of a 28-member resolution passed by the General Assembly on 8 December. Subsequently, there was a deadlock on the issue as a result of Taiwan's veto of the application of Mongolia which in turn provoked the USSR to veto the applications of 13 non-Communist countries. Krishna Menon telegraphed to Nehru on 12 December that if the USSR vetoed or obstructed this resolution, not only would the onus of failure no longer rest on Taiwan but the prospects of admission of new members would be destroyed for several years. He suggested that this might be mentioned to Bulganin.

given clear directions that if one country was left out, the Soviet delegation would veto the entire proposal.⁷

The Prime Minister then mentioned Kashmir and said that he was grateful for the statements made by the Soviet leaders on Kashmir and Goa.

Next, the joint statement was taken up and discussion took place on the wording relating to the settlement of the problems of the Far East peacefully and by negotiated agreement. The Soviet leaders wanted the omission of the word "peacefully" saying that otherwise the Chinese would misunderstand the position. The Americans were following a policy of maintaining the status quo to keep Taiwan and the coastal islands in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek.⁸ If the joint statement said that the problem could only be solved peacefully, they would in effect be supporting the American position. Mr Khrushchev said that it seemed to them very difficult to solve the question by peaceful means. China would not reconcile itself to this position. That was the consideration for which they wanted the omission of the word "peacefully".

The Prime Minister pointed out that he did not wish to put the Chinese Government in a false position by what would be stated in the joint statement. If, however, any reference to peaceful methods was left out, they would thereby be excluding that area from the peace region. If this word was omitted, attention of the world would be drawn to the omission. The authors of the statement would merely be expressing a hope. Even Chou En-lai said that he hoped and wished to settle the matter peacefully. If the hope was not fulfilled, what action could be taken was another matter. The Prime Minister expressed his willingness to omit the words "by negotiated agreements". The Prime Minister was anxious not to say anything which confirmed the status quo. In his view if China got the coastal islands, the whole regime in Taiwan would collapse. If the word "peacefully" was left out from the statement, questions would be asked in Parliament about the omission and it would be difficult to justify it.

After further discussion, agreement was reached on the exact wording. The word "peacefully" was omitted and the words "by agreement"

7. At a meeting of the Security Council held on 14 December, the USSR agreed to withdraw its veto on the condition that the applications of Japan and Mongolia were put off and the remaining 16 applications only be approved, whereupon the Soviet proposal was approved by the Council. The same day the General Assembly also passed a resolution to this effect.
8. President, Republic of China in Taiwan, 1950-75.

were retained. The Prime Minister pointed out that agreement presupposed a peaceful approach. Mr Bulganin agreed and said he realised these implications.

Discussion then turned on Kashmir. The Prime Minister said that the Kashmir question might come up before the Security Council. He gave a short history of the circumstances in which India sent troops by air to Srinagar, how the complaint was taken to the Security Council and the Council was asked to declare that Pakistan had committed aggression. The Security Council never considered this request. A Commission of the UN came and they found that aggression had in fact been committed by Pakistan. Since, however, they wanted a friendly settlement, they would not condemn any party. The Prime Minister added that India had all along been anxious for friendly relations with Pakistan. This led India to accept many things in regard to Kashmir which otherwise would not be accepted. Pakistan had not withdrawn its army from part of Kashmir and had not implemented the Security Council's resolutions. The Indian position was that India would not go behind the assurance about plebiscite, but Pakistan must withdraw completely from Kashmir before a plebiscite could be considered. Meanwhile, Kashmir had made much progress. One-third of Kashmir which is occupied by Pakistan is in a very bad way. India could take much stronger action, but did not do so because she wanted to be friendly with the people of Pakistan, if not with the Government. Pakistan's constant talk of war had complicated the situation.

The Prime Minister then referred to Sir Anthony Eden's speech in the British Parliament the night before.⁹ Eden had attacked Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev. The Prime Minister said that it was unfortunate that they were going back to the cold war stage, quite apart from the merits of any particular problem.

Mr Khrushchev said that he thought differently. It seemed to him that they (the Western Powers) could not go back to the cold war even though they might like to do so. The Soviet people did not trust them. They had taken a number of small countries in their fold by pressure.

9. Eden said on 12 December, "We are told we are the wicked colonialists in Asia. We are told that Communism is the liberator... we have been told we have been sitting on the necks of the Burmese and robbing them of their last crust of bread. What a fantastic statement that is ... perhaps its author had never heard of the Colombo Plan. Four hundred and fifty million dollars have been spent by Commonwealth countries since 1951 in helping to create more prosperous conditions in these very countries." Eden was referring to some of the speeches of Khrushchev and Bulganin in India and Burma. He added that the Soviet leaders were still the guests of India and he had no wish to embarrass their hosts.

They could not do anything worse. The Soviet Union had established contacts with a number of small countries with a view to liquidating the cold war. The Western Powers, he said, could not get France into the cold war. He remarked that he was saying this privately for the Prime Minister's information. He added that they had contact with the socialist parties in other countries. They had invited them to go to the Soviet Union. Norway did not believe in Western words any more. About the end of March, the Danish Prime Minister¹⁰ would visit the Soviet Union. There was a good deal of understanding between Belgium and the Soviet Union. They had settled the Austrian question and relations with Yugoslavia had improved. Iran was also thinking of sending a parliamentary delegation. Good relations had been established with Egypt and Syria and generally with the majority of the Arab countries. These countries could not be drawn into the cold war. Mr Dulles had made a sharp speech.¹¹ Now Mr Eden had followed. They would like to raise the tempo of the cold war. In this sort of thing the monopolists played their part. America would not permit weakening of the cold war for fear of an economic crisis. They only gave the appearance of assistance to other countries. In creating an atmosphere of cold war, the American Government tried to please their monopolists. England was in a different position. Eden was probably forced by public opinion to make a strong speech because the Soviet leaders had spoken against colonialism. "The Soviet Union", Mr Khrushchev said, "shall react in the appropriate manner. If our relations become strained, we have to accept them. We undertook a number of measures to improve relations. They did not understand them. They thought this was due to our internal weakness. The present state of relations between us affect some conservative members who are thinking always in terms of speaking from a position of strength. The return to cold war, however, is not possible. We shall take careful steps and paralyse their action. The United States made it impossible for our people to

10. H.C. Hansen.

11. Speaking in Chicago on 8 December, Dulles accused the Soviet leaders of neglecting the needs of the Soviet people while professing concern for the welfare of those whom they called "colonial and dependent people" and whose "amalgamation" into the Soviet Communist orbit had always been an open goal of Soviet policy. It should not, however, be assumed that leaders "in Asian countries are unaware of the danger and are easily duped by false promises", he added. Dulles further said: "We are in a new phase of the struggle between international communism and freedom" and that the recent decline in violence and the threat of violence by the Communists did not "mark a change of purpose but a change of tactics."

go there.¹² We, therefore, made it possible for the ordinary people in the United States who do not want cold war to come to our country.¹³ If we cannot go to America, we want to create conditions for Americans to come to us."

Proceeding, Mr Khrushchev said that the Americans did not want disarmament. He said that they (the Soviet Government) would follow the old line. They would keep themselves strong and compete with the United States in death-dealing instruments.

The Prime Minister replied that he was grateful for this analysis which was largely correct. He was anxious about disarmament. It was true that in America some elements did not want to disarm. If countries would go to the stage of slanging each other, the conservative elements in England and other countries would get stronger.

The Prime Minister said that India had sent a strong note to Dulles on Goa.¹⁴ Another note had been sent to the UK on the Baghdad Pact.¹⁵ Two or three days ago he had received a reply. The old arguments were repeated and it was stated that international communism was bent on dominating the world and the Western countries had to counter this. They had hoped very much to keep up the Geneva spirit, but the recent speeches by Soviet leaders did not improve that spirit. The situation was deteriorating.

Mr Khrushchev's reply was that Eden was blaming them now. How could he reconcile the Geneva spirit with the fact that he dragged Iran into the Baghdad Pact? They (the Soviet Union and the Western Powers) had met at Geneva. They created the Geneva spirit. The Western Powers made no concession. The Soviet Union also made none. America was strong and held a number of small countries in its sway. They could no longer take organised action against countries

12. In his talk with Nehru on 21 November, Khrushchev gave an example of American obstinacy in not letting Soviet officials visit the US. The USSR agreed to buy hybrid corn seeds from the US and wanted to send a delegation for the purchase. But the deal fell through and with it the US lost business worth millions of dollars because the US would not permit the delegation until a counter-delegation was allowed into the USSR, although this American delegation would have nothing to do there. Khrushchev also said that some Soviet journalists were at the time visiting the US "surrounded by Americans as if they suffered from infectious diseases".
13. Khrushchev told Nehru on 21 November that in 1955 the Soviet Government gave visa to any US citizen who wished to visit the USSR and that as many as eleven Senators visited that country.
14. See p. 426.
15. See *post*, pp. 384-387.

which were in the camp of peace. The Soviet leaders saw what was happening, but they could not rouse their people to these events because that would be a violation of the Geneva spirit. In the United States, monopolists and militarists wanted power. They spoke in violent terms about communism and wanted to blacken the Soviet Government and the Soviet people. When they (the Soviet leaders) said that they believed in communism and that communism would triumph, the Western Powers said that the Soviet Union was violating the Geneva spirit. Mr Khrushchev added: "We believe in communism. Our Government is based on it. If we were not to say this because of the Geneva spirit, we would be stultifying ourselves."

The Prime Minister replied that in the United Kingdom large circles were in favour of peace and against American policy. It was not good to hit them on a soft spot, although what was being said could be true. He referred to the happenings in North Africa¹⁶ and said that he avoided saying anything which would anger France and humiliate the French people. The happenings in Kenya¹⁷ were also bad, but the Prime Minister did not express himself strongly in public so as not to humiliate the British and make them angry. It was not a question of what steps one takes. It was a question of peaceful approach in language.

Mr Khrushchev said that everything the Soviet Union had said seemed to happen. If the Soviet leaders made serious speeches against the Western Powers and at the same time gave up communism, the Western Powers would be pleased. It was not a question therefore merely of angry words.

The Prime Minister said that the British say that they gave India freedom and feel very virtuous about it.¹⁸ In fact, Independence came to India because of our people's strength and the British could not resist it much longer. However, we did not run down the British and we did not refer to the past. We had no

16. The French Government proclaimed an emergency in Algeria and suppressed severely the nationalist movement there. Tunisia gained internal autonomy only in 1955. There were differences in the French Cabinet on policy relating to Morocco.
17. In Kenya, the black Africans' protest against their inferior status reached a peak between 1952 and 1956 with the so-called Mau-Mau armed revolt led by the ethnic group Kikuyu, which was in part a rebellion against the British rule and in part an attempt to return to pre-European ways.
18. The British Prime Minister told the House of Commons on 12 December that it was remarkable that criticism of British policies was made in speeches delivered by the Soviet leaders in countries with which Britain had the friendliest relations and whose independence Britain had permitted and would always respect.

desire to hurt the British. If the British did anything against India now, Indians would, of course, oppose.

Mr Khrushchev's view was that they (the Soviet Union) would not give other reasons for attack. At the same time, they would not permit themselves to be attacked. The Soviet leaders knew the Western Powers. If the Soviet Union would not hit back with words, they would next attack their throats.

A brief reference was then made by the Prime Minister to Madame Soong's forthcoming visit to India.

The Prime Minister referred to the proposed visit of the Soviet leaders to England next year and enquired if this would take place.

Reverting to Mr Eden's speech, Mr Khrushchev said: "We shall read Eden's speech and see if we shall go to the UK. We have done without them so many years. We shall do without them now. By not going to the UK we save our hosts from embarrassment. We shall not, however, say anything now. There is plenty of time for that. We can think over this."¹⁹

Mr Khrushchev then said that at present the Soviet Union, India and China had independent positions. So had the people's democracies. Other countries were under the United States. The American Senators sometimes became angry with these countries and said that they would not give them money. America was controlled by monopolists and radio and newspapers tried to bring pressure on others. The Soviet Union would have to remain firm.

The Prime Minister interjected by saying that at the same time the Americans were also afraid of the Soviet Union.

Mr Khrushchev's reply was that they were frightened because the Soviet leaders spoke with confidence about their work. They could not help this. There was a contradiction between other Governments and States. So, conditions for peace could not exist. While they in the Soviet Union talked of cold war, they could keep away from the hot war. In any case, Dulles was not what he was at the time of the Presidential election. He had toned down. What he would be in future they would see. It was not Dulles as an individual. If Dulles was not there, there would be somebody else to take his place.

19. The Soviet leaders visited Britain from 18 to 27 April 1956.

21. Impressions: Soviet Leaders' Visit to India¹

Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev spent about nineteen days in India.² Their visit was divided up into two parts, thirteen days to begin with, then six days in Burma and then back again to India and six days here. During this period, they had opportunities to see many parts of India and to visit many of our new ventures—river valley schemes, big plants for fertilizers and making locomotive engines, national laboratories, agricultural farms, community projects, etc. Generally speaking, their time was taken up more by seeing the new developments in India and not so much by ancient monuments. They met many leading personalities in India and were greeted by vast crowds everywhere. The welcome to them was sponsored by the Central and State Governments, and elaborate arrangements were made. There is no doubt, however, that the public response, which was tremendous, was something much more than any Government could organize. The cooperation of the Government and the people produced a mighty welcome everywhere.

2. This welcome was partly due to the fact that the Prime Minister had been given a cordial and popular welcome in the Soviet Union, and millions in India had seen the cinema films showing this welcome. There was a desire to demonstrate to the Soviet visitors that we could do something better in this respect. Further, there was naturally a curiosity to see the top leaders of a country which was playing such a dominant role in world politics and which had emerged from a great revolution and its continuing troubles afterwards. There was also a certain sympathy among the common people with the Soviet Union as it was believed that the Soviet Union had raised the status of the common man. In addition to all this, there was the great publicity in our newspapers, as well as in newspapers of other countries, to the Soviet tour as it progressed. This had a certain snowballing effect, and people's interest was roused more and more.

1. Note, 20 December 1955. JN Collection. Also available in S. Dutt Papers, NMML. This note has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 309-325. Sending a copy of this note to the Chief Ministers on 21 December, Nehru wrote, "I am afraid it is rather a long note and not very concise, but I thought it would be better for me to let you have my impressions in some detail. I shall be grateful if you will take particular care to keep this secret."
2. From 18 to 30 November and again from 7 to 14 December 1955.

3. In foreign countries, this tour was followed with great and anxious interest because of its political aspect and the possible consequences that might flow from it. Many foreign correspondents accompanied the Soviet leaders during their tour in India and sent long accounts to their newspapers.

4. Thus, for a variety of reasons, the visit of Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev to India became an event of first class world importance. What has been the effect of this visit in India, in the Soviet Union, and elsewhere in the world? Undoubtedly, it has had a powerful effect, though it is difficult to measure this. The effect in India was largely a psychological one of increasing friendly feelings between India and the Soviet Union. Partly also, it has given an impetus to our trade and like contacts. In the political field, it has not produced any marked effect on our general policy, though, in practice, relations will be much closer and economic contacts will increase. So far as India's policy of non-involvement is concerned, there has been and will be no change, and the fears of Western countries in this respect have no foundations. But it may be true that the strong and angry reaction in certain Western countries may itself tend to make India more friendly to the Soviet Union.

5. The effect in the Soviet Union is even more difficult to judge, but it may be said with some confidence that greater knowledge of India as she is, both among the leaders of the Soviet Union and the people, has had a considerable effect on their thinking. Both Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev repeated on numerous occasions that they had to revise their opinion about India completely because of their visit. They said that neither they nor their people knew much about her and this visit had opened their eyes to actual conditions in this country. They were obviously impressed by many things that we had done and by the general strength and popularity of our Government. The enthusiasm of the public and the discipline of vast crowds also impressed them. Many of the entourage repeatedly said that they had no conception of the popularity of the Prime Minister with the public till they had seen it with their own eyes. Broadly speaking, it can be said that they were convinced that India was a growing concern, marching ahead, and that therefore India's friendship was something worthwhile. This opening out of a big window towards India and Burma must necessarily have a considerable effect in imperceptibly moulding Soviet opinion both at the top and among the people. It helps them to come out of their shell and not feel so isolated as they were. They realize that a country like India, which is not communist and which is at the same time not anti-communist, has an important place in the world and is worth wooing.

6. In the Western countries, the initial reactions were one of anger and resentment and a feeling that India was falling into the lap of Soviet communism.

Gradually, this feeling will no doubt be controlled and a somewhat more realistic view of the situation taken. But it is true that politicians and others in the Western countries have been completely shaken up by this visit of the Soviet leaders to India and their reception here, and attempts are being made to make a fresh appraisal of the situation. On the one hand, there is the angry reaction of considering India as lined up with the enemy and therefore treating her as such. On the other, there is a feeling that India being even more important than they thought, far greater efforts should be made to win her on their side. Probably, after a while, some middle opinion between these two extremes will stabilize itself.

7. The one broad result of this visit has been, both among those who like it and those who dislike it, to raise India's prestige and status in the world. It is realized more than ever that India makes a difference and cannot be ignored. The Soviets, being far more understanding and cleverer than the Western diplomats, accept this fact and play it up. European and American diplomats find it much more difficult to adapt themselves to changed circumstances. Their basic thinking is still governed to some extent by their previous relationship with Asian countries. In America, the great access to their financial and military strength since the War, has made them look down on almost every country, friend or foe, and they have developed a habit of irritating others by their overbearing attitudes. In the United Kingdom, there are a large number of retired administrators and others from India and the colonies, and they affect public opinion, even though the Government there is wiser. Also, the continuing colonies of England and France mould opinion there and create a measure of hostility to a country like India which talks about anti-colonialism. Canada, which is singularly free from this colonial bias as well as from the extreme attitudes of the United States, usually takes a much more sensible view of the situation, even though, as a country, it is rather conservative. The Soviet Union has the great advantage of not coming into conflict over any issue of the old colonial type and therefore can denounce colonialism without any injury to itself.

8. In order to understand the reactions to the Soviet leaders' visit to India, one has to keep in mind certain recent events in the international sphere, which have already conditioned both the Soviet Union and the Western countries. The so-called Summit Conference at Geneva had resulted in creating, for the first time since the World War, a more friendly atmosphere. The big problems remained unsolved but, at any rate, tension was much less, and there was a general belief that war had to be ruled out. The cold war was almost suspended and the language of statesmen both in the Western countries and in the Soviet Union became milder in tone. During a period before and after the Summit Conference, the Soviet Union took a number of steps which were welcomed

and which indicated a marked change in Soviet policy.³ The vital problem of Germany was not affected by all that had happened, but a certain atmosphere was created all over the world which was widely appreciated. The Western Powers probably thought that this would lead to a less rigid attitude on the part of the Soviet Union in regard to German unification.

9. It soon appeared, however, that on the question of Germany, both sides were as rigid as ever, and there was no meeting ground. Indeed, this had been clear for a long time, and I remember Marshal Tito telling me that there was no possibility for a long time to come for a solution of the German problem.⁴ This stalemate in Germany was more to the disadvantage of the Western Powers than of the Soviet Union. On the whole, it suited the Soviet Union to allow matters to rest where they were, and they had no incentive to settle that problem at the expense of something else. Thus, the Western Powers were put in a difficult position because they did not like the stalemate and did not know how to end it, war having been ruled out. This led to resentment in the West.

10. The Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva met in this background. Even before it began, it was clear that it could not result in any settlement. During the Conference, the old atmosphere of the Summit meeting faded away, and we saw almost a repetition of the cold war approaches. It was not quite like the old conferences because much had happened in between.

11. Immediately after that Conference, charges and counter-charges were flung at each other, and each party was accused of obstruction and even of sabotage.⁵ The Baghdad Pact followed. There was nothing new in this because the Middle East alliances had grown gradually in the course of a year. Nevertheless, the formal meeting in Baghdad with the UK as a party to the Pact and the USA offering to cooperate both in the economic and the military fields, was a disturbing factor. We, in India, disliked it and gave expression to

3. The Soviet Union placed before the UN General Assembly on 10 May 1955 a disarmament plan which envisaged, inter alia, sharing with less developed countries the knowledge and use of atomic energy and resources for peaceful purposes, and convening of an international conference for discussing disarmament and a complete ban on nuclear weapons under the control of an international supervisory body. The USSR also signed along with Britain, the US and France a treaty whereby Austria became a free country on 15 May 1955.
4. Nehru met Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia, during his visit to Yugoslavia in July 1955.
5. While the Western Powers accused the Soviet Government on 16 November 1955 of lack of earnestness on the question of ending the division of Germany, Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, asserted on the same day that the Western leaders, ignoring the realities of the situation, were demanding remilitarization and inclusion of the whole of Germany in the Western security system as conditions for the reunification of Germany.

our dislike. We did so both on general grounds of our dislike of military alliances of this kind and also because it affected us directly. Two Commonwealth countries, the UK and Pakistan, were partners of this Pact which was definitely aimed against the Soviet Union. Thus, the area of cold war and conflict came right up to our borders. All the reasons that had impelled us to criticize the previous American aid to Pakistan were applicable to the Baghdad Pact in a much stronger measure. Shri Krishna Menon, speaking in the United Nations, referred to the "encirclement" of India by the SEATO on one side and the Baghdad Pact on the other.⁶

12. If this was so in regard to India, the Soviet Union was much more and directly affected. The cold war was on again.

13. It was in this context that the Soviet leaders' visit to India took place. They were full of the Foreign Ministers' Conference and the charges and counter-charges being made. At my first meeting with Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev, the latter explained at great length what had happened first at the Summit Conference and, later, at the Foreign Ministers' Conference. Naturally, he laid the blame completely for any failure of the latter on the Western countries, more especially on the USA. In the course of their talks with me, not much was said against the UK; in fact, they were almost tender to it. Referring to France, they complained of the insulting treatment given to France by the USA and to some extent by the UK. Also, that France spoke with two conflicting voices, that of Mr Faure and Mr Pinay.

14. Both Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev spoke confidently. They did not appear to be afraid or at all worried about the new developments. They pointed out that, in spite of the apparent failure of the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference, the situation was not so bad as it might have been at an earlier stage. The Soviet Union's relations with a number of European countries were much more friendly than they had been previously, and a number of leaders of these countries were coming to visit the Soviet Union in the future. So, while there might be strong language on either side for some time, the old cold war could not return.

15. The popular welcomes that they received and the general friendly atmosphere in which they functioned here, made them relax, and their talks, therefore, were remarkably frank and uninhibited. It was probably because of this that Mr Khrushchev, who is naturally rather blunt and outspoken, used strong language on some occasions against the UK and the USA. Mr Bulganin was somewhat more restrained. Their references to Goa and to Kashmir were

6. At a meeting of the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly on 9 December, Krishna Menon said that formation of military alliances was contrary to the terms of the UN Charter and expressed concern over India being "ringed in by these war pacts and highly armed nations."

made without any previous hint to us. So far as we are concerned, these references were welcome, and we have no complaint in regard to them. I do not understand why it has been said by some people that we were put out by these references to Goa and Kashmir. What did put us out somewhat was Mr Khrushchev's denunciation of England or the USA and his bringing in cold war language into his speeches in India. It is true that this was the normal language they had used in the past, as it was more or less the language that people had used against them in the USA and in England, but it did not seem to us appropriate that they should use that type of language in India.

16. Mr Dulles' joint statement made together with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, brought out immediately the vast difference in the two approaches, much to the disadvantage of Mr Dulles. It has roused anger in India because we feel deeply over the Goa question.⁷ Mr Dulles' subsequent explanation⁸ has, if anything, worsened matters. We have sent to the US Government a note⁹ on this subject and we await a reply.

17. The day before the Soviet leaders' departure from India, I referred to these denunciatory statements of theirs and pointed out politely that, in our opinion, this approach did no good at all and merely created conflict and anger, sometimes even in the minds of those who are friends. Mr Khrushchev appeared to recognize to some extent the validity of what I had said, though he justified his language because of what was being said in the UK and the USA. He had to say something in reply, chiefly for the sake of his own people in the Soviet Union. There was something in that because in the circumstances then existing, it was not easy for two topmost personalities of the Soviet Union to be silent for three or four weeks. But, as I pointed out to him, it seemed to us unnecessary to denounce anybody in explaining one's point of view. In any event, that was not our way of doing things. In particular, we avoided referring to the past. I mentioned in this connection to our relations with the British Government and people. We had generations of conflict with them and angry passions had been roused. But, after Independence, we made friends and we do not refer to this

7. For example, at a public meeting in Mumbai on 11 December 1955, a demand was made that Government should protest against Dulles' statement on Goa which amounted to "US interference" in the affairs of other countries besides lending "veiled support to colonialism in the Far East."
8. At a press conference on 6 December 1955, Dulles clarified that the joint statement of 2 December had taken no position on the merits of the Goa question, but had expressed the mutual concern of the USA and Portugal at the Soviet leaders' attempts to "whip up prejudice and hate in a situation that needs to be dealt with in a spirit of calm." Asked whether he considered Goa a province of Portugal, Dulles replied, "As far as I know all the world regards it as a Portuguese province. It has been Portuguese for about 400 years."
9. See *post*, p. 426.

past history. I also mentioned that we felt very strongly about what was happening in East Africa and in North Africa. We did not hide our opinions, but we avoided denouncing England or France because we felt that would yield no result and would merely embitter relations.

18. Mr Khrushchev, I think, recognized that there was some force in my argument but, of course, he could not change his own nature or his past background. He reminded me of how, after their Revolution and for years afterwards, every attempt was made to crush them by the Western Powers as well as Japan. They were treated as outcasts and as wild animals to be exterminated. They fought with their backs to the wall and gradually succeeded in establishing themselves. They could never forget this past history. They knew the devious ways of these Western diplomats and they were not going to be taken in by them, etc., etc.

19. The fact remains, however, that they were influenced by what I had said. That evening, in the course of his speech at a dinner, Mr Khrushchev said many things which were very pertinent. In particular, he said that they did not wish that they should say or do anything which might come in the way of our good relations with other countries.¹⁰

20. In the course of our talks, I mentioned the role of the communist parties in India and like countries. I said that the Communist Party of India was not strong and its leaders were not very intelligent. We were not worried by their activities here, but what worried me was the effect of those activities on Indo-Soviet relations. It was widely believed that the Communist Party here and elsewhere received their directions from Moscow. Indeed, the behaviour of the Communist Party leaders in India supported this. They rushed to Moscow repeatedly for directions and came back and said, on the authority of Moscow, what should be done. They appeared to be supplied with large funds, although their sources of income in India were limited. Recently, they had bought two valuable properties in India. Some years ago, they led an insurrection in Telengana in Hyderabad State, which ultimately we put down. In Burma and Indonesia the local communist parties had also supported insurrections. In fact, in Burma it was still continuing to some extent. This naturally brought them into conflict with the strong nationalist sentiments in these countries.

21. I referred to the secret visit of four top-ranking Communist leaders from India in 1951-52. They came back and said that they had got their

10. Khrushchev said on 13 December that in their speeches against colonialism "there is nothing that could instigate one people against another. They should be understood as speeches against colonial plunder and the colonial order. If such speeches do not please some, that is a question of their conscience. We do not want to embroil anybody with the USA and Britain and we ourselves do not want to quarrel with them... We speak of colonialism as a historical fact."

directions from Mr Stalin himself. The line they laid down was full opposition to Government and, where possible, petty insurrections. Later they had to give up this line because it did not succeed. When I went to Moscow last June, the welcome I received there confused the communists of India. One of their leading persons went to Moscow in September of this year to consult people there about future activities. They had often indulged in violent outbreaks and in creating trouble. I had no objection to the principles of communism being preached peacefully, but no Government could tolerate violence. I referred also to the report I had received that the Soviet Embassy as well as the Embassies of some other communist countries in Delhi engaged their Indian staff after consulting the Communist Party here. All this created conflict with the Government and affected Indo-Soviet relations.

22. Mr Khrushchev replied that he could assure me that they did not in any way give directions to the Indian Communist Party or any other. The Cominform was just like the Socialist International, a common platform where representatives could meet from time to time and discuss theoretical questions. In fact, there had been no meeting of the Cominform. It was true that there was sympathy between communists, and he, as a communist, sympathized with other communists. It was also true that the Soviet Communist Party being the most experienced was looked up to by other communists. But it was not true that the Soviet Communist Party interfered or wished to interfere with other parties. He did not even know any Indian communist leader and he had not met any in Moscow. It was quite likely that these Indian communists came back from Moscow and exaggerated their own importance in order to impress people. He had not seen any reports from the Communist Party of India. (This was in answer to what I had said that they were misled by such reports).

23. I referred to leading communist journals, the one that comes out from Bucharest and is supposed to be an organ of the Cominform, called *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, and the *New Times* issued from Moscow. I said that these were supposed to be the authentic voice of the Communist Party and their articles were read carefully by communists in India to find out what policy they should pursue.¹¹ These articles often had indicated an appraisal of a situation or a policy which, I thought, was quite wrong. Mr Khrushchev said that he had not read any of these articles. He could also say that he was not aware of any money being sent from the Soviet Union to

11. For Example, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* editorially announced on 27 January 1950 that the path pursued by the Chinese Communists was the only correct path for colonial and dependent peoples and that the Communist Party of India had to learn a lot from them. The CPI journal, *Communist*, in its issue of February-March 1950, declared the adherence of the Party to the line indicated in the Cominform journal.

finance the Communist Party in India. As for employing Communists in Embassies, he agreed that the Soviet Ambassador should be very careful in this matter and not give any cause for complaint. I told him that I had no complaint against the Ambassador who was a good man whom we liked.

24. I had raised this question of communism in connection with the Five Principles and especially about non-interference, political, economic and ideological. We discussed this matter at some length and quite frankly. Mr Khrushchev assured me that he did not want the Communist Party to attack the Government or me, and they did not wish in any way to direct or encourage communist parties in other countries. Naturally they sympathized with them if they preached communism. Communist parties grew out of objective conditions.

25. We discussed broadly our programme for industrialization. Mr Khrushchev laid stress on the development of heavy industries. He had in fact repeated this in many places in India. I told him that we attached great importance to the development of heavy industries, including more especially the machine-making industry, because without this we would have to depend upon others too much, and we believed also in aiming at the highest technique. There was the risk, however, that in using such high technique suddenly, we might add to the number of our unemployed. Already we had to deal with this difficult problem of existing unemployment. I gave him a brief account of the British policy in the nineteenth century and later, which destroyed our handicrafts and thus threw people on the land and added to our poverty. I explained to him our present approach to heavy industries on the one hand and cottage industries on the other, at the same time using high techniques but always keeping in mind the problem of employment. Mr Khrushchev remarked that their point of view had probably been misunderstood. They did not think that there was a conflict between heavy industries and cottage industries. In the first years after the Revolution, they had to support cottage industries which produced articles required by the people in the towns. In India also, articles produced by cottage industries were needed. But he laid stress that where factories were constructed, they should be of the latest type, otherwise we would go in a wrong direction and we would not produce the right type of technicians. Workers needed for high technical operations should be employed and trained. If, as a result, some workers should remain unemployed, the profit from efficient industries could be used to support other people or to organize village industries.

26. Mr Bulganin said that the problem which faced India now, came up before them in the Soviet Union also during the early stages, and there were all kinds of arguments. In the Soviet Union, even now, they had small and village industries which produced goods worth five thousand million roubles.

27. Mr Khrushchev said that the question of pushing forward heavy industries had to be considered in connection with the political situation. In the

Soviet Union, they had to concentrate on heavy industries in order to survive. This same policy was being adopted by the other people's democracies and for the same reason. The Soviet Union was consulted by them, and Soviet Union had advised them not to push forward too fast in this direction. They need not copy the manner of development in the Soviet Union because conditions are different now and the Soviet Union is strong enough to meet any attack. These countries need not, therefore, add to the burdens of the people by too fast development of heavy industries as the Soviet Union had done. China, however, in his opinion, could develop her heavy industries more quickly, and it is for this reason that they were giving a good deal of help to China.

28. In the course of our discussion on the Communist Party's activities, Mr Khrushchev said that U Nu had the same feeling as the Prime Minister. I had also referred to the case of Burma in this connection. Probably, U Nu had also discussed these activities of the Communist Party with the Soviet leaders. Mr Khrushchev said that he did not even know before he went to Burma that there were several communist parties there. In the Soviet Union, they had little information about communist parties in other countries.

29. As I have said above, our talks were frank and we discussed even difficult problems without inhibitions. I am sure that these talks did good. In the course of their tour in India, the Soviet leaders and more especially Mr Khrushchev spoke frankly also about our various development schemes, sometimes praising them, sometimes criticizing some part of them. It was obvious that he had an extensive and intimate knowledge of construction work, factories, mining and even agriculture. The manner of his speaking indicated that he felt more or less at home in our surroundings and could, therefore, discuss matters freely. Some of his suggestions in regard to construction, etc., obviously were worthy of consideration. Both he and Mr Bulganin struck every one as men of great ability and experience.

30. On the last day of our talks I referred to the proposal before the UN for the admission of 18 countries. I stressed the necessity of the Soviet Union throwing its weight in favour of admission of all these countries and not coming in the way because of fear that some clever move might outmanoeuvre them later. What effect my talk had on them, I cannot say. But I understand that some fresh instructions were sent to their representative in the UN. Soon after, the remarkable and rather sensational developments took place when, on the initiative of the Soviet representative, 16 countries were admitted to the UN.¹²

12. On 14 December 1955, the General Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by 41 countries for admission of 16 new countries. The new member States were: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Kampuchea, Sri Lanka, Finland, Hungary, Eire, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, Portugal, Romania and Spain.

This showed both the ability and flexibility of Soviet diplomacy. In taking this step, they strengthened their own position and embarrassed the United States. And even subsequently the US did not adapt itself gracefully to this new development.¹³

31. I have no doubt that taking it all in all, the Soviet leaders' visit to India has been a great success and its consequences will be good. The only unfortunate aspect of this is that the USA and the UK have been irritated greatly and, for the moment, India is rather unpopular there. I suppose that gradually this feeling will lessen. Both in the US and the UK, much has been said of the considerable financial help that they have given to our country and some resentment has been expressed at the fact that we are not adequately grateful for it and go out of our way to welcome the Soviet people who have done little for us. This financial approach indicates how wrong they are in judging of the feelings of other countries. The Soviets are cleverer and more understanding. It is not money that goes far in creating impressions, but the policies pursued. The USA and the UK created adverse impressions in India by their policies of military alliances in South East Asia and the Middle East, by the military aid given to Pakistan, by their passive support of Pakistan in Kashmir, and their general policy relating to Goa. Nothing could have been more calculated to irritate Indian opinion than Mr Dulles' amazing statement on Goa. All these factors produced cumulative reactions on the Indian mind. The Soviet leaders on the other hand, no doubt deliberately and after careful thought, made statements completely supporting the Indian case in Goa and Kashmir.

32. As I have indicated above, the visit of the Soviet leaders to India must be considered in the context of the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference and the return of the cold war. Opinion in the USA especially and, to some extent, in the UK, was in such an excited state that even a quiet visit of the Soviet leaders would have been resented. What was expected of India was to denounce Soviet policies in the West or, at any rate, not to encourage the Soviet leaders by its cordial welcome. In this, as in other matters, the Western countries have shown an unfortunate lack of understanding of Asian feelings and more particularly of Indian reactions. Indeed, the Baghdad Pact itself was, even from a narrow point of view, injurious to Western interests. As I write

13. The US State Department issued a statement on 15 December describing the exclusion of Japan from the UN as "a glaring injustice" and declaring that it was "clear that the Soviet Union, in vetoing Japan, had sought only to preserve for itself a bargaining pawn." The statement added that the US Government was "greatly pleased" at the admission of new member countries "despite continued Soviet obstruction over the past nine years, including the casting of 45 vetoes, on the admission of new members."

this, there have been large scale disorders in Jordan against the proposed adherence of that country to the Baghdad Pact.¹⁴ Both the USA and the UK think that they can win over a country by influencing some rather conservative leaders whom they support liberally. The nationalist urge in all these countries is ignored.

33. So far as India is concerned, she will of course pursue her policy of non-alignment and friendship with all countries. But inevitably criticism of policies like that embodied in the Baghdad Pact or in regard to Goa has to be made. This has nothing to do with what the Soviet Union might think. It is due to our own independent thinking and our own interests.

34. If shooting war is ruled out as it is generally admitted today, then the policy of a cold war becomes absolutely futile. Cold war might have some justification if there was the threat or the actuality of a shooting war to follow it. Otherwise it becomes a completely empty threat which does not frighten anybody. The only way to influence the policies of a country is thus through some kind of friendly intercourse. That has been India's policy and I believe that we have, to some extent, influenced other countries by this method. Naturally, the extent of our ability to do so is limited and when passions are aroused it may well become almost nil. Unfortunately, there is a good deal of passion at present and the cold war is starting again. Disarmament, which is essential to any real feeling of security, seems further off than ever.

14. Serious rioting, resulting in a number of casualties and some loss of life, broke out in different parts of Jordan on 16 December and continued for two days thereafter in protest against Jordan's proposed accession to the Baghdad Pact.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. SRI LANKA

1. People of Indian Descent¹

I had a talk with our High Commissioner in Ceylon today. Broadly speaking, it seemed to me that we need or could take no steps at present. We should await developments. I understand that the Prime Minister of Ceylon is going to write to me. When we get his letter,² we can consider it.

2. Meanwhile, we might take two steps. We should have the Agreement with Ceylon,³ which was signed about two years ago, examined by constitutional lawyers and their views obtained as to the interpretation of it: Is our interpretation correct or the Ceylon Government's interpretation right?⁴

3. We should also get legal opinion from constitutional lawyers on the entire position of people of Indian descent in Ceylon. This is a complicated matter with a long history. Some kind of a good brief will have to be prepared

1. Note to Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 6 December 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to B.N. Chakravarty, High Commissioner of India in Sri Lanka.
2. In his letter of 20 December 1955 to Nehru, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, John Kotelawala, emphasised that Sri Lanka was not to be blamed if a deadlock had arisen between the two countries on the question of persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. While expressing his disappointment that the India-Sri Lanka agreement of January 1954 had proved unworkable, Kotelawala asked Nehru to suggest what could be done to resolve the impasse.
3. Under an agreement signed by the Prime Ministers of India and Sri Lanka in New Delhi on 18 January 1954, the two countries agreed on measures to curb illicit immigration from Tamil Nadu. The Sri Lanka Government was to undertake expeditious registration of all residents who were not already on the electoral register; those who did not register their names would be encouraged to register themselves as citizens of India.
4. According to the Government of Sri Lanka, those who were not qualified to be Sri Lankan citizens were to be Indian citizens. The Government of India held that persons not qualifying for Sri Lankan citizenship could not be automatically treated as Indian citizens, neither were such persons obliged to register as Indian citizens, and that those residents who did not qualify for citizenship of either of the two countries were to be classed as "stateless" till their status was determined by the two Governments. As per Article 7 of the agreement of January 1954, it was open for those persons who were not registered by the Government of Sri Lanka "to register themselves as Indian citizens, if they so chose, at the office of the Indian High Commissioner in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of the Constitution of India...."

for this. I think it is desirable for us to have good legal opinion on this subject, so that we might be clear in our own minds on this subject from the legal and constitutional points of view. This would help us in our future steps.

4. Both these matters can be referred to our two Honorary Constitutional Advisers, namely, the German Professor of International Law in the Madras University (whose name⁵ I forget) and Pathak⁶ of Allahabad.

5. I should like you to consider the possibility of our suggesting to the Ceylon Government a reference to an able and neutral jurist of the problem of interpretation of our Agreement. We can say that we shall abide by that interpretation.

6. Secondly, the further question of referring the whole of the Indo-Ceylon dispute about people of Indian descent to a neutral international lawyer will arise.

7. My own inclination is to make the first proposal to begin with. Later, we might consider the second matter also in this connection.

8. The question arises about the effect of such a reference on the Kashmir and other Pakistan issues. I do not personally think it would matter very much. However, we have to give full thought to all these aspects. In any event, it would be desirable to have competent constitutional opinion.

5. Charles Henry Alexandrowicz (1902-75); Professor of International Law, University of Madras; Honorary Legal Adviser to the Government of India, 1951-61; editor, *Indian Year Book of International Affairs*.
6. Gopal Swarup Pathak (1896-1982); started legal practice, 1919; Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1945-46; Member, Indian Delegation to the UN several times from 1946 to 1959; went to South America as special representative of the Prime Minister, 1957; elected to the Rajya Sabha, 1960; Union Minister for Law, 1966-67; Governor of Mysore, 1967-69; Vice President of India, 1969-74.

2. Interpretation of the 1954 Agreement¹

I have rapidly run through your draft letter addressed to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.² I should like to consider it more carefully and, perhaps, make some variations in it.

2. One minor point: I dislike words being underlined. The language itself should bring out the significance of a particular word or phrase.

3. At the end of paragraph 15, a rather casual mention is made to my being prepared to consider a reference of the interpretation of the January 1954 Agreement to an eminent neutral acceptable to both our Governments. I think that this should be given greater prominence in a separate paragraph. It is not necessary to use the word "neutral" and it is enough to say "an eminent authority acceptable to both Governments". You say that this reference should be on a particular point. Why should we not say that the entire question of the interpretation of the January 1954 Agreement should be referred to a third party of our choice and that we should abide by his decision in regard to this interpretation.

4. Meanwhile, I agree to your sending this draft to the Ministers and others mentioned in paragraph 3 of your note. You might add a copy of this note to it.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 31 January 1956. JN Collection.
2. Nehru's reply to Kotelawala's letter of 20 December 1955 was sent on 5 February 1956. This will be printed in the next volume of the *Selected Works*. In an interim reply sent on 8 January, Nehru wrote, "You have been good enough to write to me at some length and I should naturally like to give very careful consideration to what you have written." Nehru added that he was heavily preoccupied at the time with urgent domestic matters and would be answering Kotelawala's letter in due course.

II. PAKISTAN

1. Help to Social Welfare Institutions in Pakistan¹

We have given some help in the past indirectly to some institutions in Pakistan. I think that the Prabartak Samgha² is one of them. As far as I can remember, we helped them in two ways. One was through our Deputy High Commissioner.³ The other was, I think, through Dr B.C. Roy.

2. But the help we gave was probably not more than rupees ten thousand or so, though I do not remember. Certainly, we cannot provide two lakhs of rupees or anything like it. It might be possible to give them something like five thousand rupees. This will have to be done confidentially.

3. I think, however, that our Deputy High Commissioner⁴ should advise them to take Muslim children also. You can suggest this to our Deputy High Commissioner and ask him also if he thinks that a sum like five thousand rupees can or should be given them and whether this can be done confidentially. This money in the past came from the secret funds of External Affairs.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 24 November 1955. JN Collection.

2. Established in 1914 in French Chandernagore by Matilal Roy (1882-1959), a follower of Sri Aurobindo, the Sangha was used as shelter and meeting place of revolutionaries of Bengal till 1929, when Roy converted it into an organization for constructive activities all over Bengal.

3. In Dhaka.

4. N.K. Roychaudhury.

2. Cable to V.K.Krishna Menon¹

Prime Minister of Pakistan has recently held Kashmir Conference where violent speeches made against India.² Pakistan press also full of attacks and sometimes refers to war.³ Their thinking appears to be that after a year or two they will be able to speak "from position of strength".

2. It may interest you to know that Mohammad Ali sent for Reuters Correspondent in Karachi and told him to put out that he was not going to seek interview with Nehru but if Nehru wants discussions on Kashmir problem he would agree provided that meeting is held in Karachi. Reuters filed message on these lines.

3. Pakistan Government are preparing for intensified publicity campaign among Asian African Group in UN, Baghdad Pact countries, SEATO allies and East Asia.

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. An all-party conference on Kashmir called by Prime Minister Mohammad Ali after three days of deliberations in Karachi, passed a resolution on 28 November reaffirming Pakistan's "irrevocable determination" to secure the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir "at all costs", and calling for intensification and integration on a national basis of all efforts towards this end.
3. *The Times of Karachi*, discussing the possibilities of war over Kashmir, wrote on 30 November: "Some sections have asked for an open declaration of war. This is implied in our resolve as the ultimate sanction."

3. To A.K. Fazlul Huq¹

New Delhi

15 December 1955

My dear Fazlul Huq,²

Thank you for your letter of the 9th December, in which you refer to the question of joint and separate electorates³ and refer to Basanta Kumar Das,⁴ MLA of East Bengal. I hardly know Basanta Kumar Das. Perhaps, I may have met him.

I am in no position to advise anybody in regard to affairs in Pakistan. As you know, my own general views are that a joint electorate is better than a separate one. A middle course might be found by having a joint electorate with reservations. Although this is my general view, I do not know enough about conditions elsewhere to be able to advise.

I am sure that Mr Basanta Kumar Das knows you well and knows also that you cannot be considered communal in the narrow sense of the word.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to C.C. Desai, India's High Commissioner in Pakistan.
2. Minister of the Interior, Government of Pakistan.
3. Fazlul Huq stated that a section of the Hindus in Pakistan was adamant in its demand for joint electorates during discussions on the future Constitution of Pakistan, and thought that the Hindus, who were in a hopeless minority, would practically have no chance for election if the electorates were joint. Saying that he did not wish to see the Hindus divided on such a vital issue, Huq requested Nehru to ask Basanta Kumar Das, the leader of the Hindu group in favour of joint electorates, to give his viewpoint due consideration.
4. (1883-1965); Pakistani politician; joined the Indian National Congress, 1921; member, Assam Legislative Council, 1926-30; imprisoned during the civil disobedience movement; elected to the Assam Legislative Assembly, 1937, and was its Speaker till 1946; Home Minister, Assam, 1946; elected President, East Pakistan National Congress, 1948; leader of the Opposition in the East Pakistan Legislature for some time; Finance Minister of East Pakistan in the Cabinet of Abu Husain Sarkar; Central Minister for Education and Labour in the Feroze Khan Noon Cabinet; elected President of the International Labour Organisation.

4. Indian Propaganda in Pakistan¹

There is no harm in our sending all our published literature on:

- (1) Community projects,
- (2) Rehabilitation of refugees,
- (3) Cottage industries,
- (4) Our five year plans, and
- (5) Our major river valley schemes

to our High Commissioner so that he can pass them on to Mr Gurmani² or anybody else. In fact, anything that is published should be passed on without hesitation. It is public property anyhow and it is a good thing if they know what we are doing and compare it with their own lack of progress. It is only in regard to unpublished papers that we should consider what we can send.

In fact, I think our propaganda in Pakistan should concern itself chiefly with our development schemes in India in various branches of activity and not on political issues. This kind of propaganda should make the Pakistanis think and get them out of their shells.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 15 January 1956. JN Collection.
2. Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, Governor of West Pakistan.

5. A Memorial for Jinnah¹

I enclose a letter from our High Commissioner in Karachi.² I have a recollection

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 19 January 1956. File No. 21(21)-PT/III/55, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. C.C. Desai, in his letter of 13 January to Nehru, suggested that the house of M.A. Jinnah, on Malabar Hill in Mumbai, should be salvaged from the auction to which all evacuee property was subjected, and be preserved by the Government of India as a relic of Jinnah. He thought that such a gesture would contribute to a better understanding between India and Pakistan.

that this matter was mentioned in Cabinet³ and the proposal did not meet with the whole-hearted welcome. Indeed some members of the Cabinet thought that it will not be quite fitting for us to put up a Jinnah memorial in Bombay in this house. It is for the Pakistani Government or people to interest themselves. If so, we could help. For us to go out of our way to do this would seem rather odd. However, there was no decision and the matter remained there. At present of course, having regard to conditions in Bombay,⁴ this proposal is quite impracticable. We are likely to have disturbed conditions in Bombay for some time and any proposal of ours to this effect might even meet with public opposition, which would be unfortunate and will take away all grace from it. All I can suggest is that the house should not be sold for the present and we should await further developments.

I should like your advice in this matter.⁵

3. In his note to the Cabinet dated 7 March 1955, Nehru had suggested that Jinnah's house must not be auctioned and "we should further be prepared to make a gift of it to the Pakistan Government, should they desire to use it as a memorial". See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol.28, p.595.
4. In Mumbai, there were violent disturbances on a mass scale in protest against the decision of the Government of India on the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission concerning the Province.
5. Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, noted on 20 January that it would not be appropriate for the Government to set up the memorial since Jinnah "was responsible for the partition of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent", but if the Pakistan Government themselves wanted to purchase the house and preserve it as a memorial to Jinnah, "we certainly should raise no objection."

III. NEW ADMISSIONS TO THE UNO

1. Message to Anthony Eden¹

I am venturing to address you on a subject which I think has vital significance

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1955, V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. The message was sent through the High Commissioner of India in the UK.

in the present context. This is in regard to resolution initiated by Canada and sponsored by 27 countries in UN for admission of 18 countries to UN.²

2. The question of admitting new countries into UN has been pending for a long time because of objections raised in regard to some countries. This has not only kept out large number of countries which have every right to be represented in UN but has also led to much feeling in Asia because of non-admission of some Asian countries. You will remember the unanimous resolution passed at the Bandung Conference on this subject which asked for admission to the UN of all such countries represented at the Bandung Conference which were not already members of the UN.

3. Canada's resolution has for the first time opened the door to the solution of this difficult and long standing problem. It has an overwhelming volume of opinion in its favour. The only difficulties thus far have been the Soviet Union's objection to Japan and Spain³ and the United States' objection to Outer Mongolia.⁴ Soviet Union has now withdrawn its objections to Japan and Spain but on the express understanding that all 18 countries mentioned in Canada's resolution⁵ should be admitted.

4. The only obstacle now remaining is therefore the United States' opposition in regard to Outer Mongolia. Whatever the merits of these objections might be, it would be most unfortunate if Canada's resolution should fail either because of veto or if it does not secure the necessary votes in the Security Council.⁶ The effect of such failure, when it is suspected that there is

2. Canada circulated a proposal in mid-November recommending the admission of 18 countries out of the 22 whose applications for admission to the UN were pending. The Canadian proposal excluded those countries which were temporarily divided, namely, Korea and Vietnam. A resolution based on this proposal was presented on 1 December to the ad hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly by Canada and 27 other countries, including India.
3. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotov, in his discussions on 28 September 1955 with Victor Belaunde (Peru), Chairman of the Good Offices Committee to study the question of admitting new UN members, had spoken of the possibility of withdrawing the earlier objection of the USSR to admitting Japan and Spain.
4. Henry Cabot Lodge, US delegate, said in the General Assembly on 14 November that it was "obvious that Mongolia could not make the grade." He also said that the US would abstain from voting on the applications of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania.
5. Besides Japan, Spain and Outer Mongolia, the other countries mentioned in Canada's resolution were: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, Portugal and Rumania.
6. Krishna Menon telegraphed to Nehru on 26 November that US willingness to enable the securing of seven votes in the Security Council, even if she herself abstained, was necessary. He also suspected that the US might utilise Taiwan to exercise a veto. A spokesman of the delegation of Taiwan had declared in New York on 14 November his Government's intention to oppose the admission of Mongolia even if it meant the exercise of a veto in the Security Council.

overwhelming support for this resolution, will result in frustration all round and in intensifying deadlock not only over this issue but possibly others also. Repercussions of Asian countries will be particularly marked. Thus, both from short term and long term points of view, it seems essential that Canada's resolution should succeed. I earnestly hope that you will exercise your influence to this end.

2. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 301 26th November.² I am sending personal message to Anthony Eden³ as suggested by you. We shall also have talks with MacDonald⁴ and Cooper.⁵

2. Bulganin told me also that they were prepared to accept the package deal contained in Canada's resolution, that is, they would accept all the 18, but they would not agree to Outer Mongolia being left out.⁶ I asked him about possible veto by Nationalist China. He said that it had been indicated to them that if US were agreeable, Nationalist China would not veto.

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon stated in his telegram of 26 November from New York that British position on the question of admission of new members to the UN was not satisfactory and suggested that Nehru should send a personal message to the British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, pointing out that the matter had reached nearer the prospects of a solution, and requesting British support in the Security Council as that would help and determine the US attitude favourably.
3. See the preceding item.
4. UK High Commissioner in India.
5. John Sherman Cooper, US Ambassador in India.
6. See *ante*, pp. 347-348.

3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 322 12th December. I have read it out in full to Bulganin, Khrushchev and Gromyko and also laid stress myself on your suggestion.² Khrushchev said that certainly they were anxious to get the package deal through and they would instruct their representative in the UN accordingly. But he added all kinds of intrigues were afoot and one could never be quite sure of what might happen. One had therefore to be wary. He said however that their representative was instructed to do his utmost to get this package deal through as a whole.³

1. New Delhi, 13 December 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. For Krishna Menon's suggestion to prevent the failure of the resolution in the Security Council and Nehru's discussion with the Soviet leaders in this regard, see *ante*, pp. 346-347.
3. The Soviet representative, M. Sobolev, speaking in the Security Council, reconvened on 14 December at his urgent request, announced the Soviet Union's preparedness to withdraw its veto against all the non-Communist countries (which it had cast in retaliation against Taiwan's veto on the application of Mongolia), adding that Japan could not be admitted and that the USSR was prepared to drop its sponsorship of Mongolia for the time being. On 14 December a Soviet resolution for admission of the remaining sixteen countries proposed in Canada's resolution was adopted by the Council. The same day the General Assembly also adopted a resolution, sponsored by 41 countries, for the collective admission of the sixteen countries.

IV. THE BAGHDAD PACT

1. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

In continuation of my telegram² sent today I might mention that Pakistan Press states that Pakistan is going to press for military assistance in the ensuing

1. New Delhi, 20 November 1955. JN Collection.
2. In this telegram Nehru expressed his agreement with Krishna Menon's analysis of the consequences of the Baghdad Pact.

Baghdad Pact³ Council meeting in order to undertake Defence commitments "beyond her own area."⁴ Iraq and Iran will probably do the same. This presumably is a counterblast to the sale of arms to Egypt.⁵ We thus have a prospect of an arms race in West Asia and Pakistan is likely to receive substantial help in this matter. It has already been announced that the US will spend 20 million dollars for strengthening air and naval bases in Pakistan so that the former can use latest type of jet aircraft.

Prime Minister of Pakistan is holding what is called an "All Party Conference on Kashmir" on 27th November.⁶ Pakistan Press is full of this, although there does not appear to be much enthusiasm for it. All this appears to be a planned and concerted move on behalf of the new Prime Minister probably to bring pressure on the United States and UK.

3. The treaty of alliance between Iraq and Turkey signed at Baghdad on 24 February 1955 came to be known as the Baghdad Pact, with the adherence to this treaty of the UK in April, Pakistan in July and of Iran in October 1955.
4. This was reported on 17 November by the *Dawn*, which also quoted a Pakistan Government spokesman as saying that the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mohammad Ali, would suggest the setting up of the "strongest possible organisation" under the Baghdad Pact. The five signatory powers of the Baghdad Pact, namely, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and the UK, assembled in Baghdad on 21 and 22 November for the first meeting of the Council of the Pact. The US, though not a member of the Pact, declared on 19 November its intention to establish military and political liaison with the organisation and its observers attended the Baghdad meeting.
5. Under a commercial agreement reached with Egypt in September 1955, Czechoslovakia was to supply arms to Egypt in exchange for Egyptian products such as cotton and rice.
6. An All Party Conference on Kashmir was held in Karachi from 26 to 28 November 1955. See *ante*, p. 373.

2. Baghdad Pact and USA¹

I spoke to you this morning about recent developments including the Baghdad Pact meeting, the decision of the USA to associate itself with it in a military sense, the decision to build bases in Pakistan.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 20 November 1955. JN Collection.

The attached note from CS² is also another indication the same way. All this is obviously a matter of grave concern to us. We need not be frightened, but I am quite sure that we should point out the consequences of all this to both the US and the UK. It might also be mentioned to the Canadian High Commissioner.³

I enclose a copy of a telegram⁴ sent to Mr Krishna Menon.

2. C.S. Jha, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, noted on 20 November that with the US decision to form a military link with the Baghdad Pact, a serious arms race was in prospect in West Asia and that Pakistan was likely to receive substantial arms in addition to a 20 million dollars programme already announced by the US.
3. Escott Reid.
4. See the preceding item.

3. Futility of Military Pacts¹

The UK High Commissioner² came to see me this evening and was with me for nearly an hour and a half. He began by referring to the Gnat purchase. I have dealt with this matter in a separate note to SG.³

2. He then referred to the Baghdad Pact and told me that he had conveyed our strong feelings in this matter⁴ to his Government. The UK Government had replied that they were viewing with concern the intrusion of the Soviet Union into the Middle East⁵ and they felt it incumbent therefore to take precautions. The Baghdad Pact was a purely defensive pact. They wished to assure me that they were most anxious to avoid doing anything against India's interests.

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 26 November 1955. JN Collection.
2. Malcolm Macdonald.
3. For Nehru's note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, see *ante*, p. 239.
4. Pillai had earlier spoken to Macdonald and communicated the views of the Government of India on the implications and objectionable features of the Baghdad Pact.
5. Upholding Czechoslovakia's right to supply arms to Egypt, the Soviet Government observed in a statement on 2 October 1955 that "pressure has been exercised of late upon some Middle Eastern countries to make them buy their defence requirements exclusively from the Western countries" and said that "every State has the legitimate right...to purchase arms...from other States on the usual commercial terms, and that no foreign State has the right to intervene."

3. I spoke to him in reply at some length, first, about the futility, even from the defence point of view, of these pacts. I referred particularly to SEATO⁶ and MEDO.⁷ I said that originally NATO⁸ stood on a different footing, though subsequently it had spread out to other countries and for other purposes. Anyhow, there might be some justification for NATO, but I saw none for SEATO and MEDO. It did not increase the actual or potential defence strength in those areas which remained almost exactly the same. What it did was merely to add to tension and encourage the other party to take some steps to counter these pacts.

4. I pointed out that ever since the Iraq-Turkey Pact,⁹ the situation in the Middle East had deteriorated. It had resulted in breaking up the unity of the Arabs¹⁰ and it made Egypt look more to the Soviet Union and its allies. Surely this had not strengthened the position of the Western countries. I developed this argument at some length. I need not repeat all that here.

5. I then referred to our immediate interest and apprehension in regard to this Pact because the UK and Pakistan had in effect become military allies and Pakistan's attitude towards India was well known. The arming of Pakistan, for whatever purpose, would undoubtedly create a new situation for us. I reminded him of the reactions in India when the US promised military aid to Pakistan. The Baghdad Pact went further, apart from the fact that England and Pakistan were Commonwealth countries.

6. The South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), providing for the security of South East Asia and South West Pacific, was set up in September 1954. Its members were: Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, UK and US.
7. The proposal to establish a Middle East Defence Organisation (MEDO) was discussed at length in the Western, and particularly in the American press during the latter part of 1952 and in 1953, but very few Middle Eastern States showed any great enthusiasm for it at the time. The Organisation eventually came into being with the setting up of a Permanent Council of Deputies, a permanent Military Committee, and an Economic Committee, at the Baghdad Powers' meeting on 22 November 1955.
8. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), a military alliance established in 1949 by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, UK and US, with the aim of safeguarding the Atlantic community particularly against the Soviet bloc, was later joined by Greece and Turkey in 1952 and West Germany in 1955.
9. A mutual defence pact between Iraq and Turkey was agreed upon during the talks between the Prime Ministers of the two countries held at Baghdad from 6 to 14 January, and the treaty of alliance was signed at Baghdad on 24 February 1955.
10. At the opening session of the Conference of Arab Prime Ministers in Cairo on 22 January 1955, the Egyptian Premier, Nasser, strongly criticised the proposed Iraq-Turkey pact and alleged that Iraq intended to "tie herself completely to the Western powers". An Egyptian resolution proposing that the Arab States should not conclude defence pacts with powers outside the Arab League was, however, rejected by Syria, Lebanon and Jordan on 3 February 1955. On 20 October 1955, Egypt and Syria, and on 27 October 1955, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, signed military pacts.

4. India and the Baghdad Pact¹

You will have seen Krishna Menon's telegram.² In view of the urgency of the matter, I have sent a message to Eden,³ copy enclosed. I have also sent a brief reply to Krishna Menon.⁴

2. I think that we should follow this up, as suggested by Krishna Menon, by expressing our views strongly to MacDonald and Cooper. This is an important matter, and we should try our utmost.

3. As I have told you, I spoke to the UK High Commissioner at some length yesterday about the Baghdad Pact and allied matters. I did not refer then to Canada's resolution about admission of eighteen countries to the UN. I feel that we should not stop where we are in regard to the Baghdad Pact question and I am inclined to send a special message to Eden on this subject after possibly two/three days.⁵ We shall have to refer to the Baghdad Pact in Parliament⁶ and there may be some indirect reference to it in our joint statement with the Soviet leaders.⁷ It is desirable, therefore, to press our viewpoint on the UK Government strongly and repeatedly. They should not think that the matter has ended by our protest and their reply. Our later statements might otherwise produce some resentment in them.

4. Therefore, I suggest that when you see the UK High Commissioner and the US Ambassador separately, you might mention the Baghdad Pact again. Tell the former that while we have given full consideration to the reply of the UK Government, we are still unhappy and very much concerned over this matter and we feel that it is going to have unfortunate consequences. It must be seen in the full context of events today. Apart from the larger question of peace and

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary. MEA. 27 November 1955. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 379-380.

3. See *ante*, pp. 376-378.

4. See *post*, pp. 387-388.

5. See the next item.

6. See *post*, p. 389.

7. A joint statement, signed by Nehru and Bulganin in New Delhi on 13 December 1955, stated that "the method of ensuring peace and security was not by the formation of military alliances or regional military blocs. Such alliances widened the frontiers of the cold war and introduced an element of instability in the areas concerned and increased fear and tension in addition to coming in the way of the peaceful development of the countries concerned...."

security and lessening of tension, all of which we think will be affected in the wrong direction by the Baghdad Pact, there is India's particular concern in this. There is a public announcement that Americans are building air fields and bases in Pakistan. There is the statement in the Baghdad Pact condemning what is called the neutralist attitude. This can only refer to India's policy and attitude. And, then, there is the promise by the UK to help the Baghdad Pact countries with atomic energy, etc., in addition to normal arms and military equipment. We have no doubt that the UK does not wish to injure India's interests in any way but the fact remains that this is going to be the consequence and it is clear that public opinion in India will feel strongly about it. The reaction on Indian opinion of the US agreement to give military aid to Pakistan led, as is well known, to far reaching consequences. A Commonwealth country like the UK doing so and having a military alliance with Pakistan is something far more than even what the USA did. It is because of all this that we have been much perturbed over this issue, which is bound to come up before our Parliament.

5. The argument with the US Ambassador will be on the same lines but, naturally, will have to be adapted to him.

5. Message to Anthony Eden¹

As you know, we have been much concerned at the conclusion of military alliances in the Middle East region which led to the recent meeting in Baghdad. We spoke to your High Commissioner here on this subject and he told us that he would communicate our views to the United Kingdom Government. Later he gave me their reply which was to the effect that these were merely defensive alliances and that the United Kingdom Government was much concerned at the intrusion of the Soviet Union into Middle Eastern politics. It was to check this interference and prevent undesirable developments that this alliance was concluded.

2. I have given much thought to this matter and tried to understand the reasons for the Baghdad Pact which were communicated to me, as well as the

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1955. JN Collection. The message was conveyed through the High Commissioner of India in the UK.

possible consequences both from the wider point of view of peace in the Middle East and the world and in so far as India is affected. I cannot presume to challenge the right of the United Kingdom or of Pakistan to enter into any kind of military alliance. But because of our Commonwealth relationship and our earnest desire to promote mutual understanding and cooperation with the United Kingdom, my colleagues and I have felt greatly disturbed at this new development and I feel that I should put our viewpoint before you.

3. You know our general views in regard to military pacts and alliances in the present context. Such alliances may have had some justification in the past but we feel that in present circumstances and, more especially, in Asia, such alliances, far from ensuring peace and security or even strengthening defence, have a disruptive effect and lead to counter moves and thus add to the existing fear and tension. When the formation of SEATO was considered, we endeavoured to make our position clear in regard to it.² The Middle East Pact affects us even more intimately. Ever since the system of alliances in the Middle East, culminating in the Baghdad Pact,³ has been discussed, one of the effects has been to break up Arab unity, and some Arab countries have opposed these alliances. In fact, it is probable that this development itself led to some counter moves by the Soviet Union and its allied countries. Thus, in the Middle East, far greater tension has resulted and security has been threatened. Such military alliances are almost invitations to the Soviet Union to take counter steps. In the result, the position progressively deteriorates.

4. I would invite your attention to the statement issued by the Bandung Conference on military pacts.⁴ All the countries represented at Bandung associated themselves with that statement.

5. I have no doubt that the United Kingdom Government considers this as a defensive alliance. But, whatever it may be called, the effect is the same and in the eyes of some it will no doubt be considered as an aggressive challenge. It will come in the way of the development of an atmosphere of peace and a settlement of the major problems, which you have so much at heart.

6. India is particularly affected by this because, unfortunately, our relations

2. For Nehru's message of 1 August 1954 to Anthony Eden on this issue see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 419-423. Eden was British Foreign Secretary at that time.

3. See *ante*, p. 380.

4. The Asian-African Conference, held in Bandung adopted on 24 April 1955 a declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation. Principle 6 of this declaration recommended: (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interest of any of the Big Powers; and (b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

with Pakistan are not as friendly and cooperative as I should like them to be. On our part, we have tried our best to cultivate friendly relations with Pakistan, and indeed the position has greatly improved in so far as popular feeling in India and Pakistan is concerned. We have avoided saying anything which might come in the way of better relations and a settlement of the serious problems we have to face. I am afraid this cannot be said of Pakistan where constant propaganda is being carried on in the most virulent language against India. We had hoped that this would gradually die down and an atmosphere conducive to a settlement of our problems be created. The Baghdad Pact and the association of the United Kingdom and Pakistan in it has already raised the tempo of violent denunciation of India in Pakistan. There is talk of a military build-up in Pakistan with the help of the United Kingdom and the USA and calculations are even made that in the course of a year or two Pakistan will be in a position to take aggressive steps against India. There is constant reference in the Pakistan press and elsewhere to jihad and war. A direct effect of recent developments has been the deterioration of Indo-Pakistan relations.

7. In these circumstances, any military alliance between the United Kingdom and Pakistan, supported by the USA, naturally disturbs the balance in this region and adds to the apparatus of war and military strength across our border.

8. From the Commonwealth point of view, the fact that there is a military alliance between some Commonwealth countries which can be utilised against another Commonwealth country, is itself a serious matter. That India would be affected by it and would view it with grave concern must have been clear and yet no reference was made to us on this subject. Indirectly, therefore, Indo-British relations might also be affected. We have endeavoured to follow a policy of peace and an avoidance of military alliances but we have always to keep in view the possible dangers which we may have to face and to take steps to protect ourselves from them.

9. All this reacts on our public opinion. You know how we have consistently sought to foster and promote understanding and cooperation in all fields with the United Kingdom. We have looked upon the Commonwealth relationship as something of great importance and have supported it in spite of criticism in India. We have referred to the Commonwealth as a pillar of strength in the cause of peace and cooperation. Recent developments will give a handle to many of our critics and it will be difficult for us to explain them.

10. In regard to Goa there has been great feeling in India, as you must know, and yet, because of the wider issues involved, our Government took steps which were very unpopular. We did so in the larger cause of peace. Even now a number of our nationals, including a Member of Parliament, are lying in Portuguese prisons. We have, however, taken a strong line even against popular sentiment and prevented any untoward happening.

11. I am sending this personal message to you because I feel that, in view

of our close relationship, I should place our position frankly before you and that you should appreciate how these recent developments have affected us and what their consequences might be. These matters may be raised in our Parliament.

12. I hope you will forgive me for this long message.

6. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 307 of December 2.² The military pacts which have recently been entered into by countries of the Middle East are of two kinds: (1) Pacts between States inter se on their own initiative, for example the recent pacts between Syria and Egypt and Saudi Arabia for mutual defence. (2) Those sponsored by and participated in by big powers directly (UK) or indirectly (US) such as the US-Pakistan Military Aid Agreement³ and the Turko-Pakistan⁴ and Turko-Iraqi pacts which have later developed into the Baghdad Pact consisting of five powers, Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran and United Kingdom.

2. The first category consists of mutual defence arrangements and militarily are of minor significance. They are not sponsored by big powers nor does any big power without any territorial interest in the area participate in them. On the other hand, the pacts in category 2, in particular the Baghdad Pact, cannot be called defence arrangements of the kind mentioned in clauses (a) and (b) of

1. New Delhi, 6 December 1955. JN Collection. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Krishna Menon requested for information on the Baghdad Pact and the augmentation of military strength of Pakistan for use in the debate on disarmament in the General Assembly.
3. A mutual Defence Assistance Agreement between Pakistan and the USA was signed in Karachi on 19 May 1954.
4. An agreement on "friendly cooperation" between Pakistan and Turkey was signed in Karachi on 2 April 1954. M. Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, said the same day that missions would be exchanged with Turkey to study and determine "the ways and extent of military assistance." This agreement was foreshadowed by the joint statement of 19 February 1954 which envisaged collaboration between the two countries in the political, economic and cultural spheres and for "strengthening peace and security."

Para 6 of the Bandung Declaration.⁵ A direct consequence of the Baghdad Pact has been the creation of a rift among the Arab countries and intensification of cold war in West Asia. It has led Soviet Union to take a direct interest in West Asia as a result of which arms have been supplied to Egypt. The result may be an armament race.

3. At the recent meeting in Baghdad, in addition to the member-countries, US sent military and political observers.⁶ High military advisers of the member-nations also met to draw up proposals for a permanent NATO like military structure. There is reason to believe that in Pakistan and other member countries there will be a quick and intensified build-up of armaments and other forms of war apparatus. We have not got complete information about recent military supplies to Pakistan but according to press reports US will supply 20 million dollar aid for modernisation of Pakistan air and naval installations and supply of modern jet aircraft. All these represent a setback to the reduction of world tension and have a bearing on larger aspects of disarmament which are now under consideration by the UN.

4. I have no objection to your referring to these aspects either in detail or only in passing according to the requirements of the occasion when speaking on the Disarmament Resolution. We have seen the UK-US draft resolution but have not yet received your draft which you say you have cabled. On receipt of your draft we shall give you further instruction if necessary.

5. Krishna Menon stated in his telegram that Mohammad Ali, who was expected to speak in the Assembly, claimed that the Baghdad Pact came under the Bandung resolution on collective defence.
6. Waldemar J. Gallman, US Ambassador to Iraq, and Admiral John Cassidy, Commander-in-Chief of US Forces in the Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, attended the Council meeting of the Baghdad Pact as political and military observers respectively.

7. Talk with the Iranian Ambassador¹

I had a visit from the Iranian Ambassador² this morning. He spoke to me about the Baghdad Pact and his Government's concern at the remark I had made recently deploring this pact.³ He said that this had been exploited by the opponents of Government and by the Soviet people.⁴

2. I pointed out to him that our policy in regard to military alliances was an old one and we had frequently given public expression to it. We had said so in regard to SEATO and a year or two ago we had criticised the proposed MEDO scheme.⁵ This had nothing to do with Iran specially, but rather with the wider approach to this problem for peace and security. We felt that these military alliances did not help the cause of peace or security and that in fact they were a challenge to the opposite party, resulting in conditions of cold war, etc., which were obviously disadvantageous to the countries which sought security.

3. I developed this argument and told him that the Baghdad Pact had broken up Arab unity and had actually pushed the Soviets more into the Middle Eastern picture than before.

4. The Ambassador referred to the old standing fear in Iran of Soviet Union and their intrigues in the past with Iran. They were in a difficult and dangerous

1. Note to Secretary General. Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA. 18 December 1955. Also available in File No. 52(6)-IA/55. MEA.
2. Ali Asgar Hekmat.
3. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on the Indian Citizenship Bill, Nehru said on 5 December that the Baghdad Pact was "a most unfortunate and deplorable action of the countries who have joined it: deplorable not from our point of view, but from the point of view of peace and security."
4. Khrushchev stated in Srinagar on 10 December that "the notorious Baghdad Pact... was not created in the interests of peace" and that the Government of Pakistan had allowed American military bases on their territory and in the immediate neighbourhood of the frontiers of the Soviet Union. He added, "We do not like the Baghdad Pact at all, the most active participant of which happens to be Pakistan even though her participation is without any benefit to her and her people."
5. On 24 December 1952, Nehru instructed that the Indian Ambassador in Washington should convey to the US Secretary of State the views of the Government of India on the proposed MEDO scheme. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 20, p. 362. Nehru also voiced at the Congress session at Hyderabad in January 1953, India's concern on the reported invitation to Pakistan to join the MEDO and wrote to U Nu on 25 January 1953 in this respect. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 21, pp. 448 and 491-492.

position and they wanted to protect themselves from external as well as internal interference.

5. I said I quite realised these and no country really could put absolute reliance on the assurances of some other and powerful countries. But the question was what policy was likely to lead to peace and prevention of internal interference. We had put forward the Five Principles and these helped in creating an atmosphere of non-interference. If, however, military pacts were concluded, then the other party also tended to interfere.

6. The Ambassador told me that he for his part as well as some others agreed with me that this Baghdad Pact was not helpful. But the great number of people, including the Parliament, were so afraid of Soviet pressure that they accepted this Pact. They were concerned that what I said about it had made a difference and could be exploited by their opponents. In any event, the Pact had been concluded and could not be suddenly ended. One should now try to get the best out of this situation.

7. I said that I realised that the Pact could not suddenly cease to be. But we felt that our criticism of it might turn it more towards economic help and tone down the military aspect of it.

8. I told him that we were specially concerned in this matter because of the association of the UK and Pakistan—two Commonwealth countries. This had its immediate effects upon us. In fact, I had sent a long note to Sir Anthony Eden⁶ on this subject to which he had sent a reply. He asked me what the reply was. I gave him briefly the substance of that reply.

9. I told the Ambassador that I had had long talks with Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev on the subject of communist propaganda abroad.⁷ I had pointed out to them that this kind of thing was opposed to the Five Principles and came in the way of good relations. They had accepted this argument. But, I suppose, where there was an active challenge to them, then they would very probably use this method as others to counter that challenge.

10. He referred to a visit he had paid to Kashmir sometime back, when he addressed the Convocation there. He was much concerned, he said, at the state of the library there which contained very valuable manuscripts. These were kept in wooden cupboards and there was danger of fire. Could they not be put in steel cupboards? He said that in the Imperial Library in Calcutta books were very well kept, but they were not well kept in the libraries at Patna, etc. In Lahore also he had found that books were very well kept.

11. I agreed with him that care should be taken about these valuable books and manuscripts.

6. See *ante*, pp. 384-387.

7. See *ante*, pp. 334-345.

12. I suggest that a brief note might be sent to the Ministry of Education about these libraries, more especially, the Kashmir Library as also Patna. It is certainly desirable that we should take steps to protect these manuscripts. Shri Vishnu Sahay might also be informed about the Srinagar Library.

13. I asked him when the Shah of Iran was likely to come here. We had heard that he was probably coming in the third week of February. He said he did not know anything about the date. There was the question, however, of the Shah going to the Soviet Union from where he had received an invitation. The Shah was considering as to whether he should go first to the Soviet Union or come to India.

14. A copy of this note might be sent to our Ambassador⁸ in Teheran.

8. Tara Chand.

8. Message to Anthony Eden¹

I was about to send you a message and mention some matters of common concern and interest before you left for the United States² when your High Commissioner conveyed to me your message.³ I thank you for it.

2. You are aware of our position and apprehensions in regard to the Baghdad Pact and the approach being made to the problems in the Middle East by the Great Powers. I read your reply to my message of 2nd December with great care and regard. But I must confess that it did not serve to allay our concern. Subsequent events and developments added to our misgivings. It has divided and created disturbance in the Arab world and not made the solution

1. New Delhi, 25 January 1956. JN Collection. This message was sent through the UK High Commissioner in New Delhi. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. Eden visited the USA from 30 January to 9 February 1956.

3. Eden stated in his message of 12 January that the British Government believed that it was only through an arrangement like the Baghdad Pact that the threat of international communism to the Middle East could be met. He claimed that the Pact was not aggressive in character, and was designed to give security and stability to countries close to the borders of the USSR, apart from forwarding the economic and social welfare not only of the member countries but also of all the Arab States.

of the Israel-Arab problem any easier.⁵ Instead of keeping the Soviet Union out of the area, as was your avowed intention in promoting the Baghdad Pact, the result has been quite the contrary. There is the appearance of an armament build-up in this area and increased political and psychological friction.

3. In particular, the military arrangements which both the United States and the United Kingdom have with Pakistan and the increasing flow of military aid to Pakistan from the United States are naturally matters of grave concern to us.⁶ Hatred campaigns and talk of jehad against India are on the increase in Pakistan, and this creates ill-feeling in India. Because of all this, I am anxious that no further steps might be taken which might produce more harmful results both in India and, in our opinion, in the Middle East.

4. I would like to refer to the position in regard to China. The efforts of last year had brought about a virtual cessation of hostile activities and the beginning of the negotiations between the United States and China. The progress in regard to resolving Sino-American differences has been disappointing, and I regret to say that there is reason for apprehension that even the present talks might become deadlocked or break down.⁷ I hope every effort will be made to prevent such a contingency, as this might well lead to a worsening of the situation in the Far East.

5. Eden said that divisions existed in the Arab world before the Baghdad Pact; nevertheless it was British aim to heal the divisions, and the Pact was open to accession by other Arab countries. Eden added that the British Government were doing their utmost to secure a settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute, but the sale of arms to Egypt by the communist bloc had made their task difficult. He also asserted that this deal was "part of a long thought out plan for the expansion of Soviet influence in the Middle East."
6. Eden pointed out that the UK had supplied or contracted to supply many times as much military equipment to India as to Pakistan and said that US military aid to Pakistan would not amount to more than a fraction of UK contracts to India. He further said that he had no evidence of Pakistan harbouring aggressive designs against India and could not believe that Pakistan's adherence to the Baghdad Pact presented any threat to India.
7. US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, declared on 18 October that the US reserved the right to reopen the item relating to reciprocal release of internees by China and the US, since China had not yet fully implemented the accord on the issue reached at talks between the Ambassadors of the two countries in Geneva on 10 September 1955. A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, indicating the Chinese Government's impatience with "longer and longer recesses" in the ambassadorial discussions, said in Beijing on 6 January 1956 that Chinese-held American civilians had "offended against the law in China and must be dealt with in accordance with Chinese legal procedures, and no time limit can be set for their release."

5. You have no doubt seen the article in the *Life* magazine which purports to be an account of Dulles' policy of deterrence and its efficacy. It refers to Mr Dulles having spoken to me "that if the war continued, the US would lift the self-imposed restrictions on its actions and hold back no effort or weapon to win it."⁸ It is also implied that I conveyed a warning message to Peking which had the effect of a deterrent on the Chinese Government. Mr Dulles saw me here in May 1953 soon after he took office. I have no recollection whatsoever of his speaking to me on the line mentioned in the *Life* article. I recorded at the time rather a full note of these conversations.⁹ It appears from this note also that the tenor of our conversations was not of the character of warning or of unleashing of war. In fact, the conversation was mainly about Syngman Rhee creating a difficult situation. In any event, I neither undertook to make nor did in fact make any communication to Peking about the intentions of the United States or the weapons she would use. The facts as set out in the *Life* article in this regard and the intended implications are both factually and historically incorrect. I thought you would like to know this, and I therefore make this brief mention of it.¹⁰

8. Dulles was quoted as having said this, with reference to the Korean war, in an article entitled "How Dulles Averted War" which was published in the *Life* on 11 January 1956.
9. For Nehru's note of his conversation with Dulles in New Delhi on 22 May 1953, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 22, pp. 506-513.
10. On 27 January 1956, India's Ambassador in Washington,...., was asked to inform the State Department of the facts as known to the Government of India and to convey to them a denial that the Indian Government communicated any messages or warning to the Chinese Government as implied in the article in *Life*. The Indian Ambassador in Beijing, R.K. Nehru, was also asked to seek an interview with Chou En-lai and to mention to him the facts in this regard.

V. FAR EAST & INDO-CHINA

1. Cable to R.K. Nehru¹

Please refer to paragraph 3 of your telegram 483 December 8.² We have tried our best to bring about consultation between two parties but according to latest reports from Vietnam, South Vietnam has no intention of starting negotiations on all-Vietnam elections in the foreseeable future. Their plan appears to be to have elections for a National Assembly to be constituted by February 1956 and to secure an endorsement of Diem's³ policy from that body. Thereafter they will try to postpone negotiations as long as possible and meanwhile consolidate their position in South Vietnam. They may offer to have negotiations on all-Vietnam elections but only after they feel that they have a good chance of success in the all-Vietnam elections. In any case there seems little possibility of anything happening before the 20th July 1956 which is the dateline for elections prescribed by the Geneva Agreement.

2. We agree that if no further progress is made, steps should be taken to convene a conference of Geneva Powers to deal with this stalemate.⁴ We have been in touch with the UK Government on this question. On the 5th September we sent an informal communication to Macmillan⁵ and Molotov strongly urging desirability of starting consultations between the Vietnam parties regarding elections as contemplated in Geneva Agreement. The two Co-Chairmen have discussed the Vietnam situation in the context of our communication, the Fourth Interim Report of the Vietnam Commission and other communications. We are informed that the two Co-Chairmen are circulating our reference, Fourth Interim Report and other communications to the Geneva Powers with a view to elicit opinion about the next step.

1. New Delhi, 15 December 1955. JN Collection.

2. R.K. Nehru, India's Ambassador in Beijing, cited Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China, as saying that he had not received any communication from the Co-Chairmen, Eden and Molotov, of the Geneva Conference, suggesting steps for furtherance of implementation of the agreement of 1954 on Indo-China. Chou En-lai opined that Co-Chairmen should invite India as Chairman of the ICSC to bring about consultation and, if situation remained unchanged, to consider convening a fresh Geneva Conference early in 1956.

3. Prime Minister, South Vietnam, 1954-55 and its President till 1963.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 434-435.

5. Harold Macmillan; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, UK.

3. Please communicate substance of this to Chou En-lai.

4. We are sending separate telegram about Geneva talks between Chinese and American Ambassadors.

2. Cable to R.K. Nehru¹

Continuation our telegram 24625 December 15.² It is not clear to whom the Americans refused to send list of the Chinese in USA or to whom names were subsequently supplied without addresses.³ Our Embassy in Washington informs us that they did not receive any such list.

2. With reference paragraphs 10, 11 and 12 of your telegram 483 of December 8,⁴ the general attitude of the UK and US Governments appears to be more rigid. This is probably due to other international developments. Nevertheless we believe that both the Chinese and the US Governments wish to proceed with the agreement arrived at in regard to the repatriation of Chinese nationals and dispute seems to be about minor matters of procedure. We do not think that there is any desire to break up the Geneva talks. We have separately told the Chinese Government that we are agreeable to receive from them lists of Chinese nationals, who according to their information are being obstructed in their return to China. Although our Embassy cannot formally approach the US Government for investigation into these cases, we think that some means may be found of our Embassy looking into these cases either on their own initiative or otherwise.

1. New Delhi, 15 December 1955. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. R.K. Nehru had referred to Chou En-lai telling him that the Americans at first refused to send list of Chinese nationals in USA and when names of some students were sent, no address was given. The Indian Embassy in USA also could not contact them.

4. In these paragraphs, Chou En-lai's views on the Western attitude to the prisoners' issue was elaborated. The Chinese Premier noted that British attitude "seems to be very strange." and warned that if this persisted "tension will increase." To him the USA was trying to "prolong or break up the Geneva talks." R.K. Nehru noted that both China and West insisted that investigations regarding this could only take place on representation of the citizens concerned.

3. You should communicate the substance of the above to the Chinese Premier. Separately I am sending you a message⁵ for your personal information and use at your discretion.

5. See the next item.

3. Cable to R.K. Nehru¹

Following for your personal information and use at discretion. Reference paragraph 10² of your telegram 483 of December 8. The difference between the two positions is that the Americans in China are prisoners and therefore cannot be approached except by permission of the Chinese Government while the Chinese nationals in America are free to contact anybody and be contacted. While we appreciate the release of 43 Americans in China,³ delay in releasing the remaining 13 provides excuse to the Americans to obstruct the repatriation of a much larger number of Chinese. As soon as these 13 Americans are released, the US Government will have no further excuse left for delaying tactics.

1. New Delhi, 15 December 1955. JN Collection.

2. Chou En-lai had told R.K. Nehru that the US position was that Indian Embassy could not investigate facts concerning obstructions encountered by the Chinese citizens except on representation of citizens concerned. Therefore, if Indian Embassy was not given permission, then British Embassy in China would not be allowed to contact the prisoners, except on representation of the prisoners concerned.

3. Forty-three US nationals had been released since 1 August 1955.

4. Cable to R.K. Nehru¹

Please refer to paragraphs 3 to 5 of your telegram No. 506 of December 22.²

2. We have just heard from the UK that the decision to communicate to the Geneva Powers taken on 14th November has only been implemented in full on 21st December and the necessary communications have been sent. They should reach the Chinese Government very soon.

3. We have, in our telegram 24625, dated 15th December, given our appreciation of the position regarding chances of negotiations for elections in Vietnam. We shall continue our efforts but we are not hopeful of any progress as we have already made every effort possible and we feel that steps have now to be taken to convene a conference of Geneva Powers to deal with the stalemate. We agree with (b) in paragraph 4 of your telegram.³

4. Regarding invitation to be issued by the Chinese Government to Sihanouk,⁴ we shall be glad to help when it is decided to send a formal invitation.

5. Please communicate the substance of this to Chou En-lai.

6. For Ambassador's personal information. We think formal invitation to Sihanouk to visit Peking should be issued, as soon as possible, to take advantage of the favourable atmosphere created by admission of Cambodia to the UN, despite veto by Nationalist China, on the package deal.

7. We are sending separate telegram about Geneva talks between Chinese and American Ambassadors.

1. New Delhi, 23 December 1955. JN Collection.

2. Chou En-lai wanted India to enquire as to why there was a delay in reference to the other Geneva Powers. He told R.K. Nehru, that China would consider the Vietnam question on receiving communication from the Co-Chairmen. The Chinese view was that either India should be invited by the Co-Chairmen to make fresh efforts to bring about consultations or else, if no progress were made, another conference of the Geneva Powers be convened before July 1956 to consider the matter to which India, Poland and Canada were to be invited.

3. This was the second alternative to deal with the stalemate in Indo-China suggested by China, i.e., convening a conference of the Geneva Powers in 1956.

4. Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia.

5. Chinese Prisoners in USA¹

The Chinese Government have often referred to Chinese prisoners in the United States.² Have we any information about this? I do not remember reading about any Chinese prisoners in the United States.

2. I agree with our Ambassador in Peking, but we should not raise again the question of quick release of American prisoners in China. We have made our views known to them³ and a repetition of them causes needless irritation. Certainly a relaxation of present regulations would be desirable. You might inform our Ambassador in Peking that we are not aware of any Chinese prisoners in the USA but we are making further enquiries about this matter.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 24 December 1955. JN Collection.

2. This confusion over the status of Chinese nationals in the US was caused by Chou En-lai telling R.K. Nehru "that there may be some Chinese nationals in the USA who are also prisoners." But he added that "unless a full list of nationals are sent no assumption can be made."

VI. OTHER COUNTRIES

1. Relations with Saudi Arabia¹

I have been thinking about the long history of the Diwan-i-Khas² and what these stones must have seen and heard during the time. They stand mute witnesses to a great many ups and downs and now to the beginning of a new era. Great leaders and statesmen from all over the world have come here at the invitation of the city of Delhi and been accorded a great welcome.

So it makes us happy to see our guest³ from the Arab country here today. But more than that, it conjures up innumerable pictures of the olden days, of hundreds and thousands of years of history when there were constant contacts

1. Address at a civic reception at the Red Fort in honour of the King of Saudi Arabia, Delhi, 28 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

2. Hall of Special Audience at the Red Fort, Delhi.

3. King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud arrived in India on 26 November 1955.

between India and the Arab countries. Ours is a long-standing relationship. It is a strange thing that the conditions in India in the olden days are recorded in great detail by the Arab travellers who came to this country. Those accounts are better than any records that were written here at that time. They were famous travellers who roamed all over India and recorded their impressions.

So the friendship between India and the Arab countries goes back a long way. In the citation that was read out just now, you heard mention of the coming of Islam to India and how it spread within a few short years to the whole world and made a great impact.⁴ Islam came to India peacefully. There was no fighting in its wake as it happened in other countries. Politically, great emperors might stand arrayed against one another. But Islam came to India peacefully with its message and was greeted with friendliness by India, as it had been the tradition in this land, and given a place in the country. Islam has existed in India since then.

People are often under the wrong impression that great religious wars were fought here. Leaving aside a few, wars are fought in the political field for wealth or acquisition of new territory. These are often fought under the cloak of religious wars, giving a bad name to religion and creating confusion in the minds of the people. We extended a warm welcome to Islam. The Arab empire extended to the whole of Africa and half of Asia. There were very close cultural relations between the Arab countries and India. Indians used to go there to learn medicine and Arab students came to study at our universities. Therefore, the contacts between the two countries were varied. What you see today is not the beginning of something new but an old story dating back to thousand of years. What you see now can be called a grand new chapter of that history. This honoured guest of ours has come with a message of friendship and we welcome him with open arms and extend a hand of friendship with his country.

Diwan-i-Khas, which has witnessed a great many ups and downs, has now become a place where great statesmen from all over the world come with messages of peace and friendship. So this has become a centre for friendship and peace. I hope the city of Delhi has become a centre for world peace and friendship. We are very happy that our honoured guest has given us the opportunity not only to meet him but revive old memories of friendship and open the doors to a new world of peace and friendship. You will find that in spite of wars and tensions and preparations for war, a new trend is evident among nations who stand for peace and cooperation between nations. Any

4. In the address of welcome to the Saudi King, the President of the Delhi Municipality, R.N. Aggarwal said: "More than a thousand years ago, one of the great religions that exist in our country, Islam, came to us from your country. Today, 40 million of our people follow this great faith...."

intelligent human being would accept that no problem, big or small, can be solved by wars. A war in today's world can lead to the complete destruction of mankind. Yet people are unable to get out of their old habits and threaten and abuse one another knowing that such things only exacerbate tensions and lead to an arms race. The result is that it leads the world on a ruinous path, increases bitterness among nations and then energies are frittered away in useless things.

In spite of all this, however, it is now accepted that international problems ought to be solved by peaceful methods. A word which has gained currency in the world now—*Panch Shila*—was first coined in India. It stands for freedom and the right of self-determination of all countries, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, non-aggression, the freedom to follow the path and ideology of its choice, etc. Many countries have accepted these principles and their number is increasing day by day. You may remember that at the Bandung Conference which was held at the beginning of this year⁵ about thirty nations which participated, had issued a joint communique in which *Panch Shila* was mentioned. It is true that many of the countries which accepted it then did not implement it later. That cannot be helped. But it is a fact that the atmosphere is gradually changing and a new world is emerging. It takes time. There is no magic formula to change everything. But many steps have been taken in the last year or so which have helped to change the atmosphere and led the world towards peace.

At Bandung the Arab delegate, Amir Faisal,⁶ played a great role and came out in support of that communique and *Panch Shila*. We had always known that he was in favour of it, and from then onwards it became increasingly evident that the Arab countries and India follow similar policies in this regard. It is obvious that we are very happy about it. We would always be happy to have the King of Saudi Arabia among us. But we are doubly happy because our countries hold the same views on the crucial question of peace and that we are on the same path. So I thank him on behalf of all of us.

5. The Asian-African Conference was held from 18 to 24 April 1955 at Bandung, Indonesia.
6. Malik Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz; brother of King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia; Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1930-60; Prime Minister, 1953-60.

2. Canada's Misgivings on Foreign Aid to India¹

I saw yesterday the report of what Mr Pearson,² the Canadian Foreign Minister, said recently regarding aid to India.³ This had been sent to us by the Canadian High Commission. Mr Pearson said that India was not sufficiently grateful for the great help given by the US especially and by other Western countries, while we shouted a lot about the Soviet technical help.

2. This statement is not a very happy one. It is, of course, open to Mr Pearson to give expression to his views and we cannot object. But it is wrong to say that we have been making much of Soviet aid and not appreciated adequately the aid given by Western countries. It is wrong also to mix up the question of aid with political policies and attitudes. We have never complained about the US or the Western countries not giving us adequate aid. We have expressed our gratitude to them but we have made it clear that this has nothing to do with political policies. If we are critical of the US or the UK, it is because of political policies. Recently, there has been the question of the Baghdad Pact which affects us intimately. Now there is the joint statement of Mr Dulles and the Foreign Minister of Portugal,⁴ which again is bound to produce strong reactions in India.⁵

3. I think that the Canadian High Commissioner⁶ should be sent for and something to the above effect might be mentioned to him in a friendly way. This is not a protest but rather an attempt to explain our attitude to a friendly country.

4. It is desirable to do so, more especially because I understand that the Portuguese Foreign Minister is going to Ottawa and would, no doubt, try to get something out of the Canadian Government in regard to Goa. The Canadian Government is more sensible than the US Government and will probably refuse to be drawn into this trap. Nevertheless, a talk with the Canadian High Commissioner at this stage might prove helpful.

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 4 December 1955. JN Collection.
2. Lester Pearson, Minister of External Affairs, Canada.
3. Pearson was quoted by the newspapers as having said in New York on 30 November 1955 that the Soviet Union received more "popular credit" for selling India a steel mill than the US received for giving four or five times that much aid. He made this remark while referring to the generous aid given by the USA to South East Asia. "I do not think that there is enough awareness of what the USA has done and is trying to do in economic aid," concluded Pearson.
4. Paulo A.V. Cunha.
5. See *post*, pp. 423-424.
6. Escott Reid.

3. Export of Beryl Ore¹

I do not think that we should make any proposal to the US Government of the kind suggested.² This practically means our asking them to change their laws or rules. It will anyhow be improper for us to do so, more especially now when there is considerable tension between our two Governments.

2. It is clear, however, that we are not bound in any way by the United States Battle Act. We can take any action we like and sell our beryl to anyone. Of course, there is the risk that this might displease the United States and they might not buy any from us later. That risk has to be taken.

3. In the event of our wanting to sell this to somebody else, as a matter of courtesy we might inform the American Government and point out that obviously we cannot wait on their pleasure in this matter. Anyhow, it should be clearly understood that the American Battle Act does not govern us.³

1. Note to Homi J. Bhabha, 7 December 1955. JN Collection.
2. In a note of 3 December Bhabha informed of a notice received from the USA intending to terminate by 30 September 1956 the Gentleman's Agreement with India providing for export of beryl ore from India to US. In view of this, he added, India would have to look for alternative markets including USSR and allied countries for selling the ore. Since beryl ore, Bhabha pointed out, was one the items listed under the US Battle Act of 1951 prescribing for discontinuance of all US aid to countries supplying such listed items to USSR and allied countries, India should propose to the US that either this ore should be delisted from the Battle Act or US should not terminate the Agreement.
3. See *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 23, pp. 490-492 for similar problems with India's export of thorium nitrate to China in 1953.

4. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

15 December 1955

Darling Nan,

There is so much to write to you about that I do not know how to find the time for it or where to begin. The last few weeks here have been not only full but significant in their many developments. I shall try to find time to write a note on that, which can be sent to our Missions. In addition, I may write something more to you later.

Meanwhile, I am acknowledging your telegram No. 2665 of December 9th in which you refer to your meeting Lord Home.² In your telegram you say that Home said: "On Kashmir he asserted India must make a gesture of goodwill".

Lord Home has yet to learn the kind of language that has to be used in speaking to India or India's representatives. Apart from language, it is the thinking that is all wrong and the action which follows that thinking. The UK has joined the so-called Baghdad Pact which, to my thinking, is exceedingly foolish, even from their point of view, and much more so from mine. They still prefer the friendship and cooperation of men like Nurie Pasha than the goodwill of the people. Dulles' statement on Goa was, of course, just astounding stupidity and has done more harm to the US in India and other countries than almost anything that has happened in the course of some years.

I am afraid Lord Home and most of his colleagues in the UK Government still live in a past age and imagine that they can treat India as some casual third-rate country. It is sheer impertinence on his part to say that India must make a gesture of goodwill in regard to Kashmir. I hope that he has given some thought to what Bulganin and Khrushchev have said about Kashmir.³ That was none of our seeking but the fact remains that the Soviet Union has gained the goodwill of vast numbers of people in India by saying that, and has put the UK and the USA and Pakistan in a very embarrassing position. When

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary. MEA.
2. In her cable, Vijayalakshmi Pandit reported having told Lord Home, British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, that "Indo-Pakistan relations including Kashmir can be resolved only by peaceful means and in negotiations...." but no negotiations were possible due to "present trend of Pakistan propaganda" and that India would not be coerced or frightened by the system of alliances "which now pincers us from both sides."
3. See *ante*, pp. 424-425.

will the gentlemen who govern the UK learn to understand the modern world and modern methods of diplomacy?

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

5. China and India¹

I was sitting here and thinking back ten years or so, and where all of us were—you, I and our honoured guest. I was in Ahmadnagar ten and a half years ago² and China was in the throes of a great crisis with much chaos and ruin. The battle had lasted a long time, the civil war as well as the foreign war. The country lay in ruins. Ten years have passed and we have seen a great many ups and downs.

So in these ten years there have been a great many ups and downs in China, India and the world. The citizens of Delhi have seen much and have gone through all kinds of experiences. So much has happened within ten short years that they seem longer than centuries. Perhaps we may not fully appreciate the significance of these years as we are living through them immersed as we are in our day to day lives. We may not realize the turn that history has taken through our efforts because we are bogged down in our own little difficulties. But the fact of the matter is that these ten years have seen the world go through tremendous upheavals.

You have seen that China has had a revolution and is making great progress. You can see what is happening in India. I know proximity may blind us to the rapid changes that are taking place. I am not saying that a country is great because it has a large population. It is not merely a question of numbers like sheep which makes a country great. There are other factors which contribute to a country's greatness. Sometimes even little countries have grown to be strong and great and famous. Sometimes big countries have fallen.

All that is true. But it is a remarkable thing that we are two great nations, China and India. Our populations together account for nearly half of the world's

1. Speech at a civic reception to Mrs Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat Sen), Red Fort, Delhi, 18 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Nehru was in Ahmadnagar jail between 8 August 1942 and 15 June 1945.

population. When two such huge countries become free and are striding forward on their chosen paths, there is undoubtedly an impact, not merely on our own peoples but elsewhere too. The strange thing is that there have been such great upheavals and revolutions in Asia, in most countries, particularly in China and India. But some countries have not been able to appreciate or realize the significance of what has happened here. The heavens may fall but it is sometimes difficult to change people's mindset.

As all of you are aware, China with a population of sixty crores under a totalitarian Government is progressing very rapidly, we may or may not like the path they have chosen, but the broad fact which nobody can argue about is that a huge country with a population of sixty crores is united under one Government and is making great strides. But do you know that the governments and leaders in some countries refuse to recognize China as a nation? It is indeed strange. They are not prepared to recognize one-third of the world's population. You can imagine how difficult it is to solve the problems of the world when they shut their eyes and refuse to recognize one-third of the world's population. How can they understand, let alone solve, the problems of that part of the world? That is the problem. We have been beset by grave problems in the past and continue to be afflicted by them. But the gravest of problems can be solved if a genuine effort is made. However, a solution is possible only when an effort is made to understand the problem.

It is indeed strange that a country like China is refused membership of the United Nations. Now, closing the doors of the UN does not really harm China so much as it harms the United Nations because its declared aim, when it was formed, was to bring all the countries of the world into its fold. Therefore it will be weakened, if one large part of the world is not in its fold. Its decisions will not have an impact on a large part of the world. If a part of the world is not recognized, then there is no obligation for that country to accept the decisions of the world body. So it is clear that the organization is weakening itself. China is not the one to suffer but you and I and the other countries of the world and especially the United Nations. I feel that many problems and tensions which have beset that region of Asia, in East Asia, may not have arisen or they could have been solved if China had been in the United Nations. Please bear in mind that this is not a matter of admitting a new country into the United Nations. You may have read newspaper reports of sixteen new countries being admitted to the United Nations.³ That is certainly a welcome move. Two still remain and it would be a good thing to admit them also, as I hope it will happen. As you know, I am referring to Japan and Outer Mongolia. We want both these

3. On 14 December 1955, 16 new states were admitted to UN.

countries to be admitted. Japan is a major State. Outer Mongolia is not so big but it is a nation state, an independent country, and we have close relations with it, and soon diplomatic ties are also going to be established. We want Mongolia to be admitted to the UN.

Well, anyhow, as I was saying sixteen new nations have been admitted into the UN—they were not there before. But China does not fall into that category because China is among the original signatories to the UN Charter. It also has a permanent membership in the Security Council by reason of its being a great country. So it is not a question of China being a country of no importance. What then is the issue? It is not a question of the UN considering the application of a fledgeling nation. China has been part of the proceedings right from the beginning. The question now arises is, which China? China's place on the world map geographically is not open to question. I tell you—it is truly strange—and you will find very few such instances in history—that a large country like China where one-third of the world's population lives should be deemed to have no existence, or at least not as it is today. It is strange that some people should take it upon themselves that not mainland China but a group of people who have formed a Government on an island should be recognised officially as China. This is really an extraordinary circumstance. When the basic structure is wrong then how can you build an edifice upon that? So these are some of the dilemmas that we face. This is a matter which stares you in the face, which everyone and except those who are superintelligent, will understand easily. Ordinary mortals like you and me can understand it easily.

As you know, I have a very bad habit—I tell the people even matters which are supposed to be secret. So let me tell you another secret. This is a personal matter. It is my belief that the people feel that our foreign policy has been successful to a large extent. It has done our country as well as the world some good because it has taken us towards world peace. The best part of it is that our foreign policy is very simple and straightforward. It is not very complicated. It is not our intention to be clever or cunning or to trick other countries by some clever moves. Nor do we think of foreign policy as a game of chess in which we can hoodwink others with our clever moves. It is true that the bigger players in world politics understand all this and are busy in their chess moves. In the process they have succeeded in having two World Wars which brought the world to the brink of ruin. And yet their game of chess goes on. We do not know how to indulge in all these games. We understand the simple and the straightforward. We do not believe in keeping secrets, nor is there anything for us to hide. And since our approach is simple and straightforward, strangely it succeeds and we stand to gain.

So, as I was saying, it is extraordinary that a nation like China should not be recognized. But the other aspect of this issue is that, apart from China, there

have been revolutions in other countries and new nation states have come into being—India, Pakistan, Burma, Sri Lanka, Indonesia—and each has chosen its own path. It is quite clear that the map of Asia has changed. It is obvious too that the days when Asia's destiny was determined by other countries are over. It is true that there are some regions in Asia even today which are bound up with other countries and decisions are taken for them by others. But in general it can be said that Asia's destiny cannot be determined by other countries. This is so evident and yet many people are unable to grasp something so clear. And when their decisions prove unsuccessful then there is anger and a search for scapegoats and someone to blame. But the fact of the matter is that if you fail to take into account some important factors when arriving at a decision, then it is bound to fail. This is something that must be borne in mind.

The old mindset and attitudes will not do in these changed times. We cannot judge whether they were right for any time in the past. But you can see that in many countries the old attitudes have not changed. They can see the outward changes that have taken place on the map, etc. But they fail to grasp the internal changes that have taken place in Asia in the mind and soul of Asia. This is where other countries get confused and take the wrong steps.

You will see that after the Second World War, a war was fought in Indo-China. That in itself was not surprising for there were bound to be upheavals after the big War. But it lasted for seven or eight years and there was enormous loss in every way. It was a wholly pointless war which led to decisions which could well have been arrived at years ago. It was nothing but the result of old rigid attitudes towards new challenges and issues. It was wholly wrong not to have shaken off outmoded ways of thinking. That is not right.

As our guest here just said, all of us want peace in the world and that every country should be free to choose its own path and while having friendly relations with all the others, they should determine their own destiny. I am aware that in today's world no nation can exist separately. The world is a very close-knit place today. We have to live in amity and a spirit of cooperation. And yet there should be no interference in one another's affairs.

There is talk of *Panch Shila*. We must remember the fundamental principles underlying *Panch Shila*. One is non-interference in one another's affairs. One way of interference is open aggression but there is another, more insidious, way of interfering in the internal affairs of another country. *Panch Shila* declares that even that should not be permitted because once there is interference in the affairs of another country then there can be no real friendship; when there is mutual suspicion about one another's motive, there is bound to be discord. But there must be cooperation and amity between nations, freedom to choose their own path, etc. These are the fundamental principles of *Panch Shila* which is in effect a code of international morality presented to the world.

Now, there are China and India, both great countries which have achieved

independence by following their own separate paths. We respect one another. We are prepared to learn from each other and we want to develop a close relationship. But that does not mean that we should copy each other or interfere in each other's affairs. A truly close relationship can be evolved when we are free to go our ways, learning from each other and yet there is non-interference in each other's affairs. I gave you the example of India and China but it could apply to any country. We have every intention of following this path.

Now, there is one more difficulty. When two nations talk about friendship, then other nations start feeling insecure and threatened. It is strange that friendship with one country is construed as enmity towards another. I cannot understand why this should be so. We do not wish to be inimical to any country and I can say with confidence that we have no enmity towards any country. It is obvious that some nations may vote with one side or the other in the United Nations or some other forum. But there is no question of enmity with anyone. We want friendship with all countries. Recently we had the senior leaders of the Soviet Union and we gave them a very warm welcome. Relations between the Soviet Union and India have become much closer by my visit to that country and now their leaders' visit and the talks we have had. We have mutual trade agreements which is a good thing. There are mutual benefits for both the countries. But that does not mean that we are inimical to some other country. However, some countries have understood our friendship with the Soviet Union to indicate that we have abandoned our principle of non-alignment and have joined the Soviet camp and hence the enemy of the others. That is absolutely wrong. Unfortunately some nations have this fixed notion that friendship with one country signifies enmity with another. Or that in order to have the friendship of one, we must first become the enemy of the other. That is wrong too.

You may recall that a huge historic meeting was organized in Calcutta which surpassed anything that has ever been held in India. I expressed all these thoughts in that gathering about *Panch Shila*. I said that *Panch Shila* is nothing new to India's way of thinking. The same principles had been enunciated in different words 2,250 years ago by Asoka. Emperor Asoka had had those words engraved on stone tablets. So we have to follow that path. There is no sense in thinking that friendship between two countries means that others should feel suspicion, jealousy or fear, or a sense of threat. More than 2,500 years of history tells us that there should be a close relationship between India and China. They are our neighbours. As Madame Sun Yat Sen told you just now, it is very rare to find instances in thousands of years of their history there was never any war between the two countries. You will not find any such example in the countries of Europe because their history is full of wars with one another.

India and China have had thousands of years of relationship without fighting

a single war. Now, both the countries have taken a new turn and are progressing. Apart from working for progress, there are other reasons why there should be cooperation and close relationship between the two countries. We would like to follow the path we have chosen and help each other without interfering in each other's affairs. We are neighbours and this is the logical thing to happen in this age. In the olden days, countries could stay aloof or isolated. But in the modern age fast modes of travel and other factors have brought all the countries to one another's doorstep. Therefore it has become more than ever necessary to have international cooperation.

In short, every single factor, the demand of the times, the history of the two countries of two thousand years of relations—whichever way you look at it, it has become necessary, indeed imperative, that there should be close relationship and cooperation between India and China. There is no doubt about it that we have the firm resolve of doing so. I think, it is turning chilly. You will feel cold.

As the President⁴ of the Delhi Municipality said just now in presenting the *Manapatra*, twenty-eight years have gone by since I first extended an invitation to Madame Sen to visit India. I had met her there a few months earlier when I had gone to Moscow for a few days with my father in 1928. She was there then and I met her. Even that short meeting made a deep impression on me. So when I came back, a short while after, I had sent her an invitation to participate in the Congress session at Calcutta as our guest. But the British Government intervened and refused to give a visa to her. So she could not come. Later, circumstances became extremely stormy and a visit was not possible. So she has come here after 28 years of trying and obviously it makes us happy. So I thank her and all of you once again.

4. R.N. Aggarwal.

6. To Bhagwan Sahay¹

New Delhi

8 January 1956

My dear Bhagwan Sahay,²

I understand that Professor Tucci³ has been or is still in Nepal. He has been to Nepal previously on many occasions and also to Tibet, and he has a reputation of carrying away valuable manuscripts and other articles. In fact, I think that he took as a loan many manuscripts from Nepal long ago and has not returned them since in spite of repeated requests.

I now understand that the Nepal Government are going to entrust him with some archaeological work in Nepal. I do not know how far this is true. But a man of this type has to be carefully watched. Otherwise, he would take away the best finds. Indeed, I have a little doubt that if he is given this work, he will somehow carry away the most important things that he finds.

But I am not writing to you about this aspect of the question. What I wanted to tell you was that we are reliably informed that Professor Tucci is connected with the American Intelligence Service and works on their behalf. It is they who finance him in his visits to India and Nepal. Probably, it is they who are financing the archaeological work in Nepal. This archaeological work is really a cover for other activities. Tucci, of course, is greatly interested in archaeological work, but it is fairly certain that he is connected with other people who are directly serving the American Intelligence Service.

I thought I would let you know this so that you might, in such a way as you think proper, inform the King⁴ about it. You need not, perhaps, mention my name in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Indian ambassador in Nepal.
3. Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984): Italian Orientalist; leader of several scientific expeditions to Tibet and Nepal; Professor of Religions and Philosophy of India and the Far East, Rome University, 1933-65; Honorary member, Society Asiatique (Paris) and Delhi University; awarded Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding (1976); author of several books on Tibet.
4. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah.

7. Contacts between India and Germany¹

Mr Vice Chancellor,² Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,
You know that we have met here tonight to do honour to you, Sir, and to your great country. India has had contacts of various kinds in the last 100 or 200 years with the countries of Europe. Our contacts with Germany have been very largely in the past in the realms of scholarship, cultural contacts and probably it is the scholars of your country more than any other in Europe who have studied our ancient and magnificent language, Sanskrit, and not only studied it but taught many Indians how to study it. Many Indian students of Sanskrit went to Germany and came back with added knowledge of their own ancient language and served in later years here. So that our contacts, apart from trade and commerce, have been in deeper realms of culture and scholarship. I hope that these contacts as well as others of course will continue in future.

During the past many years other events have overtaken most people in the world—war and disaster and all kinds of things have happened repeatedly. And how, having survived two Great Wars and all the disasters that accompanied them and followed them, again mankind has to answer the same question in a different context, the same question as to whether the problems of the world can be or should be solved by recourse to war again or by peaceful methods. Problems there are and I suppose there will always be problems, because possibly a lack of problems will mean lack of life itself. The life is full of problems. The question is how we solve the problems.

Your country, Sir, has been noted and has gained great renown in the arts of peace and in the science of war, both. And now your country in the past several years has made an astonishing recovery and advance and built herself anew after the terrible ravages of War. That shows the great vitality and perseverance and ability of the German people. I am sure that we can learn much from them and we hope to do so and propose to do so. You know, Sir, that we ourselves are concentrating on such energies and strength as we possess in trying to build up our own country. In trying to pursue paths of peace in doing so as well as in our relation with other countries, we seek your country's friendship as we seek friendship of other countries. We think that is the best approach to nations as to individuals, and even the difference of opinion should not come in the way of that friendly approach. I trust, Sir, that this approach of

1. Speech at a State banquet given in honour of Franz Bluecher. Vice Chancellor and Deputy Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany. New Delhi, 11 January 1956. External Affairs (PIB) 1956.
2. Franz Bluecher (1896-1959): Vice Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany. 1949-57.

ours will be welcomed by your country even though we may not agree in some matters of moment but I hope at any rate and believe that we will agree on the most vital matters that affects us and the world, that is, that we should seek ways of cooperation and a friendly approach to each other and for the solution of such problems that afflict the world today. As I said your country has been distinguished in many ways. I am sure that in the future it will be distinguished as before and even more so, and if your great country's energies are devoted to these arts of peace in which it has distinguished itself, and in cooperation with other countries in the solution of problems by peaceful methods, I am convinced that your great country will perform a tremendous service to the world. You mentioned to me, Sir, this morning in the course of our talk that sometimes or often the crusaders create trouble. They crusade too much and their crusading spirit, whatever the motive might be, is apt to interfere with the lives of others. I entirely agree with you, Sir. I suppose it can be said for the crusading spirit if it has the right motives, but there is always that danger of the crusading spirit interfering with others and creating trouble and conflict.

Therefore, we have stated repeatedly that it is not good to interfere, it is good to cooperate, it is good to learn, it is not good to interfere with other countries. Ideas, of course, travel and today in the world when we have been brought so nearer to each other by the improvement in communications and the rest, we live very close to each other, and there is no reason why we should put barriers to the exchange of ideas and knowledge. But, nevertheless, perhaps the world would be a more quiet place to live in if people did not interfere with others in any domain because interference in some way or other means an attempt, well, to dominate the other with your views or your ideas. Even the ideas which normally would be welcomed if they came without interference, are not so welcomed when they come in the other guise, and create other reactions. We, of course, in India, most of us anyway, have not had the background of the crusading spirit even in our philosophical approach to life. Perhaps it will be as well if we had a little more in that background but anyhow we have not had it. So, it comes naturally to us not to crusade too much in our neighbour's house or with others. But anyhow we have arrived at a stage in the world when we are so near to each other that we have to tolerate each other, be friendly with each other and if we do not, we get into trouble with each other. You have heard, Sir, of what we have talked about often—the five principles which we consider a sound basis for international relationships. And one of the most important of those principles is non-interference with others, the recognition of the others' individuality and freedom of life and action, cooperation with them, but non-interference. And we have been fortunate that in following this policy we have gained the friendship of many nations and the hostility of none. We hope, in our own little way, to follow that policy and to gain the friendship and cooperation of your country, Sir.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 306 December 1.²

I am surprised to learn of rumours and press reports from Delhi suggesting that our economic position was bad. As a matter of fact, our economic position has never been so good and the whole atmosphere in India is one of confidence. I cannot understand who is responsible for such absurd rumours. There has been no mention of this here. What has sometimes happened, however, is that in discussions about our Second Five Year Plan the gap between our estimated resources and the finances required for it has been discussed and some people have said that we shall have to get external aid to some extent to fill this gap. This is usually said in answer to attempts at expanding the Plan. In fact, under pressure the Plan is being expanded somewhat. The whole thing is at the stage of discussion now.

2. There can be no question of our changing our basic policy for any financial or like reason. Our approach, as you know, has been and should continue to be firm in regard to basic policies but cooperative about other matters. We do not wish to create any impression of taking sides in the cold war. Tremendous publicity given to the Soviet leaders' visit here has led to criticisms abroad about our aligning ourselves with Soviets. This of course is not true and we shall pursue our policy as before. Naturally, our contacts with the Soviets are increasing, chiefly in regard to some major projects.

3. The strong line we have taken up in regard to the Baghdad Pact must also cause irritation to UK and some other countries. Because of all this, we have to avoid giving an impression that we are changing our basic policy. We must criticise or oppose anything that we consider wrong. But in doing so, our

1. New Delhi, 3 December 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Krishna Menon said that there were rumours and press reports that India was facing a near crisis in its economy and needed "aid from the US more than ever, the giving of which would depend upon our political amenability." Krishna Menon suggested that India's approaches on a range of global issues at the UN and otherwise "have produced results" and had been accepted or accommodated "by the other side" which had not been always "gracious or welcome".

approach should be as friendly and constructive as possible.³ You are the best judge as to what to do in this changing situation in the UN.

4. I have received a reply from Eden to my message about admission of new members to the UN. He says that he is anxious to break the deadlock and will support the admission of eighteen applicants if there is general agreement. If, however, there is general agreement only on seventeen, that is without Outer Mongolia, he would of course agree. The danger now comes from threat of a veto by Nationalist Chinese and he is trying to avert this. This question whether the issue of admission should be discussed first in the Assembly or the Security Council is largely a matter of tactics. In any event, Eden assures me that he will do all he can to resolve the deadlock.

3. Krishna Menon wanted to know if India's approach "of continuing to follow a moderate and constructive, but nevertheless often critical and dissenting course", was to be persisted with.

2. To Horace Alexander¹

New Delhi

4 December 1955

My dear Horace,²

I received your letter of the 12th November³ some time ago. Please forgive me for the delay in answering it. As you must know, we have had a spate of distinguished visitors. There has been a regular procession of them and they demand a great deal of attention. Apart from this, our work and problems grow heavier and more intricate.

You write to me about Israel. I am much concerned about the tension and the near war situation that has existed as between Israel and Egypt especially. I do not think there will be any war because the Big Powers will see to it that it does not take place. But the situation is bad. In recent months it has seemed to me that Israel has been much too aggressive.

1. JN Collection.

2. An English Quaker who was close to Mahatma Gandhi.

3. Alexander's letter dealt primarily with a suggestion made by Guy Wint of the *Manchester Guardian* that Krishna Menon should attempt to reconcile the differences between the Arab states and Israel. Wint told Alexander that even if the immediate crisis were to be resolved, a serious effort was required to find a *modus vivendi* for lasting peace.

What am I to do about it? Or Krishna Menon? I have discussed this matter with the Egyptian Prime Minister. Recently I had a talk with the King of Saudi Arabia.⁴ Both discussed it fairly reasonably with me, though the gap between their position and of Israel's was very big. It is possible that Krishna Menon on his way back from New York might pay a visit to Cairo or Israel or both.

You refer to the British Press.⁵ I must confess that I have been greatly distressed. I do not mind what the Beaverbrook Press says. But the kind of news appearing in the London *Times* has been amazingly tendentious. Their correspondent here who, I think, has been or is being withdrawn now, appeared to me to be actuated with deliberate malice. His messages from Goa at the time of the trouble there were far from the truth.⁶ Subsequently he sent several messages about other matters from Delhi which surprised me because of their lack of veracity. He did not even take the trouble to verify the statements he made and then subsequently, when contradicted, he tried to justify himself.

I entirely agree with you that the old ICS mentality continues in certain British circles. There is resentment at the fact of India's Independence. British policy generally in Asia appears to me completely out of date. They deal with old type of ministers in the Middle East who have no influence with their people. The result is that outwardly they make pacts and alliances with a government, but they do so at the cost of irritating the people of that country. The Americans follow the same foolish policy. How can one bring these people up-to-date in their thinking and understanding of events in Asia?

Only yesterday, we had a report of a joint statement made by Dulles and the Foreign Minister of Portugal. Suddenly this brought up Indian feeling to

4. Nehru was told by the King of Saudi Arabia in the course of official conversations on 28 November 1955 that the real dispute in the Middle East was between the Arab states and the Western countries. The Big Powers were helping the Jews financially and militarily. The Saudi King said that in the prevailing situation the Arabs could not throw the Israelis into the sea; the western powers would not allow that. Nehru replied that the Arab countries were gaining in strength while Israel was also gaining strength. Nehru opined that such a situation would not lead to a possible solution of the problem.
5. Alexander spoke about press distortions or misrepresentations concerning India. He said this was an aftermath of the "old unhappy days" and a reflection of the continued influence of the "old ICS mentality". Alexander felt that in part there had been "rather tactless handling of the press correspondents at the Delhi end."
6. On 25 and 26 August 1955, the Special Correspondent of the *Times*, Louis Heren wrote a feature titled 'Indian Designs on Goa'. In this he wrote that the satyagraha of 15 August 1955 "was not an exercise in non-violent non-cooperation; instead it was an offensive operation." It was further said that the "intention of satyagraha groups" was to "liberate" areas under Portuguese rule. This was seen as a "fantastic notion" and Heren asked how "the Indian government can expect the Portuguese to accept the demands of this kind of invaders."

the pitch of anger. All the good work done by the United States in India is forgotten and only this fact remains that the US is supporting Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. In the same way the Baghdad Pact has irritated people here exceedingly and chiefly against the UK Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To John Kotelawala¹

New Delhi
7 December 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

I have received today your letter of December 3, 1955,² for which I thank you.

Soon after I received the copy of the letter which you had addressed to the Prime Minister of Egypt, I enquired from him, through our Ambassador³ in Cairo, as to what his views were. I gathered that while he would be glad to have the conference in Cairo, he was not quite clear in his mind then about the advisability of it at the time suggested because of the political situation.

About the middle of November, the Vice-President of Indonesia, Dr Mohammad Hatta, was in Delhi⁴ and I discussed your proposal with him. Prime Minister U Nu also came to Delhi⁵ then and I had a talk with him on this subject. All three of us felt that it may be difficult and to some extent inadvisable to hold the Asian African conference next June. The Bandung Conference created a very good effect not only in Asia but all over the world. This effect was largely due to the unanimity of the final decisions arrived at. It would be a pity to take any step which might impair that unanimity. The major problems

1. JN Collection.

2. Kotelawala sought Nehru's views on the suggestion received from the Indonesian Prime Minister, Ali Sastroamidjojo, that there should be an early meeting of the Colombo Powers to discuss the question of holding the next conference of the Asian-African countries. Kotelawala had informed Nehru on 22 September that he had written to Nasser regarding the possibility of holding such a conference in Cairo. Nasser replied in November, welcoming the proposal and saying that June or any other month would suit him.

3. Ali Yavar Jung.

4. Hatta arrived in New Delhi on 26 October 1955 on a three-week tour to see development projects in India.

5. U Nu was in New Delhi on 15 November 1955 on his way back from a tour of the Soviet Union, Finland and Sweden.

in the world today are difficult and intricate and there is considerable difference of opinion in regard to them. The result might well be that if we meet in June next, our discussions might not be so smooth and might not result in general agreement. Also, the Arab-Israel problem would inevitably overshadow others, more especially if the venue of the conference was Cairo.⁶ This problem has become even more complex than it was. Our sympathies are of course with the Arabs, but I take it that all of us are anxious to find a suitable way out, which will be acceptable to the Arabs and not merely to express sympathy.

Apart from all these considerations, it was felt that some considerable time would be required for preparation for the conference, that is in the shape of notes and briefs, etc. For all these reasons, I felt, and the Vice President of Indonesia and the Prime Minister of Burma were in general agreement with me, that we might postpone the consideration of this subject for the time being.

In your letter you have yourself pointed out that certain doubts have been expressed recently regarding the advisability of holding the next Asian African conference, as suggested by you. I think that there is justification for these doubts.

As regards the suggestion made by the Prime Minister of Indonesia that there should be an early meeting of the Colombo Powers to discuss the question of holding the conference, I had a similar message from him.⁷ I pointed out that for us merely to meet to consider this question would be inadvisable. A meeting of the five Prime Ministers naturally attracts a great deal of attention. If after the meeting, we merely say that we were not going to hold the conference soon, that would be somewhat in the nature of an anti-climax. It is better that we should correspond with each other. Apart from this, I am so tied up with important visitors and other very important engagements that I would find it almost impossible to leave India for the next three months.

With regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Kotelawala wrote to Nehru that the Government of Israel, in a communication sent to his office, had shown its interest in participating in the conference but it had also pointed out that "certain consequences" might follow from the conference being held in an Arab country.
7. Sastroamidjojo's message was conveyed to Nehru by L.N. Palar, the Indonesian Ambassador, in the middle of November. Palar stated that his Government considered Sri Lanka's suggestion to the Egyptian Government to hold the conference rather irregular as there had been no consultation with the other Colombo Powers.

4. To Josip Broz Tito¹

New Delhi

23 December 1955

My dear Marshal Tito,²

I was happy to receive your letter of November 24th³ which your Ambassador⁴ handed to me some days ago. I sent you an acknowledgment by telegram to Addis Ababa.

2. Your letter contained a very helpful analysis of the situation and of your talks with Mr Dulles and others. I entirely agree with your views on the German Question.⁵ The American approach to this question has become very unrealistic.⁶ I do not see how they think that they can achieve anything by merely shouting at each other. You rightly lay stress on the German people as a whole taking any part in solving this question of unification and also at the same time of internal democratization of Germany. Unfortunately, both the USA and UK Governments seldom think of the people in any country. They think of dealing with a few people at the top. When those people at the top happen to change, the whole policy of the Western Powers tends to collapse.

3. A very notable instance of the failure of Western policy is afforded by the so-called Baghdad Pact or the Middle Eastern system of alliances. These alliances ignored completely the people of these countries.⁷ Pressure was brought to bear upon the present ruling group. What has happened in Jordan has demonstrated the failure of this kind of approach.⁸

1. JN Collection.
2. President of Yugoslavia.
3. Tito's letter contained "standpoints and viewpoints" regarding the prevailing global situation based on an exchange of views with politicians who visited Yugoslavia.
4. Gajko Nikotis.
5. Tito pointed out the necessity of German development taking a peaceful direction, and not following "a policy of revenge." He said attention was not being paid to the future character of a reunified Germany, as a "unified and armed" Germany was an "unknown quantity." Tito sought East Germany's participation in the unification process, which in turn would strengthen "progressive forces" in the whole of Germany.
6. Dulles had told Tito that "as far as the unification of Germany was concerned, there were no prospects of an agreement being reached soon, since the Western countries insisted on free elections for the whole of Germany, while the USSR proposed formation of a joint council as a first phase towards German unification."
7. Tito observed that "it had been a very unfortunate idea to form pacts in the Middle East which only resulted in the breaking up of Arab unity and in creating constant friction in that part of the world."
8. In Jordan, the Government's proposal to join the Baghdad Pact led to widespread rioting and divisions in the cabinet of Said en-Mulki and he resigned on 12 December 1955. A caretaker Government under Ibrahim Hashem was appointed on 19 December 1955.

4. In the Middle East the initiative appears to have been taken in regard to these military alliances by the United Kingdom. The United States have no doubt supported them, but they have not quite approved of the British policy there. The British think that they can control the Middle East through men like Nuri el Said Pasha of Iraq who represents the nineteenth century.

5. It is quite extraordinary how Mr Dulles manages to do the wrong things repeatedly. His joint statement with the Foreign Minister of Portugal, in which he supported Portuguese colonialism in Goa, naturally produced a very powerful and angry reaction in India. To some extent there was the same reaction in many other Asian countries.

6. You refer to Egypt and Israel. As you say, this is a very difficult and delicate question. We have also been sometimes approached to take some step in the nature of mediation.⁹ We would gladly help if we could, but we have no intention of getting entangled in this complicated knot.

7. The situation in Vietnam is a very difficult one. The South Vietnam Government has not been behaving properly at all and has refused to act in accordance with the Geneva Agreements. The International Commission there, of which India is Chairman, has thus been placed in a very embarrassing position. They have reported to the two Co-Chairmen, Molotov and Eden. Diem, the Prime Minister of South Vietnam, wants to postpone any kind of elections till he has established himself firmly. In Laos also, the position is difficult. There, on the whole, the Pathet Lao group (that is the Northern group supported by North Vietnam) has not been very cooperative.

8. We have diplomatic relations with Laos and Cambodia. In so far as Vietnam is concerned, we have no formal diplomatic relations because the country has been divided into two. In effect, however, we have close contacts with them through Consul Generals stationed in both countries. Our position is rather a special one because of India's Chairmanship of the International Commission. Whatever we do in one part of Vietnam has to be done in the other so that we might not appear to be partial to one side.

9. I am enclosing a note prepared by me about the recent visit of the Soviet leaders to India.¹⁰ There is nothing very new in it, but I thought it might interest you.

9. Dulles had suggested to Tito to mediate between Egypt and Israel "with a view to the cessation of ... hostilities." On 12 December 1955, Malcolm MacDonald, UK's High Commissioner in India, wrote to Nehru "that any help given by India in the Middle East would be of special significance. To this end, he urged Nehru to make a statement "expressing sympathy with Anthony Eden's Guildhall speech on the Middle East." See *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 30, p. 453.

10. See *ante*, pp. 354-365.

I send my warm regards to Madame Broz and all my good wishes to you and to her for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. External Finances for CPI¹

When Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev were here, I spoke to them, among other things, about the financing of the Communist Party from external sources through various devices. They denied all knowledge of this and said that this would be improper. I think I mentioned this fact in the note² I prepared at the time of our conversations.

I think it will be desirable for you to have a talk with the Soviet Ambassador.³ You can tell him about some of the major facts mentioned in this note, more especially about the very high rate of commission given and the other methods of subsidising the activities of the Communist Party in India. Tell him that it is patent that these various methods do in effect amount to heavy subsidies and this appears to us undesirable. You might tell him further that I spoke about this matter to Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev who were surprised to know of this and disclaimed knowledge.

You can mention several matters mentioned in this note, more particularly the fact that the persons on the roll of the Tass News Agency and paid by them actually work in the People's Publishing House and that from time to time they write off sums due to them from communist organisations. Also that their employees actually contributed to the CPI funds for the Travancore-Cochin elections.

All this tends to support the contention that the Soviet Embassy or rather the Tass News Agency not only does the normal work of a news agency but also functions as a propaganda unit of the Communist Party and has means to subsidise the Communist Party of India. In view of the excellent relations between India and the Soviet Union, this kind of interference in our internal work is not only embarrassing but opposed to the assurances given by each country not to interfere in the other country.

1. Note to the Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, 23 January 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 334-345.
3. Mikhail Menshikov.

6. Fundamentals of India's Foreign Policy¹

The interview with the Prime Minister opened with my pointing out that the present East-West conflict must be looked upon not only as an imperialistic conflict but also as an ideological clash related to the communist—Soviet Russia striving to bring about a world revolution. It was emphasised that the free world must counter Moscow's aggressive policy by building up a strong defensive system on the one hand while granting economic aid to under-developed countries. Besides, there must be a close watch on all communist activities within the territory of every country. Asked for his view on this analysis of the world situation, the Prime Minister replied that according to his conviction the present East-West conflict could not possibly be solved through violence or coercion. A third world war would break the backs of both sides. Of course, a strong defence was necessary, and India was making great efforts in this respect. But it was fatal to flourish the atom bomb as a trump card every time, as that would only heighten the nervousness, the tension and the fever of armaments. Nehru implied that this criticism should be directed against both sides.

Nehru is convinced that under the present circumstances there was no prospect of bringing about peaceful coexistence among nations other than through winning one another's confidence by means of straightforwardness, sincerity and honesty. True, a mere policy of smiles could not solve the problem. On the other hand, a policy of frowns could lead to no result.

Asked what gave him the strength to put his trust, in view of Moscow's dishonest game, in an agreement on the upholding of the *Panch Shila* and in a friendship with Soviet Union based on such paper principles, Nehru, who had been speaking in a calm tone, raised his voice a little while his eyes began to flash. "What gives me strength", he said, "is the firm faith that confidence can be won only through confidence. It is faith in the force of the maxim 'love thy enemy'. Only such an attitude could win over the Soviets whose foreign policy had hitherto been based on distrust."

... He regards it as a mistake to set up an anti-communist front to oppose the communist bloc, and that is why he wants his country to keep aloof of any anti-communist conglomeration. At the same time, he emphasised that India would remain true to democratic principles and had not the slightest intention

1. Interview in New Delhi with the correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, a Zurich daily, which was published in the issue of 24 January 1956. Extracts. JN Collection. This English translation was sent on 27 January 1956 to Nehru by M.S. Mehta, India's Ambassador in Switzerland.

of joining any communist grouping. India was neither communist nor anti-communist. This policy of "non-alignment" does not prevent Nehru from combating the communists inside India.

To the remark that his policy obviously did not pay sufficient heed to Moscow's objectives of a world revolution, Nehru replied with a smile that it would be foolish of Moscow to stake everything on the idea of a world revolution. If any country fell victim to communism in the future, it would be exclusively due to its defective power of resistance. Even the North Korean aggression in 1950, according to Nehru, could not be attributed to Moscow's imperialistic-world revolutionary policy. A careful examination of the relevant material had led him to believe that the real reasons for that conflict were to be sought in Syngman Rhee's policy.

To the question whether the recent triumphal tour of the Soviet leaders had not intensified India's sympathy not only for Soviet Union but also for communism as such, Nehru explained that he was less worried over this problem than over certain measures of the Western Powers, measures which might influence Indian public opinion unfavourably and drive India against the will of her Government in an opposite direction. Nehru voiced particular irritation over Dulles' recent statement on Goa which had made the United States appear in Indian eyes as a power favouring colonialism. The free world should realise that its reputation in Asian and African countries was somewhat tarnished because of the still existing colonialism in those regions. Whoever wanted to follow a successful policy in those countries must take into account their nationalistic aspirations. Soviet diplomacy had shown a greater awareness of this fact than Western diplomacy.

Nehru did not deny that the Soviet Union had built up in eastern Europe a system which had no parallel in colonialism as traditionally defined. But India seems to display but little interest for that far away part of the world. Nehru relates the problem of German reunification with the question whether Germany's increased military power would not represent an additional danger factor. The recent talks with Vice-Chancellor Blücher had been of particular interest to Nehru because the West German statesman had given assurances of a policy of "non-violence" with regard to Germany's reunification.

Prime Minister Nehru then turned to the fundamental principles of his economic and social policy at home. A year ago he had defined the aims of that policy as a "socialistic pattern of society". There had not been any change in the economic policy which the Congress had laid down in the thirties under Gandhiji's leadership and which had been formulated more precisely after India's Independence. The Government wanted to level down the great disparities of wealth and at the same time expand the basic industries in the public sector of the economy. Nehru stressed that private ownership would continue in agriculture and the small-scale industries, and that there would be adequate

scope for such ownership even in the big industries. Whenever there was expropriation of the large estates or nationalisation of industries, it would be carried out, in contrast to the communist countries, without recourse to force and on the basis of the payment of fair compensation. The Government's attitude towards socialisation was by no means doctrinaire. The Government had been forced to assume the leadership in the industrial field because of many special circumstances. Nehru gave the impression of being much more in this sphere than some of the other leading members of the Cabinet.

The Prime Minister also wanted to make it explicit that a government which had to face the electorate periodically in free elections could not go so far in planning as a communist government. In addition, there was the completely different moral attitude towards the individual who, it is intended, must benefit directly from the development efforts even if those efforts were being made in a heroic epoch of economic development as the one which India was passing through today.

Nehru concluded his remarks by saying that if the free world wanted to give greater support to India, he would ask for greater understanding for India's external and internal policies. He would accept economic aid to a certain extent provided that it would not affect the people's self-confidence and sense of responsibility....

VIII. THE GOA QUESTION

1. Dulles-Cunha Joint Statement¹

The Prime Minister drew the attention of the Cabinet to the joint statement issued in Washington by Mr John Foster Dulles² and the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr Paulo Cunha,³ in which a reference had been made to "the

1. Minutes of the Cabinet Meeting, 4 December 1955. JN Collection.

2. US Secretary of State.

3. Paulo A.V. Cunha (1908-76): Member, Portuguese Upper Chamber, 1942; Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1950-58.

Portuguese provinces in the Far-East".⁴ It was felt that such a reference would be regarded by Portugal as support to its contention that colonial pockets such as Goa were integral part of Portugal. This statement was not consistent with the United States' policy in regard to colonialism to which a reference had recently been made by the US Ambassador, Mr Sherman Cooper. Mr Cooper had stated that his Government had not taken any position in regard to the dispute over Goa and that if any views unsympathetic to India had been expressed in the United States, such views were private and could not be taken as the views of the United States Government.⁵

2. The Prime Minister stated that it was proposed to lodge a protest with the US Government, about the reference made to "the Portuguese provinces in the Far East" in the joint statement of Mr Dulles and the Portuguese Foreign Minister.

4. The joint communique issued on 2 December 1955 said that recent remarks by Bulganin and Khrushchev about Goa were "an attempt to foment hatred between East and West." The communique also said that the Soviet leaders' statements with reference to the policies of the western powers in the Far East and allegations concerning "Portuguese provinces in the Far East... did not represent a contribution to the cause of peace."
5. The 2 August statement, spoke of the US concern of tension in Goa in a general sense. It noted that the US was in favour of settlement of disputes by 'peaceful means', this being expressed in the UN Charter. The US Government noted that Nehru had affirmed this principle for India and expressed confidence that "this is also the view that will be taken by Portugal."

2. Fallout of the Joint Statement¹

I sent you a brief note² yesterday about the joint statement of Mr Dulles and the Foreign Minister of Portugal. I understand that a telegram has been sent to our Embassy in Washington to elicit further particulars.

2. This statement is, from our point of view, a matter of the first importance and we have to take urgent and unequivocal steps, whatever they may be. Any

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 4 December 1955. JN Collection.
2. In this note, Nehru pointed out that India must "as early as possible", send a protest to Dulles on this subject. Nehru concluded by writing, "I am rather glad that this statement has come out because it enables us to deal directly with the US on this subject."

slurring over this issue will be very harmful to us. It concerns our political relations with the US and, indirectly, it may well affect the question of our receiving any help from the US for our developmental programme. There is bound to be a strong reaction in Parliament and in the country.

3. I suggest that the US Ambassador might be sent for. We need not say much to him at this stage but we might point out to him the far-reaching consequences of this joint declaration, followed as it was immediately by the statement of the Foreign Minister of Portugal about imperialist India.³ We may tell him that we are giving careful thought to this situation that has arisen and, for the present, we merely wish to inform him of our deep distress at this new development which goes counter to what the US Ambassador had himself said in relation to Goa some time ago.

4. Very probably the US Embassy has got the correct version of the joint statement. If so, he might be asked to send a copy of it to us.

3. Addressing a gathering at the National Press Club in New York on 2 December 1955, Paulo Cunha accused India of "imperialist ambitions" towards Goa and added that Portugal was in a "mood to defend itself by force" if need be. He added that Bulganin and Khrushchev had "cast a sinister light over the case" by their extraordinary remarks in support of India's claims to Goa.

3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

We have not yet received your telegram containing draft of protest. It may come some time tonight. I have decided to postpone our sending this protest till my return from my tour in South India. This will give us time to draft the message properly and consider it fully with our colleagues.²

I am returning to Delhi on 11th. Soviet leaders also returning from Kashmir same day. They will leave Delhi finally on 14th morning. It might perhaps be

1. New Delhi, 7 December 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. A day earlier, Nehru had cabled Krishna Menon seeking his reactions to the US-Portugal joint communique. "There is strong feeling in this matter here", noted Nehru, adding that he had said in Parliament that "this was a matter of grave concern with far-reaching consequence."

better to send our message to Dulles after the Soviet people leave, this is on the 14th. Otherwise it would probably be sent on the 12th.³

3. The Indian note of protest sent on 12 December, expressed "regret and surprise" at the Dulles-Cunha communique, adding that it was at variance with facts and "disregards and wounds" the strongly held views and sentiments of the Government and people of India and Goa; that it accorded by implication the approval of the US to the maintenance of colonial status of Portuguese territories; that India hoped the US Government would view the struggle of the Goan people with sympathy and appreciate Indian and Goan desire to end this "last trace of colonial domination" in India; that the problem of Goa was not created by any statement of the Soviet leaders visiting India, but was caused by the continued existence of this "nest of foreign pockets" and "stubborn refusal" of the Portuguese to consider "peaceful negotiations" to terminate their rule. The note also strongly refuted the suggestion that India "at any time" recognised the status of Portuguese colonial possessions as "Portuguese provinces"; expressed "surprise" at Dulles' statement that the Soviet leaders' remarks would incite New Delhi to "use force in its dispute with Portugal"; said that the US-Portugal statement "had the same effect" as the USA recognising "Portuguese claims" in India, and added that the US stand was "at variance" with their traditional "opposition to colonialism" and departed "widely" from recent pronouncements of their "neutral attitude" to Goa.

4. Publicity about Goa¹

I agree generally with FS. I do not think our High Commissioner or Deputy High Commissioner should ask any MP to put pressure on Government. They should however supply all facts and figures about Goa to the MPs as well as to others and explain our position. It is then open to the MPs to do what they like. I have an impression that adequate publicity has not been given to the facts. I have not yet seen the pamphlet which we are supposed to prepare with the assistance of Dr Gaitonde.²

I do not like our High Commissioner to approach anybody, much less the British Government, as a suppliant for favours. But it is right that we should offer facility for the facts in our case to be known.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 16 December 1955. JN Collection.
2. P.D. Gaitonde, a Goanese surgeon, gave his views to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet in July 1955. Subsequently, he was asked to assist the MEA in the field of publicity among Goans in India and abroad.

As regards the plebiscite, I do not think we should raise this question. Not that we are opposed to it, but we do not wish to get entangled in all kinds of difficulties. The obvious first step is for the Portuguese to give full civil liberties and allow the people to express their opinions freely. That, of course, the Portuguese can never do, constituted as they are, even in their mother country. I have not a shadow of doubt that the great majority of the people of Goa are fed up with Portuguese rule and want to be rid of it.

The facts that should be stressed are that there are less than 2,000 Portuguese, the rest are people of India, whether they are Goans or Indians. Secondly, that even the Christian population of Goa and outside Goa has demonstrated forcibly for union with India. Thirdly, the non-Christian population is much greater than the Christian and nobody can even suggest that these people are for Portugal. Fourthly, that we have given enough assurances for the autonomy of Goa as well as of course all the freedoms that are guaranteed by our Constitution.

I do not think that the question of Goa is going to be settled by any devious methods. The only possible compromise is that we might agree provisionally to a de facto transfer with some kind of nominal sovereignty remaining with Portugal pending a discussion of the next step.

5. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No.341 December 23rd.² We have now received a telegram from the Registrar of the International Court about Portugal's complaint.³ We shall, of course, consider this question thoroughly in all its aspects and will

1. New Delhi, 24 December 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers. NMML.
2. Krishna Menon wrote that he had seen press reports about Portugal filing a complaint against India in the International Court of Justice. He opined that "both from the juridical point of view and political bias the issue will be weighted against us from the start." Krishna Menon wanted India to take the stand that the issue "is not a juridical or justiciable matter."
3. The ICJ announced at the Hague on 23 December 1955 that Portugal had filed an application instituting proceedings against India concerning Portugal's claims to rights of passage over Indian territory. Portugal claimed that India had prevented her from these rights since July 1954.

make no commitment.⁴ We do not propose to send an immediate answer. Meanwhile we are waiting for the full complaint by post.

2. I do hope that you will not go against doctors' advice. A few days delay in your return to India will not matter. It is far more important that you should recover sufficiently before travelling.

4. Krishna Menon in his cable to Nehru urged extreme caution in this matter: "as once engaged with the Court as a party, we cannot in view of our international position make any retreats or treat Court decisions or even advisory opinions as void."

6. The United States and Goa¹

I had about an hour and a quarter's talk with the American Ambassador this evening. A little before he came, I had received a letter from him forwarding a letter addressed to me by Mr John Foster Dulles.² (This is enclosed.) I had also seen the telegram from our Embassy in Washington conveying the reply of the State Department to our note on Goa.³

2. I mentioned to the American Ambassador receipt of the letter and the message from the State Department. I said that I had just read them and we would give full consideration to them and perhaps discuss them later. I referred to the possibility of Mr Dulles visiting India in March next. I said that he would be welcome here and I would be glad to have talks with him. I would

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 30 December 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In his letter of 29 December 1955, Dulles said that "there are a good many aspects" to the Goa situation, and added that the subject "does not readily lend itself to written exposition." Dulles noted that India-US 'good relations' had received far more attention than the limited formal exchanges, adding that both sides would discuss Goa during his visit to New Delhi in March 1956.
3. The US State Department observed, in response to India's note of 12 December, that the Dulles-Cunha communique was "addressed directly and solely to statements which Soviet leaders had been making." That too, at a time when the US was directing its efforts to relax tensions. The statement also observed that Dulles' statement 'did not say' and had no intention to imply, that India would change its policy of resolving conflicts by peaceful means. The US Government maintained that the joint communique did not signify any great departure from American policy in respect of Goa.

like, however, to have, if possible, some more definite indication of the date of his visit, so that I could arrange my programme accordingly.

3. Although I had suggested postponement of a talk on Goa, I referred briefly to the message we had received from Washington. I said that this formal reply did not deal with many of the points that we had raised in our note. The Ambassador knew how strongly people in India felt over this question of Goa and I doubted very much if this reply would satisfy them. The mere fact of any joint statement being issued by Mr Dulles and the Portuguese Foreign Minister in regard to Goa was itself disturbing for us and indeed people who had read this not only in India but in Portugal and in other countries, including the United States, had drawn the inference that this was to some extent in support of the Portuguese position. Portuguese Press comments went very far indeed in this direction. Mr Cunha had been speaking almost daily on the subject of Goa in various cities and had used strong language. The reference to Portuguese provinces in that context had only one meaning for the average reader and then to say that Portugal had been there for 400 years made this worse and was in fact incorrect so far as the designation of Portuguese provinces is concerned. This designation, as was known, was given only two or three years ago to Goa. Mr Dulles had stated that the term "Portuguese province" was merely descriptive from the standpoint of Portuguese internal law. He should know that the Jammu and Kashmir State was an integral part of India from the point of view of our Constitution. Would he be prepared to describe Kashmir as a part of India? I was concerned with good relations between India and the US and I felt that the publication of our note and the reply would not remove the misunderstandings that had arisen.

4. Apart from this particular matter, the question was a larger one in so far as it concerned the American attitude to colonialism generally. On this question there was strong feeling in every country in Asia and there should be a clarification of the US attitude. Otherwise there was sure to be much misunderstanding.

5. The Ambassador pointed out that the State Department had made it clear that they abided by their previous statement of August 2nd and were not favouring any side. If the bona fides of the US Government were accepted, then this statement should be believed in.

6. I replied that I was not challenging the bona fides of the US Government, but the statement itself was vague and did not go far. It left a great deal in doubt. I also pointed out that while India had remained completely peaceful it was the Portuguese Government that had committed violence and shot down our people in cold blood. Even from that limited point of view, it was the Portuguese Government that was to blame. Yet nothing was said about this and it appeared that they were supported. Further, I reminded Mr Cooper that there were a number of Indians still in prison in Goa and not well treated

there. It was extraordinary that after all the steps that we had taken to stop this movement in regard to Goa, these Indian nationals, including a Member of Parliament, should be sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and should continue in prison. This was a constant irritant to Indian opinion. In fact, about a thousand persons had come to Parliament House some days ago protesting against this.

7. Mr Cooper said that something might be done about this matter.

8. I told the Ambassador that the argument that Portugal had been there 400 years might have been applied equally to the British rule in India for a long period of years or to the French possessions here. The Portuguese came to Goa because of superior sea power. Later, they continued in Goa under the protection of the British. It is obvious that they could not remain in Goa but for British protection, just as the French could not have remained in India but for British protection here. When the British left India, that protection was removed and normally the Portuguese should also have departed. Their position was more or less that of an Indian State under British protection.

9. The French had been wiser because they were more civilised and had accepted this new position. I mentioned that I had recently been to Mahe, where rather an extraordinary changeover took place even before our agreement with the French Government. Owing to large scale peaceful noncooperation and almost every employee of the French resigning, Government became impossible. The Governor, no doubt under instructions from his Government, decided to hand over charge of the Settlement to the nationalist leaders who actually were in prison at the time. This transfer took place not only peacefully but in a cordial way with speeches of congratulation and farewell parties, etc. That was the civilised approach to these problems.

10. I pointed out further that we had repeatedly stated that we wanted a peaceful settlement. But what could we do if the Portuguese even refused to talk in spite of our best efforts during the last four or five years. We were not prepared to accept the status quo and the Portuguese refusal to negotiate prevented any peaceful solution. It should be the interest of other powers to see that there was a peaceful solution and end a deadlock of this kind created by Portuguese action.

11. Mr Cooper appeared to agree.

12. I then discussed broadly the international situation and our policies. I pointed out that geography was important and it was obviously our desire and necessity in the long run to have friendly relations with our neighbour countries like China and the Soviet Union, quite apart from communism, etc. This was not because we were afraid of any invasion or aggression but simply because it was the wise and natural policy to adopt.

13. In regard to the European situation and more especially Germany, it was clear that war had been ruled out. If so, then the only other course open

was to encourage contacts of various kinds so as to lessen tension and thereby bring about a relaxation in the policies of the countries affected by the cold war. The cold war led nowhere. It might have led to a hot war. If the latter was ruled out, then the cold war was completely pointless.

14. I referred to the East European countries, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc. I was unable to say what the internal feelings in these countries were, though the impression I gathered in Czechoslovakia was that the people were not at all happy. In Poland I did not get this impression. In any event, it was clear to me that even if Soviet influence or domination were disliked, the fear of a German invasion was much greater and was in fact a cementing factor of all these countries and the Soviet Union. There was obviously no chance at all for any change to take place in these countries, short of war, merely by threats and condemnation. If a change was desired, it could only be by peaceful approaches and lessening of tension. As a result there would be more normality there and gradual return to democratic processes. This, I thought, would apply both to the Soviet Union as well as to the other countries. In fact, it seemed to me that the Soviet Union was going towards normality and there was a strong desire there to do so if this incessant fear of war is removed. I referred to a recent article in an English newspaper in which mention was made of the mentality of seige that had prevailed in the Soviet Union. I said that I had no doubt that a change was taking place there and my visit to the Soviet Union and Mr Bulganin's and Mr Khrushchev's visit to India had helped in this process.

15. Mr Cooper said something about the strong and condemnatory speeches of the Soviet leaders in India and after their return. I said that I did not like this approach at all because it did not help matters. So far as we were concerned, we avoided this kind of open expression of opinion even in regard to matters which affected us deeply. We did not refer to the 150 years of British rule and all the sufferings we had undergone under it. We did not refer publicly to what had been happening in Kenya, although that was horrible. But we made our position clear without trying to offend anybody. We wished others would do the same.

16. Mr Cooper told me that he was leaving for the United States on the 11th January. I have promised to see him again on Monday, 9th January, at 11 am.

17. It might be desirable for you to send a copy of this note to our Ambassador in Washington and to our High Commissioner in London. Also to Shri V.K. Krishna Menon.

18. Please send copies of the telegram No. 594 dated 29th December from Indembassy, Washington (which contains the State Department's message) as well as copies of Mr Dulles' letter to me and this note to the Education Minister and the Home Minister.

7. To John Foster Dulles¹

New Delhi
15 January 1956

Dear Mr Dulles,

Thank you for your letter of December 29th,² which was handed to me by your Ambassador in Delhi at the same time as the message from your Government. We are sending to you separately a further note³ on behalf of our Government on the subject of the joint statement which you had made with the Foreign Minister of Portugal.

As you will no doubt have appreciated, the joint statement with which you associated yourself and the subsequent Press statement you made, came as a great shock to Indian opinion. We feel very strongly about Goa as being a flagrant example not only of colonialism but of the worse type of colonialism. I am quite sure that anyone who takes the trouble to see the record of Portugal in Goa in the past and in the present can only come to this conclusion. In any event, the Government of India cannot tolerate the continuing insult to India which this possession of Goa by Portugal implies and which has been added to by the repeated statements made by the Foreign Minister of Portugal, more especially after his joint statement with you. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the Foreign Minister of Portugal has been emboldened to make these aggressive and insulting statements because he thinks that he has the support of your great country in regard to Goa. He has himself made this clear in some of his statements.

You may not be aware that there are a number of Indians in prison in Goa still. Many of them, including a Member of our Parliament, have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for the offence of entering Goa peacefully and without any arms and without doing hurt to anybody. This is apart from those who were shot down in cold blood. I should like you to appreciate the deep feeling of resentment which exists in India today at the barbarous and uncivilised behaviour of the Portuguese Government.

I am grateful that President Eisenhower has given thought to this situation even though he has not been well and has to carry such a heavy burden. I am sure that he will appreciate our own reactions to the attitude of the Portuguese

1. JN Collection. This letter was drafted by the Secretary General and Foreign Secretary. MEA.
2. See *ante*, p. 428.
3. In this note dated 17 January 1956, the Indian Government told the US Government that they had failed to obtain a satisfactory clarification or assurance from the US in respect of the joint statement and expressed "deep regret that the United States have taken a position without warrant in a matter of such vital concern to India."

Government in regard to Goa. I am very glad that he has recovered now and is in good health.

You will be welcome in Delhi when you come here, and I shall gladly avail myself of the opportunity to have a talk with you.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Jurisdiction of the ICJ¹

The first item² should be drafted as follows:-

The Prime Minister informed the Cabinet that the Government of Portugal had recently submitted an application to the International Court of Justice to the effect that Portugal's right of passage across Indian territory to Dadra and Nagar Haveli should be recognised and that the Government of India should allow Portugal to exercise the said right of passage.³ In this connection, the Prime Minister stated that India had made a declaration before Independence accepting, on condition of reciprocity, the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In this declaration no reservations had been made in regard to matters of domestic concern such as several other countries had made. The Government of India have now taken steps to vary this declaration. They had notified the Secretary General of the United Nations of the termination of the old declaration and, at the same time, had made a fresh declaration containing certain reservations.⁴ It was doubtful, however, whether this new declaration would be applicable to the present case.

In acknowledging the communication from the Court of International Justice, it had been stated on behalf of the Government of India that the jurisdiction of the Court had not been accepted by the Government of India. This matter would have to be decided by the International Court.

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary. 31 January 1956. JN Collection.

2. This was for the meeting of the Cabinet scheduled for the same day.

3. See *ante*, pp. 427-428.

4. India filed on 9 January 1956 a revised declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court, but which contained a sweeping reservation in respect of disputes relating to matters within India's domestic jurisdiction.

Meanwhile, lawyers had been consulted in India and in England as to the procedure to be adopted and the action to be taken on our behalf. A detailed note on the subject was being prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs and would be submitted to the Cabinet within the next few days.

CONVERSATIONS WITH TIBOR MENDE

1. To Tibor Mende¹

New Delhi

19 December 1955

Dear Mr Tibor Mende,²

I have seen your letter of December 8 addressed to my Private Secretary.³ I am sorry for the delay in answering it. I have been terribly occupied and I fear that it is not at all possible for me to see you during this month. I am leaving Delhi in four days' time and returning at the end of the month.

Apart from this, I am rather alarmed at the prospect of your proposed interview.⁴ I do not mind meeting you and talking to you on these subjects. But I do not claim to be a philosopher or an expert in any of the subjects you have mentioned. Some of the subjects are perhaps rather beyond me. Others I would only deal with in a somewhat superficial way, that is, in so far as they affect my immediate problems in India. I have no general remedy for the world's ills, nor do I feel myself competent to deal with them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1915-84); journalist and columnist for many newspapers; was in India from 1948 to 1950; lecturer at the Institute of Political Studies, Paris, at this time; Adviser to the UN Secretary General, 1965-71; Professor of Political Science, Sorbonne; author of *India Before the Storm*, *The Revolt of Asia*, *World Power in the Balance* and *The Chinese Revolution*.
3. C.R. Srinivasan, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Ministry of External Affairs.
4. Mende had proposed four conversations with Nehru to elicit his views on ideology, religion and utopia; the supremacy of the industrialised West; the problem of power and pacifism; and India in the changing world frame. The conversations were to be in the nature of "fire-side chats" on a personal tone and "to keep rather to social, historical and philosophical reflexions."

2. First Session¹

Tibor Mende: Quite recently, Mr Prime Minister, we have celebrated your sixty-sixth birthday. Even for a man as youthful in spirit as you are, Sir, this is an age of synthesis and recapitulation, an age when, as from a hill top, one can overlook the panorama of one's life and see its landmarks in the proper perspective. To ask you, Sir, to talk about these landmarks, to describe the role they have played in your life and the influence they had on your views, the decisions, and the actions, is the aim of the first conversation. This, I think, is going to be more interesting as you have not published any books, Sir, since 1945. Yet, these last ten years have been no doubt some of the most crowded and the most decisive years in your life. What is more, it was during these years that most of your beliefs and ideas were, as it were, confronted with the reality of political power, the very power indispensable to realise one's dreams.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I do not quite know what you expect me to reply to this very comprehensive question. To look back on one's life, well, inevitably from time to time, one has glimpses of one's own past life. At the same time, when one lives a very crowded life, one is thinking more of the present than of the past except in bits. Whenever I went to prison, I suddenly had to think of my past life because there was no present then, and the result was the writing of such books as I have written. And I find it difficult to develop that mood of writing introspectively, except in prison. I would have to go back to prison and have a fairly long term to think back. But, of course, one does think back occasionally but not, shall I say, in a deep and continuous way.

TM: May I interrupt you and say that we hope very much that you won't have this occasion to do this in a prison, but I think most people who are, in a certain way, in advance of their time, symbolically speaking, live in prison because they are surrounded by a world which has very often little understanding of their ideas. So, this mood of being alone with certain ideas, of being little understood does give, perhaps, the same kind of stimulation as if you were in prison!

1. New Delhi 31 December 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. These conversations have been published in Tibor Mende, *Conversations with Mr. Nehru* (Secker & Warburg, London, 1956). An Indian edition of the book was published in 1958.



WITH FRANZ BLUECHER, VICE CHANCELLOR, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY,
NEW DELHI, 11 JANUARY 1956



WITH GAETANO MARTINO, FOREIGN MINISTER OF ITALY, NEW DELHI, 4 JANUARY 1956

JN: It is rather odd but, to some extent, I have the capacity to be alone even in a crowd and to detach myself, in a way, from present activities which is very, very helpful in keeping me a little fresh. That is so. But, looking back, as you say, all kinds of ideas and emotions come in, and it is slightly difficult to disentangle them.

TM: May we try to be cruelly systematic, which is cruel in this case? Well, quite arbitrarily, as an outsider, just as a reader of your works and speeches, I would try to examine this heritage, this personal heritage perhaps under four headings. First of all, naturally, your childhood, Sir, your Indian surroundings, that house in Allahabad, the education and the ideas you have absorbed and the enormous influence of your father, which is apparent from all your writings; then, secondly, the great impact of your contact with the West, your studies, your years in England; thirdly, perhaps what you might simply call Marxism which includes all the great impressions of the Russian Revolution, all the great ideas of the early part of the twentieth century, and, finally, your meeting with Mr Gandhi. Well, under these four headings—I do not know if this is of any help—if we could perhaps proceed on this ground.

JN: You may if you like, not in great detail, but broadly. What would you like me to say, to begin with my childhood?

TM: Being today engaged in reshaping India, I should imagine, it is extremely important what you have absorbed from India, what India means to you and what it meant to you in your childhood. To what extent they have put their imprint on your ideas?

JN: I think India has grown upon me. Being part of India, of course, I have had it in me all the time, but not consciously to begin with. In my childhood, apart from the Indian environment which I absorbed unconsciously, I absorbed India first through my mother and through other ladies of the family, who, as you might know, used to be, at any rate, and may be now too, full of Indian stories, stories from Indian mythology. Even those whom you may consider not educated or well read, but they were cultured in the sense of knowing the stories of our epics and every single phase and incident in them which were repeated as stories to the children and which became imbibed in their consciousness gradually. That and also, of course, I grew up in what is called North India where there is a mixture of what is sometimes called Muslim culture, in language, in ways of living, food, etc., so that I became used to this composite kind of cultural life—"cultural" is a big word, but a kind of life one lived, in which certain Western ways and methods had also come in. My father

represented a generation which had struggled against the old conservatism, and my grandfather was hundred per cent of the old type. In fact, my father himself was a posthumous child. So, my grandfather died nearly a hundred years ago.

TM: Complete break of generations.

JN: Yes, my father was a rebel against many social customs. That, of course, had some influence on me in the early days. From modern standards, my father would be called conservative in many ways, but in those days he was a great rebel, and a man of very strong character. That influenced me greatly and so I grew up in this rather composite environment, and with increasing influence all the time of the West or rather the English West because of reading books and stories and magazines. With that, I went to England.

TM: Excuse me. Before we start on England, may I ask a question, Sir, which I could not see very clearly from your autobiographical writings, Sir. When we go back to your house in Allahabad, end of 19th century reformism in India, the liberal generation to which, I presume, your father belonged, tried to reform the Hindu society in, let us say, a cultural sense. In those days, there were two very clear tendencies—there was either the prodigious reform, which was like the Brahmo Samaj, or the new Hindu movement; or there was actually, let us say, the legalistic aspect of reform which wanted to reform only the social aspects of Hinduism and not religion itself. Now, I do not know if I made myself clear on these two different approaches. To which one did this house in Allahabad belong?

JN: My father or the environment?

TM: Which wanted to reform Hindu religion or the Hindu social environment which grew up around religion?

JN: The problem as such never came up before me in my childhood. My father was not exactly a religious man. Yes, he had certain respect for the Hindu religion, as he had been brought up in it, but not religious in any sense. He did not like many of the Hindu social customs and he broke through them and even came into conflict with his community, was excommunicated. He did not care at all. He went ahead. He was a very strong willed man and successful in his profession, and most of his time was taken up in his profession, that is the law. He did not attach himself in any way to the so-called reformers but he sympathised with them of course, but rather thought them ineffective. Anyhow, he was too busy with his profession in those days to worry, except that in his personal life he went against many social codes and more or less succeeded

because the time was a changing time and others also did so. My own impressions, I suppose, in those days were that many of the social customs were completely out of date and had to be changed.

TM: I remember your description of going to the Ganges and taking a dip one day, a religious bath.

JN: I do not think that has very much to do with religion as such. It is an emotional phenomenon for a child to go to a huge fair, thousands and thousands of people going there. I do not think of it really as religious.

TM: Rather jolly and spiritual, I imagine.

JN: Yes, but there was an element of community with the crowd. I remember in my childhood going to those huge fairs which take place every year in Allahabad during this month, in January, or next month, and rather enjoying myself with the crowd. The dip in the Ganges had no significance to me but I might tell you that I have always had a tender feeling for the Ganges. It has nothing to do with religion. It is a kind of the cultural background to the Ganges which has represented so much in India's culture and history and development. And I have lived and it has been wherever I have lived as I was born nearby.

TM: Background of your childhood.

JN: Background of my childhood, yes.

TM: But, before going to England and before, so to say, exposing yourself to these liberal ideas of the West, did you have already a very clear notion of the necessity or the desire in you of changing this shape of Hindu society? Were you in revolt against Hindu society before being exposed to the method of Western liberalism?

JN: Yes, to the extent that my father himself was in revolt and I accepted that and thought that was the right thing. Before going to England, as you perhaps might remember if you have read my book, I had a dose of theosophy through a tutor I had, and through Mrs Besant.

TM: You seem to have got disappointed rather quickly according to your description.

JN: Well, yes, I was disappointed because theosophy seemed to me totally

ineffective. Not that there is anything wrong in what they said. There was a great deal of right, but rather, the persons who functioned in the Theosophical Society seemed to be cut off from the world's problems and considering themselves elite. But Mrs Besant had a very powerful influence on me in my childhood and later, many years later, when I had come back on the political plane, again she had a powerful influence upon me.

TM: But this, what we might describe as revolt before departure to England, would you say, Mr Prime Minister, had a definitely social colouring? Was it a revolt with a social content or whether purely an emotion mixed with nationalism?

JN: I think it was not very social, not consciously social, except that I disliked certain social habits and customs which I saw around me and I was attracted towards what I thought was the West, the English West.

TM: Probably, you had a very idealised picture in your mind.

JN: Yes, doubtless.

TM: Then you arrived in England at the age of fifteen.

JN: Yes. Well, there too I tried to fit in and I did fit in without much difficulty in the school life there, later in the college life there, and I would say that it was really at Cambridge that, broadly speaking, certain socialistic ideas, partly Fabian socialism, partly, perhaps, a little more slightly aggressive socialism developed, but it was very academic.

TM: May I ask, in those very formative years who were the personalities who, looking back at it today, had very great influence on you, Sir? In Cambridge, in those days, there were lectures every second day in University halls. Who were the people whom you would put down?

JN: I do not think I can mention any particular person who had very marked influence, but men like Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Keynes, the economist, who were lecturing then there, although my subject was science—economics was not my subject—and some of the scientific lecturers also, and I was interested too in all those then, also, it was outside my immediate subject in some rather elementary lectures in philosophy and in literature, Greek poetry or something like that. I used to go to them. I was just interested in them.

TM: But when you listened, Mr Prime Minister, to people like Bernard

Shaw or the great generation of scientifically minded early socialists, what attracted you mainly? Was it the logical order of society they envisaged or the implication that their ideology would be essentially, to use a popular expression, anti-colonial?

JN: I do not remember any special anti-colonialism in that except that I was, of course, against British rule in India, very strongly so, and perhaps there was a connection between their ideology and this. But I do not remember those people ever talking about it much except some idealists who talked about the horrors in Africa or horrors in India or something.

TM: Talking of exploitation of one people by the other clearly implied the socialists' coming anti-colonial stand. In other words, they must instinctively have appeared to you as your ally as an Indian nationalist.

JN: Undoubtedly, and any book, for instance, that was written about India, either by an Indian or by an Englishman, which brought out the harm done to India by British rule immediately appealed to me.

TM: And the impact of events in Russia reached you actually in England?

JN: No. That was afterwards. In England, in my early days too, I was much influenced by things like the story of the Italian Republic, Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the Irish struggle that was nearby. In fact I paid a visit to Ireland at the beginnings of the Sinn Fein, right at the beginning and I was much interested in it.

TM: I do not remember having read about this.

JN: It was a short visit and I read one or two books too on Sinn Fein. That was a new word then.

TM: Was it a visit motivated by your interest in the events or just...?

JN: No. I went merely because I was interested in Ireland. Then I saw this happening and I read a book or two. I had always been interested in the French Revolution. I read some books on that and it excited me, this kind of vague, well, nationalism, freedom movements aiming at some kind of equality, these broad things, a kind of utopian socialism not at all scientific or anything. So far as the Russian Revolution was concerned, I was in India then, and I had got entangled in the Indian nationalist movement after my return. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi had also come into the picture and he was a tremendous

conditioning factor. When we first heard the news of the first Revolution, the Kerensky Revolution, we naturally were very happy because I had read some books and accounts about previous attempts in Russia and Czarist rule being very oppressive and very autocratic and I reacted against that type and I sympathised with the revolutionary movement there. There was no Marxism attached to it or anything. So, the Kerensky Revolution created a great deal of interest not only in me but in India. Then followed the Bolshevik Revolution which was a very exciting episode indeed. We did not get much information about it at the time just after the war, because war also is a very absorbing factor naturally, and our sympathies were very much with Lenin and others, without knowing much about either Marxism—I had not read anything about Marx till then.

TM: In other words, at that stage your sympathy with Russian events was in the chronological order, of your sympathy for Cavour or the Irish Revolution or any freedom movement?

JN: Plus this new socialistic element, because Lenin was a representative of a socialist urge.

TM: But at that stage this was still rather vague. You did not know the ideology.

JN : Yes. Vague, but here was somebody who was bringing up the underdog and equalising people and removing vested interests and all that. Then, after that, all these wars of intervention which took place in Russia during those times, our sympathies, mine at any rate, were entirely with Lenin and others; again, without knowing much about what was happening there. Also, you will remember perhaps, things that Lenin did say in regard to China. He immediately gave up extra-territoriality and the special privileges of Russians there. I think his movement in Russia powerfully affected parts of Asia—I am talking about not the Soviet part of it, but these countries, the Middle Eastern countries. After the First World War, Mr Churchill had actually talked about a great Middle Eastern empire of the British, stretching from India to Constantinople, and after the war they practically were in possession of these countries. I did not like that. So I liked the development in Russia as a counterpoise for all this. I have no doubt that made a great difference to Iran, to Turkey and all those countries in those days.

TM: In other words, at this stage the Russian experiment did not imply to you, in Allahabad, any applicability to the Indian situation. It was purely an international phenomenon.

JN: Except that it made me think much more of politics in terms of social change. It was not merely a nationalist upsurge, or one, against autocracy like the Czar's rule, but, a social change coming up in the people and it meant more equality. The precise problems of democracy and authoritarianism did not trouble one. They did not come up before me. These developed in me only later.

TM: May I ask here—it always puzzled me why people thought that the decisive date in Asia was the defeat of the Russians by the Japanese. I always imagined that the appearance of economic planning in Asia was a much more important event. The appearance of this possibility of people, ruled from outside, lifting themselves by their own bootlaces. Did this new economic miracle, economic planning have a great influence on your generation at this particular juncture?

JN: You are right, but may I mention, as you have said, the effect of the Japanese defeat of Russia, as a boy, had a very marked effect on me.

TM: Because a battle is more picturesque than economic planning?

JN : No, no, no. There was no economic planning then in view. I am talking about early days in 1905. That defeat had a powerful effect on me as a boy, I suppose, in regard to the relationship of Asia and Europe. Now, you are perfectly right that, after the Russian Revolution, the thing that impressed us most was this idea of planning and, more especially, the stories we heard of the tremendous changes in the Central Asian parts which were very very backward.

TM: In those days did these news reach the average newspaper reader in India?

JN: In bits, here and there, yes. I am now referring to the early twenties—yes, about 1920, 1921, 1922—when changes were taking place in all these areas north of Afghanistan—Uzbekistan, Samarkand, Bukhara—but precise news we did not know. But, anyhow, the general impression was created that great social and political changes were taking place there, and one rather discounted the violence in them, that is, partly because of civil war going on one could not help, partly because we discounted the stories that came to us as propaganda.

TM: But to that generation, I mean except those very few who were communists in that period in India, this social evolution within Russia did not seem, if not a model then, a tool to be studied?

JN: Those were the days in the early twenties when we had our first experience of prison. Now, I refer to that for two reasons. First of all, we were intensely occupied with our own struggle. Everything else was interesting in a distant way, and apart from the interesting experience, only in so far as it applied to India, and we were so very conscious of ourselves and so confident in ourselves that external occurrences did not disturb us. We knew that we were following the right path in India.

TM: In other words, you were conscious already at that moment that India had her own strategy, her own method?

JN: Absolutely. We had so much faith in Gandhiji and in Gandhi's methods. Every other method we either approved or disapproved, we thought they might suit other countries, but we felt that we were on the right path. So we were not really exploring. We were not in a frustrated state trying to find out what to do. We knew we were right and rather, if I may say so, rather egotistically so, we were right. You see, it was a combination, which is always a happy combination, of a feeling that you are morally right and yet you are effective. It is a very happy combination which seldom comes.

TM: Very well.

JN: And which gives one strength. There is no doubt in one's mind except minor tactics. And secondly, going to prison made us discuss amongst ourselves in prison and to read books for which we had no time outside. And of course, remember that Gandhi was always talking of the underdog in his own way, not in the socialist way, not in the class struggle way, but always talking about the underdog, more especially about the peasants of India. So our thinking became more and more conditioned to the peasantry of India, not so much to the industrial workers, but to some extent there too, but more so to the peasantry of India and very much against the landlords and the rest. So, in that sense, all of us were powerfully conditioned, socially speaking. Now, the Russian example did not come in the way. It helped us in thinking. We thought we could learn much from it but merely to adapt our thinking and not to change that basically in that sense.

TM: Well, imperceptibly we have passed now this fourth category we wanted to discuss, that is, Mr Gandhi's impact on you, Sir. Gandhism—I do not like the word very much but it will simplify matters—seemed to me always to have two aspects, the liberation movement and the social aspect. At this early period, in the early 1920s, it had a strong social aspect as well. It seemed to you, Sir, too as social strategy and the liberation strategy?

JN: That is right. Even before he became the leader, the acknowledged leader of the national movement, he was experimenting, if I may say so, first in South Africa. That was a national aspect, Indians versus the South African element there. When he came back to India, he threw himself in some peasants' struggles which immediately brought this question of landlord and peasants as well as some indigo plantations before us. There was always that social aspect right from the beginning; that type of thing, of removing, of fighting against certain vested interests, not in the socialist class struggle way but, nevertheless, fighting for them. It is rather difficult to distinguish, that is, it was not a denial of the class struggle but the approach was a friendly approach to the other but, nevertheless, an uncompromising approach in the sense that "you must give up your vested interests."

TM: Yes, but judging from your own writings, Sir, I find that at some periods you had serious doubts about the effectiveness of that method in its social application.

JN : Yes. I had many doubts. Of two kinds. One, whether non-violence itself would be adequate. That really applied more to the British than to the social aspect. In regard to the social aspect, the doubts really came because I was not quite sure that our own colleagues were so socially conscious. It was not about the method, the method was effective enough. But were our colleagues as anxious for social change as I wanted them to be?

TM: By colleagues you mean other leaders of the nationalist movement?

JN: Not Gandhiji, but the other colleagues who counted for a great deal, great leaders in their own right. That kind of doubt often came. There was a certain pull in different directions, and Gandhiji, of course, was the person who kept everybody together because he had a part of everybody's faith in him; this was also due to the self-discipline that he had trained us in. He had so many aspects. He satisfied my questioning and he satisfied the others' questioning too.

TM: This brings up a very interesting, even, I should say, probably one of the most interesting questions, that most people would like to ask you, Sir, about this puzzling relationship. Looking at this relationship, with Western eyes, one just could not imagine two people more different in formation, in outlook, in temperament, perhaps even in views than Mr Gandhi and you. Could you elaborate on how this impact and in what respect it had this tremendous hold on you? Because, I remember, even on the last pages of your autobiography there is a definite air of disillusionment. Perhaps, this was an unfortunate juncture of this relationship, but one really had the

impression from those last pages that you had very serious doubts, that you were questioning the fundamental tenets of what we call Gandhism and at the same time there was this overpowering love and attachment to the person of Mr Gandhi.

JN: Well, before answering that question I should like to say a few words about my father. I think it was far more remarkable for him to come under this influence of Gandhi and largely fall into line with him, than for me. He represented not only an older generation but also a man of strong will who did not at all like to bend his will to anybody else. It was a terrific struggle he had. It was all gradual, his normal conflicts within the social milieu. Gandhiji upset the very basics of his thought and yet he underwent that change. Now, it is very difficult to analyse why he did so. It was perhaps a triangle: Gandhi, my father and myself, each influencing the other to some extent but principally, I should imagine, it was Gandhi's amazing capacity to tone down opposition by his friendly approach. There was no aggression in it and yet it was a hard approach. He did not give up any essentials, but he would compromise on the non-essentials. And my father's recognition of the greatness of Gandhi; that conditioned us first. Secondly, our closer association with him brought out that Gandhi was not only a very big man and a very fine man, but also an effective man; that his methods were not silly, they brought results.

TM: Suited to his surroundings?

JN: Yes, and that combination of respect for Gandhi and that what he said had reason and good sense behind it, gradually changed my father. With him the process was a very painful one and rather a long drawn-up one, but when he made up his mind, well, then he made up his mind. The change for me was very great. I was very much younger. I was simply bowled over by Gandhi straight off. My first personal experience of him—also my father's, I think—was during the martial law days in the Punjab from the start. We all worked together and I worked as a kind of a secretary to Gandhiji and repeatedly I was astonished at his appraisal of the situation, of what should be done. Most of us reacted against it first. "What is the good of that", we asked, and a little later we found that that was the right policy. So, step by step, we came to rely on his judgment, apart from his basic principles.

TM: On his identification with the reaction of the Indian masses?

JN: Generally that. Also the step to be taken proved to be an effective step, chiefly because of his identification with the Indian masses, no doubt. When he first brought this revolutionary idea of non-cooperation and all that, almost

every leader in India opposed it. Even the most advanced leaders just did not understand it. I think my father was almost the only principal leader who sided with him, after much difficulty and thought and discussion with him.

TM: Because he understood the idea or because he submitted to the leadership of the man?

JN: It was, as I said, a kind of a triangle. I, of course, had accepted that idea immediately, in a jump. I did not reason, it appealed to me because I was searching for some method of action. And I did not agree with this business of throwing about bombs, which some of our young men did, I thought it was silly. And now because he put forward a method of action, it filled the gap in my mind and I jumped at it, I did not care for the consequences, I was too full with enthusiasm. But my father was a man over fifty, middle fifties. He was not so conditioned as to jump about like this. Partly, no doubt, he was forced to think because of my own reaction. I was his only son; he was much interested in me. But it was not I who made the change; it was Gandhiji who brought the change and their repeated discussions and talks. And, mind you, Gandhi always told me, "Don't push your father too much by your action. Don't cause him pain." Not that he wanted me not to do it, but to go slow.

TM: That was a remarkable thing.

JN: Yes, because he wanted to win my father, you see, and he did. So, a succession of events made my father think, and with a certain measure of active faith towards Gandhi's good sense he took that step when others didn't. That was the initial days of non-cooperation. The first step that had to be taken in non-cooperation came within the next three months. There were elections which we boycotted, all India election involving some reforms which the British had introduced. Now, that boycott was amazingly successful. People didn't go to the polls, it was very difficult, and the wrong people got elected. That did not matter. Nobody paid any attention to that. That tremendous success of Gandhiji in that brought round the other leaders of the Congress. They saw the hold he had on Indian people and how he could bring about results.

After that his dominance of the Congress was complete. A few people rather moderately inclined or Liberals and others left it. Even Jinnah at that time left it, not because of any Muslim reason but because this was becoming a completely new organisation where people came to our big congresses, not clad in Western clothes, but peasants and others and shouting *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai* and all that. It was a new revolutionary force in action. All this, of course, had an overpowering effect on us. We saw this great movement and we were part of it, we were swept by it and we pushed it ahead and all that. At

that time there were no doubts in our minds about its complete efficacy. The doubts arose later and we resolved or left them unresolved from time to time.

TM: At this point, when—you young people—your emotion found a strategy, did you think at that stage already of the application of Gandhian philosophy to the subsequent task of nation-building?

JN: Oh, yes! Certainly, with possible qualifications. What I mean is this: the philosophy remained, but I never understood his reaction to the machine, to the big machine I mean; because I was always in favour of the big machine. At the same time I understood his emphasis on cottage industry in the circumstances then existing in India. And so, without one hundred per cent accepting everything that he said about industrialisation, it was quite enough for me that the problem was being dealt with in the right way then.

TM: I should like to ask a question, one that is quite difficult for an outsider to ask ... Looking at it with a detached Western eye, Gandhism appears under two distinct headings: the liberation movement first and nation-building after. Looking at it from the historical point of view, there is absolutely no question that it was a tremendous success as a liberation movement. The emotional accumulation of a whole generation found a strategy in it. It was successful whatever little doubts or deviations it caused among those who could not always follow Mr Gandhi's intuition. But now, the second aspect: the nation-building. In other words, the problems of today. Supposing Mr Gandhi is still with us.... To put it crudely—and I excuse myself for being crude in such a delicate matter—there is the doctrinaire aspect and there is an aspect with an anti-scientific nature, if I may say so. In the doctrinaire aspect, one has somehow the feeling—that Gandhism had too much negation in it. Sometimes, Gandhism seemed to be the cause of the noble slave. It often lacked that assertive, creative urge which has been driving men toward the great achievements of human history. And this second aspect: this occasional rejection of reason and logic. One asks whether this second, this, let's say, anti-scientific aspect, has not been a stimulant to the old, atavistic forms of Hinduism?

JN: There is that aspect and that aspect troubled us. Right in the beginning of our movement, it was allied to what was called the Khilafat movement of the Caliphate. Gandhi, for instance, had neither any intimate knowledge of the Caliphate nor was he personally greatly interested in it, but because he felt this was something which moved the Muslims here—they considered it very important—he considered it his duty to support them, and thereby support the rather very conservative and bigoted elements among the Muslims.

Many of us had doubts about this: "Is it right to support that type of element, whether in the Hindu or the Muslim?" He did; his sole reasoning was: "It was not for me to judge; if the Muslims want something, they are my brothers; I must support them and to the end." I think that while that produced very good results in unity and all that, it certainly produced bad results in the end and threw up the more bigoted and conservative types of Muslims in front. Of course, in dealing with Muslims Gandhiji was very cautious. That is, he did not wish to impose himself or his views and he accepted them provided, always, that they accepted his doctrine of non-violence. That was a very big thing.

Now, coming back to the Hindus, I think that he was not so, shall I say, "going backward" as people think. I give you an instance. Take the caste system in India. Now, I was always opposed to it; so was my father, and I spoke to Gandhiji repeatedly, "Why don't you hit out at the caste system directly"? He said, "I don't believe in the caste system except in some idealised form of occupation and all that, but the present caste system is thoroughly bad and must go." "I am undermining it completely," he said, "by my attack on untouchability." He had a way of seizing one thing and concentrating on it. "If untouchability goes," he said, "the caste system goes. So I am concentrating on that". There was some reason in that and we saw that the old reformers who talked about these matters intellectually had no effect on the masses at all. They just functioned in the air while this man powerfully moved the masses and created huge social changes. So, he made untouchability the one thing on which he concentrated, which affected the whole caste system ultimately.

TM: May we call it a genius of finding a common denominator?

JN: If you like, but it was more than that, the genius of finding the real point which would shape things.

TM: The essential or rather pivotal thing.

JN: That is a military strategy, fighting the weakest point of the enemy and breaking his front. Then the whole front goes. His approach was not to go and irritate the masses in their deep convictions. He accepted that, largely because they believed in them, nevertheless, taking hold of some point on which he made his concentrated attack which really affected all their thinking about the other matters.

TM: It had a radical effect on the other issues.

JN: You see that in his statements, in his thinking in later years, he broadened his attack although he concentrated on one particular thing. You see what he

said. You must also remember that almost all his speeches were not deliberately addressed to intellectuals. He was always thinking of how the masses of India will react. So he used simple phrases, used homely analogies. He referred, let us say, always talked of *Ram Rajya*. Have you heard that before?

TM: I have heard that expression *Ram Rajya*.

JN: Rama is the ideal hero of Indian mythology. *Ram Rajya* means the Kingdom of Rama, that is, a kind of welfare state, you might say. To a person like me, it sounded like going back to some primitive stage, but that was a phrase which was understood by every villager. It may be, sometimes, he did not understand it in the sense I would have liked him to have done but, nevertheless, it gave content to his thought. The point is, Gandhi was always thinking of the mass mind of India and was trying to lift it up in the right direction and gradually giving it more and more things to think about, without completely upsetting it and making it frustrated....

TM: In other words, it was, to put in crudely, a long-term strategy of slowly moulding the mind and preparing attitudes.

JN: It was a long-term strategy undoubtedly, but an immediate strategy for action. The action was immediate. You can't make millions of people suddenly think differently and uproot them from a social fabric to which they have been accustomed for hundreds and thousands of years.

TM: May we perhaps say that Mr Gandhi, so to say, did not "spiritualise" you so much as gave you a heritage of a method and of an unbreakable respect for the means.

JN: Yes. May I say that in spite of my differences with Mr Gandhi, more and more I came to believe in him as a tremendous revolutionary force in the right direction. That is, taking the whole masses, not converting only a small select group. Now, when you talk of "spiritualisation", it is all difficult for me to answer but, in a broad sense, I would say he did "spiritualise" me, in a broad sense, not in a narrow religious sense. First of all, there is the question of means, which you just mentioned. Faith grew in me that the right means are always important and vital, although, naturally, for a politician, one has to choose always the lesser evil. A leader cannot divorce himself from the masses completely. He may be some distance away, pulling them or pushing them. But, if he divorces himself, he may be a great man but he is not a leader. He has lost touch. Therefore, he has to compromise. But the point is, the compromise should not be on any basic principle. But the effect of Gandhiji

on me in the early days was, for instance, was to simplify my life very much. I gave up smoking, for instance. I did not smoke for five or six years. I think this was not to make myself "better" but for three reasons: One was just that I thought I was wasting money. India is a poor country, and I am wasting money on smokes. This little money on smokes might be utilised better. Secondly, a sense of discipline: why am I a slave to a habit? Thirdly, if I dislike smoking in public, why should I do it in private? That is, I did not smoke in public so it was not truthful to do something in secret that I did not do in public.

TM: Was this a sort of re-examination of various attitudes because of this moral stimulus?

JN: It was a moral stimulus. I even gave up eating meat. Now, that has nothing to do with any philosophy but simply simplifying my existence, and a slight touch of austerity also came in with it. Of course, that influence he had on vast numbers of people. He changed the whole manner of our living. I had read the *Gita* occasionally and admired it, I read it again and again not from a philosophical standpoint, not from theological, but there are numerous parts of it which had a powerful effect upon me. If a person, doing the right thing, not caring so much for the consequences ... if you do right, well, right results will flow. Gradually, I began to develop the thought that to apply my scientific mind to this business and to come to the conclusion, more or less, that every action has, naturally, a result. Every right action must have, to that extent, a right result, even though it might not show up, and every wrong action must have a wrong result somewhere.

TM: As these ideas have developed in this particular period, did they lead to a sort of dramatic clear break between your flirtation with scientific socialism, perhaps even with the attraction of what was happening in Russia, and between this great reality of the respect for the right means? Did this lead to a minor intellectual crisis in you, Sir?

JN: No, I do not think I did, not during all those years, not that type of a crisis, because I believed more and more in socialism, more and more even in some parts of communism, not the action part but the theory part of it, a communist society somewhere in the future, but I always conditioned it—that the method should be peaceful, broadly peaceful, and not wrong. Whether the two could be synchronised or not, it is difficult to say, but I was convinced that the method employed inside certain communist societies, i.e., too much coercion and suffering, was not a right method. I could, of course, understand that in a certain set of circumstances things happened; it is no good blaming people. I could, for instance, think that in Russia, when the Revolution came,

there was defeat in war and disruption, and all that. Well, it happened. I was not going about blaming it. But why should I invite that kind of a thing unless circumstances compel me?

TM: Their reactions to these events were powerfully stimulated by Mr Gandhi's influence?

JN: It is, of course, that was the basic thing, but, even in the twenties, in my province, where I worked chiefly—Uttar Pradesh—I was constantly bringing up resolutions encouraging a socialist pattern of society.

TM: Already the same expression?

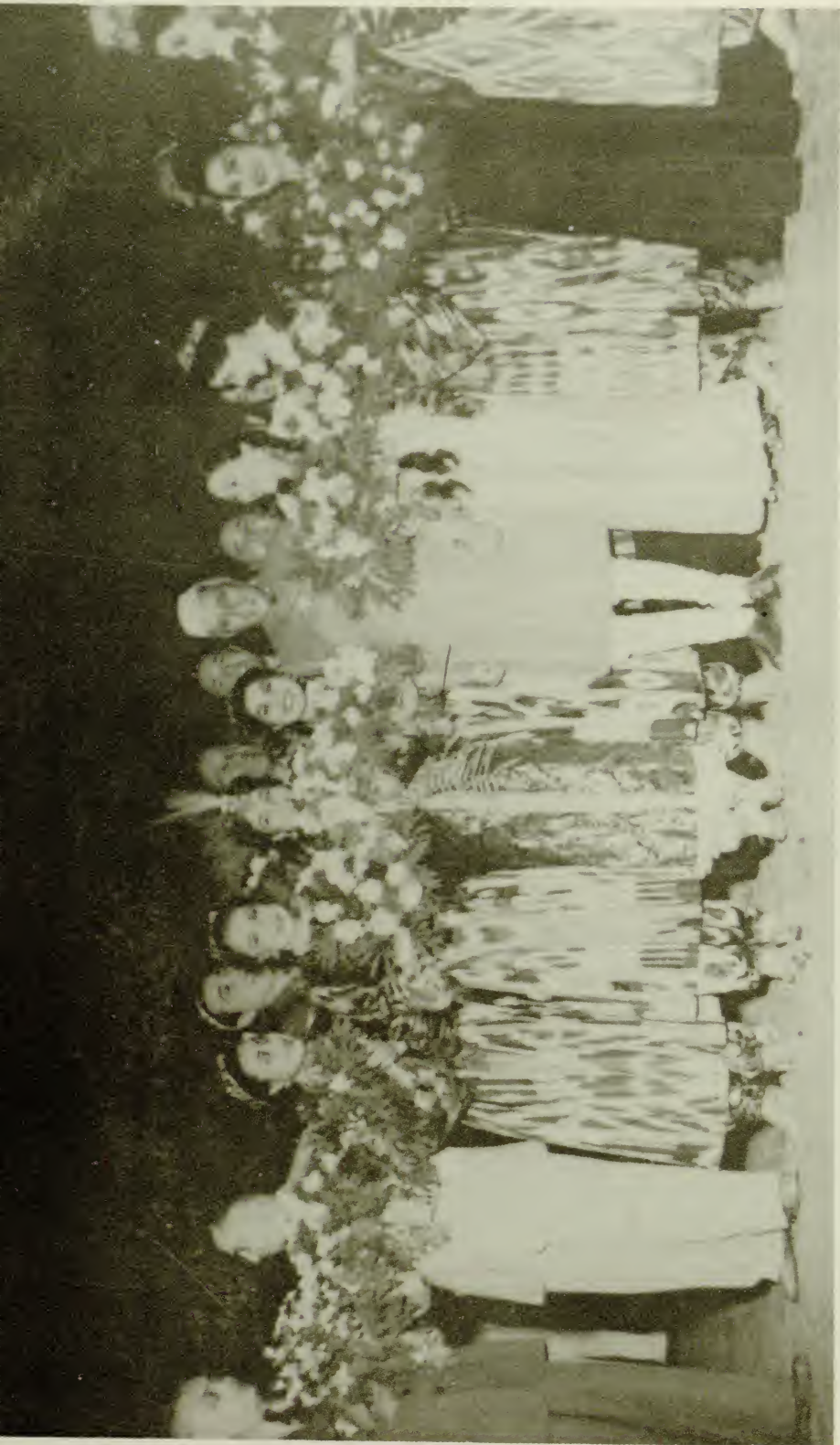
JN: Maybe not, not quite the same expression, but something, organization on socialist lines. We were intimately concerned with the land problem. Of course, because ours was a landlord ridden State, but, apart from that, we did pass general resolutions. That is, we became a kind of a certain dynamic influence in the whole big organisation, trying to push it towards socialism, so also others in other parts of the country, but the peaceful means were always there.

TM: I would like to sort of draw a line here, if I may say that, with these elements we have discussed, obviously in a very general fashion, about Jawaharlal Nehru; there was a grown up man with settled views, as a sort of a 'finished product'. Now, came the big event of Independence of India, becoming Prime Minister of India, these very crowded last ten years, the Second World War, greater and greater involvement in worldwide issues which demanded personal decisions; Well, during this period, it is very clearly defined, a new period, if I may say so, how far did these events modify or influence, Sir, your basic convictions or your ideas? Do you think, Sir, that they have basically changed?

JN: I do not know that they have basically changed. I suppose they have changed somewhat. But I would like you to remember that after about a quarter of a century of this concentrated struggle against British rule here, with long periods of very intense activity, then periods of prison, and building up this huge organisation, the Indian National Congress, under Gandhiji's leadership, we had developed a very strong sense of discipline which, of course, was a thing entirely lacking in India previously. Because we have been terribly individualistic, almost to the extent of anarchism, each person going his own way. In fact, Hindu society is anarchistic. It is a very curious combination of extreme social discipline and anarchism in thought. You can do what you like and think what you like, philosophy or anything. You must break the caste



WITH SOONG CHING-LING (MADAME SUN YAT SEN) AND OTHERS AT A GARDEN PARTY,
NEW DELHI, 17 DECEMBER 1955



WITH MEMBERS OF A CULTURAL DELEGATION FROM UZBEKISTAN, NEW DELHI,
19 DECEMBER 1955

rules. Now, once you break the caste rules, it is all anarchism, unless you put something else. Now, Gandhi introduced a strong discipline in the struggle and we became, large as we were, a huge organisation, not only a disciplined organisation but a much closer kinship, almost a large family you might say—One, bound together by Gandhi; one, of people of differing opinions but of one opinion in regard to the struggle against the British. Now, that sense of almost kinship with each other made us tolerate each other and have respect for each other, even though we differed, which has been of tremendous help in later years. You see other parties breaking up because they disagree and there is a tendency for sectarianism. Now, the Congress was too broadbased for that tendency to arise.

TM: Has this become a sort of esprit de corps or does it apply only to those handful of leaders who still are of the Gandhian generation?

JN: Well, it became a kind of esprit de corps and it applied much more to them, of course, and progressively it will get less, because we were bound together in the days of struggle. As we die off, new persons will come. They will inherit something of that but, gradually, it will become fainter and fainter, other forces will come in; what they will be, I do not know. That was one thing which has kept us going in the last ten years. Now, that again led us, as in the days of struggle, always to find a way in which we could cooperate, that is, to avoid splitting up even though we differed. We held together, that is, we developed a way of finding some common way for us. There was give and take in our attitudes. Again, it comes to the same thing. We did not easily split up as Leftist movements or Socialist movements do, on theoretical or ideological grounds. Then came independence. Together with independence came the partition of India and the terrible slaughter and misery after that in Pakistan and in North India. That was a horrible experience which almost broke us up. And, I have no doubt of course, Gandhiji suffered terribly because of that. It seemed to him almost the end of his lifework.... This mutual slaughter and the hatred there was in it. It was the hatred that worried him more. I remember he said once: "If you have a sword in your heart, better take it out and use it instead of nursing it in your heart all the time". It was a terrible thing for him and, of course, he died a few months afterwards. He was assassinated. But, all this was a tremendous experience for us. Well, we got over it. Getting over it rather strengthened us; that we have got over something as bad as we can ever have. We shall be never going to have anything so bad. So, we got a little greater faith in ourselves and in our people. And, when it was a question really of almost day to day problems, not thinking too far ahead and gradually shifting from the political level to the economic and social, these were the problems. Right at the beginning, almost within a month of my coming into the

Government, we started thinking of planning. Of course, previously, I had been a member of the Planning Committee and all that. We appointed committees and all that, but that had to be postponed because, for a year or so, we had these troubles to deal with. They merged into the Kashmir trouble and other things. That really kept us busy for about a year, to keep ourselves just above water. After that, we gradually settled down and began tackling these problems more. Again, the immediate problem then was the vast numbers of refugees, seven million of them, and that went on for two or three years. Shortage of food, and things like that. Then, we came, ultimately, to the beginning of real planning which resulted in the First Five Year Plan, a fairly modest effort. Again, even there, contrary opinions coming to grips with each other and trying to find a way out, a synthesis, not in the spirit of "you must do this, you must do that"; sometimes accepting a lower level for the sake of carrying on, sometimes pulling the others up, and thus, we have gradually gone on. Now, if you ask me about the changes that have taken place in me, in my thinking, it is very difficult for me to answer because there was one major change in my life, one which came almost like a bolt: it was Gandhiji. One can see the break in one's life, inner and outer. After that, the changes have been so gradual and imperceptible that one cannot say that they have really happened in time. Of course, looking back when we say, 'Oh, twenty years ago, I thought this way, what do I think now?' I was reading the other day, some months ago, a letter I had written to Gandhiji.² It has been published. Perhaps, it is interesting. It is an angry letter.

TM: When was it written?

JN: When I came out from prison for ten days because my wife was ill.... You will see the anger in it. And it specially deals with social problems. I said, "what do you mean? You talk about, well, the Congress Working Committee had passed some resolution, rather condemnatory of socialism or socialist attitudes." I said, "what is this" and all that. It is a very angry letter, a long letter. It is quite possible that I do not know that I am terribly different from those days, but one tones down and, naturally, in a position of responsibility one has to carry people with one. I am constantly facing this difficulty of, well, not being able to carry some people with me. And, apart from every thing else, my pride is hurt that I cannot convince a person, cannot carry him with me.

TM: Economic planning, probably, very often poses a problem of ends and means, because the question of speed is so often involved. Doesn't it?

2. Nehru wrote that letter on 13 August 1934 while on parole on account of Kamala Nehru's illness. Printed in *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 6, pp. 277-282.

JN: No. The question of speed is involved, yes, but what do you mean by ends and means of economic planning? We are functioning in a democratic set-up. If something is acceptable to Parliament, well, it is the democratic way of doing it. Any change means that some people suffer from it, any social change....

TM: Any lack of change may also mean that even more people suffer.

JN: They are suffering. They are actually suffering. In order to equalise things a little more, whether you put heavier taxes on them, it is the same way, well, they suffer a little more, or whether you take from the landlords, we give them compensation, but the compensation is obviously not full compensation. That is, we find a middle way. We don't expropriate them. The question of ends and means does not come up in economic planning. That is, in a democratic set-up, it does not. If you get it through that set-up, then it is quite all right.

TM: Well, Sir....I think you have the popularity in this country which can replace brain-washing and execution-squads, and which could certainly shape or press even this democratic set-up. Once, in an article, I have compared you, Sir, excuse me, to a sculptor working with very fragile instruments of tolerance and Western liberalism, etc., on an enormous immobile block of granite. Well, to pick out the hammer, the heavy hammer and to hit a big one, because you are impatient or because you want to get that shape quickly and properly, does raise moral issues. It does raise the issue of ends and means.

JN: Really—I do not know—in that particular way, it might raise them. But there are concentric circles of action. There are the masses of India, vast masses of India. And I might tell you I feel most comfortable in dealing with them directly and I am fairly frank with them. I mean to say, it is odd but with a large crowd I speak my intimate thoughts almost more than in a small committee, not absolutely, but, I mean to say, I feel I have a desire to be frank with them because they are frank with me. I have a sense of communion with them, although I am very different from them. Then there are large committees, there is the Congress, where thousands attend; then there is a committee of 500, then there is the Cabinet of fifteen. So, all these concentric circles try to cooperate with each other, pulling in different directions. And, I cannot function—I may be very very popular, which is true—but I cannot function as an individual. I have to function through colleagues, through others, to carry them with me or to be carried by them. There are so many forces conditioning and limiting one's activity.

TM: Here we are touching on a very important question which I hope we might discuss in more details on another occasion. It is the problem of democratic apparatus within the Indian frame. But this very instinctive contact with the masses which you have just mentioned must raise doubts in your mind whether those institutions interposed between you and the masses do not slow down action?

JN: They do. They do, but I know that it is essential to have those institutions. Otherwise, it is just chaos.

TM: Well, once in an anonymous article, which I am sure so many people have mentioned that you regretted that you have written it, you had said that you had dictatorial instinct, which means impatience.³

JN: That is so. That article was written, if I may say so, really almost as, not as a joke I would say, a *jeux d'esprit*. It amused me to write it. I remember sitting down one night and I was just thinking, and I wrote it down just to please me, to amuse me. And I sent it to a friend in my handwriting. I did not even have it typed or copied. I had written it down. Then, she later sent it, without mentioning my name, to a magazine, and it was published. For a year or two, nobody knew who had written it. And I was very much interested in finding out the reactions of people.

TM: In connection with the discussion, I am under the impression, reading the accounts of your visits to China and Russia, that obviously you were very impressed with what you have seen. If we try to relate this to the democratic, necessarily circumspect, progress of law-making and execution in India, what are the conclusions you draw from the impressions of these two visits?

JN: That is a very big question. We must deal with it later. But I would say this, that I do not think, as things are in India—I mean to say, the influence that our organisation, the Congress, has in India, the influence that I have—there is very little that we cannot get through the democratic process. It may be different in another country, because, so far as the people are concerned, they want to go as far as you can take them. They won't come in the way. It is the vested interests and others which come. I am not using the word 'vested interests' in a bad sense. I want to change the vested interests. I do not wish to

3. Nehru wrote the article *The Rashtrapati* under the pen name of Chanakya on 5 October 1937 and sent the handwritten copy to Padmaja Naidu who got it published in *Modern Review* in November 1937. It has been printed in *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, pp. 520-523.

destroy them. And, I think, probably in India we are a little more amenable to reason than possibly in other countries. Maybe it is due to public pressure, maybe it is due to the whole development of our movement and realising that it is no good opposing a big movement. Whatever it is, but they are amenable. Once they realise, they try to influence as much as they can, but if a thing is done, they accept it. So, I think it is possible for us, through democratic means, to go ahead. In fact, the difficulty comes, if I may say so, with not such things as the capitalist group or this group, not that, but rather with the different thinking even in the smaller groups, in government and others, which is not opposed thinking but just different thinking, I mean to say. I must go.

TM: Well, to wind up today's conversation, Mr Prime Minister, a very personal thing, I read once a short story by an European author, where a man meets a young man on the street and starts a conversation, and this young man, with the accusing intolerance of youth, poses him questions and the conversation becomes rather heated until it dawns on this middle-aged writer that, after all, he has met his own self when he was eighteen. Well, supposing, Mr Prime Minister, you would meet yourself at the age of eighteen, what are the reproaches you would expect to hear and what would be your replies to this impertinent young man.

JN: We will have a very interesting argument, I think. The argument may even become somewhat heated, but it will be very very friendly and appreciative of each other, I think.

TM: Tolerance in both ages?

JN: I think so, partly, I suppose, because now it is difficult for me to judge myself, but I think that there is still a bit of the young man of twenty or thirty in me somewhere. I am not completely divorced from that, although I have changed no doubt. And one thing I may tell you, that in spite of all the happenings which I have gone through, and disappointments and frustrations, I have seldom felt frustrated for any length of time. I mean to say, there is no reason for it, there is no logic in my saying so, but there is a sense of confidence in the future, in India's future, in the world's future which I cannot justify by any reasoning because if I sit down to reason, all kinds of other thoughts come in. And helped partly, I suppose, by my relative good health, I have a sense of adventure and joy in life, in work, in doing things which carried me very far without depressing me. But, Mr Mende, I should like you to read that letter I wrote to Gandhiji.

TM: I would very much like to read it.

3. Second Session¹

TM: Well, today perhaps we may start out from this subject which is probably in the frontline of Western preoccupations, from what may seem to be called the challenge to Western supremacy. The problem, put in a nutshell, is: how the aims of the hitherto dominant Western world could be reconciled with the justified aspirations of the rest of mankind. To put it equally briefly, for the past two or three centuries, the West has grown used to dictating the pulse and the activities of the rest of the world. Since the beginning of this century, particularly during the past two decades, this privileged position has been challenged. This has led either to defensive reflexes in the West or to a systematic search for methods, ways and means to permit a readjustment to the changed situation.

Do you think, Mr Prime Minister, that this challenge to Western supremacy aims necessarily at the replacement of the West in its dominance, as in the case of ordinary power conflicts between nations and states, or can the gradual levelling of existing inequalities which inspire this challenge lead to a new form of global order, a new order, that may usher in a new and even more constructive phase of history?

JN: I should say that the present age, the spirit of the present age is opposed to any kind of domination over another, whether it is national, whether it is economic, class, racial, and there is a strong urge to resist this kind of domination. You referred to 200-300 years of European domination over Asia. If you look at the long-term view of history, you will find, perhaps in proper perspective, that these 200-300 years is a chapter in a long story, a chapter which is ending, how it will end, nobody knows yet. I do not think there is going to be any satisfactory peace or equilibrium in the world till this domination aspect is removed. Now, there is the nationalism which resists foreign domination on the political level; then there is economic domination which is equally resisted; and racialism, of course, is bitterly resented. Then there is class conflict on the economic level. Nobody can deny that class conflict. It is there where interests conflict, but the question arises whether in the political plane or the economic or racial or any other, whether these changes can be made peacefully or not. Now, normally speaking, let us say, at the economic level, communism talks a great deal about class conflict; the class conflict is

1. New Delhi, 1 January 1956. AIR tapes, NMML.

there, but it does not necessarily follow that it can only be removed by violence and forcible methods and suppression of one against the other. In fact we seem to have arrived at a stage when any big-scale violence to do something, whether on the political level or the economic, results not only in upsets and disequilibrium, but in trails of conflict and bitterness, which are even worse than the previous one. But the point is that this great difference has to go. Nobody can say, of course, that human beings do not differ from each other. They do. Groups may differ. Some may be, well, if you like, more advanced in any sense, in the scientific sense, in the cultural sense, others may be less advanced. Individuals, of course, may be a genius or may be a fool. You cannot equalise them, but the whole point is, no suppression, and equal opportunities to develop. If a nation or a group or an individual has the capacity in him to develop, well, he should have that opportunity. If he has not, he remains where he is. He may perhaps like a lower standard of existence; it is happier for him. It is no good imposing your standard on him. Let him develop himself. I do not think it is likely that this European domination will not only fade away but give place to somebody else's domination on the other, because that is a ceaseless wheel, cycle of conflict, it goes on, and in the present age which might be represented by atomic energy and the atom bomb, conflict has become so dangerous that it leads to disaster on an enormous scale. Therefore, one has to find some way of peaceful resolution of these conflicts and progressive equalisation of opportunity.

TM: If I may interject, I think we ought to differentiate here between the institutional forms of oppressional domination and those forms which may reside in human nature itself. After all there are very prominent historians who believe that power for power's sake is a stronger motive force in history even than economic gain. Provided that a world order emerges in which the cruder temptations of economic domination are eliminated, would it be imaginable that this desire of power—a desire which seems to be fairly permanent in human nature—that is, of power for power's sake, would also fade and if, somewhat optimistically, we suppose that this hitherto destructive appetite can be tamed, in what alternative fields and in what practical fashion could the competitive social instincts be channelled?

JN: I agree with you that power for power's sake is an important element in certainly a number of individuals, if not in everybody, and all I can say is that ultimately human society may so develop that the desire for power for power's sake may grow less, that is, if individuals are given opportunities to develop as they want to. But, anyhow it is desirable to limit these urges to domination. If you limit the economic urge to domination, if you limit the advantages which you gain from power....

TM: ... If you circumscribe the temptations.

JN: Quite so, circumscribe the temptations—then something will remain, no doubt. Well, you deal with it, if you like, almost as you deal with an odd criminal who misbehaves.

TM: A new type of international criminality, it would be termed.

JN: Again, if I may say so, it is a concentration of power, political, economic or any other type, that is dangerous even in a good man. That is why we don't want an autocratic king. We do not want an economic emperor holding power. We don't like monopolies. In other words, the normal tendency should be for decentralisation of all kinds of power so that people may equally share in them.

TM: From the technological point of view, we are moving just in the opposite direction.

JN: True, true, that is so, and that is a big problem of today that technologically you move towards centralisation, and the big machine, and yet even with the coming of electricity, you get something to decentralise power. The big machine can be spread out because power can be spread out. With the coming of atomic energy, that process may go still further. Nobody can say ultimately how human nature will develop, because in the final analysis, it is the human being that will count, but anyhow we can deal with the evils as we see them and hope that the environment will be such that it will rather discourage the person who wants power for power's sake.

TM: But do you imagine, Mr Prime Minister, that this liberating decentralisation within the social frame can perhaps proceed simultaneously with the inevitable regional and even continental concentration for administrative and efficiency purposes?

JN: I see no reason to believe that this cannot happen. Of course, there are innumerable difficulties. After all, perhaps, if you want to put it in a phrase, the central problem of today is this urge to centralisation which inevitably comes in the way of individual freedom. But how to balance individual freedom with this technological necessity for centralization....

TM: ... or even collectivization...

JN: Now, take collectivization. Take the cooperative system, say, farming, anything. Now, obviously a cooperative farm is not necessarily a concentration

of power. It is spread out and yet it works together in a centralised way. So you may be able to decentralise political power, as well as other powers having the advantages of some kind of cooperative central working together, though with power dispersed.

TM: I think you are touching a very basic question because it is connected with our first proposition, of this urgency of levelling in the material sense of the word. If the task is urgent, then the temptation of a strong central power carrying out that levelling because it is so much more efficient, and so much faster, it becomes almost irresistible. So, as we are in this phase of history when the majority of mankind is feverishly levelling, the temptation is rather, I should say, towards the collectivist, the centralised, the more efficient direction rather than toward the liberating decentralisation.

JN: There is that conflict undoubtedly and there is that element of time. But one has to achieve results within a measured time; otherwise there is a danger of all your attempts being upset by other forces, disruptive forces. It is difficult to give any rigid answer to that, except that the process of change must be rapid enough. It need not be such as to break up everything, but it should be fairly rapid.

TM: To maintain hope.

JN: To maintain hope. My own impression is that once the people realise that you are going in a certain direction, they are optimistic, they are prepared to put up with delay, a little delay, because they know we are going that way. It is when they feel we are not going that way that they become angry.

TM: It is like a mountaineer seeing the peak towards which he is going and that gives him strength to carry on.

JN: Yes.

TM: Well, in all this process of levelling, quite obviously, the Asian Revolution is really the central theme. Now, will you agree, Mr Prime Minister, that one could say that the essence of this Asian Revolution is really the arrival on the scene of what we may call the "applied generation"—a generation applied to this particular task of material levelling. Of course, it has its emotional aspects of removing humiliation, various disabilities, etc. But, now these people, supposing you agree, Mr Prime Minister, that this generation of levellers has arrived in Asia, levellers who are either so-called patient levellers or impatient levellers, and whose

methods vary accordingly—do you think then that the attack that these people make on traditional frames will prove to be transitory? That it will last as long as levelling is carried out? And that the basis of traditional frames and of tolerance would reassert themselves?

JN: That is difficult to answer. Certainly, it is very difficult to answer generally, in general terms, because conditions differ in countries and I would not venture to say what will happen in any country, in any other country. If I say anything much, it can only be in regard to India and even there I will have to be vague. At any rate, I know India somewhat and I think that the process of change in India can be peaceful, continuous, provided it is not too slow. That is, there is always a kind of a conflict or, there are two forces at work, the urge to change and the other rather conservative urge to continuity. Both are always functioning in every country. A complete break means you break with your past, culture, everything. Well, essentially a country does not do that: even after a revolution it goes back to its past. It pulls itself up. If the process of change, however, is stopped, then there is a tendency to break. There is too much just static continuity. So, it is a question of balancing the two.

TM: I should like to ask a question here, one that repeatedly came back to my mind during the years while I have been watching developments in India. It is this: Can democratic methods create the preconditions of democracy in a country like India? I quite agree that as long as there is a modest but definite progress as long as the average Indian feels that he is progressing towards something; he will have enough patience and tolerance to wait and see that the efforts are continued. But if a society, like the Indian society, had certain structural deformations, as in the economic sense of the word, colonialism implied such a deformation, then is it not only with another forcible surgical intervention, the deformation can be righted? Of course, we are bound to talk in abstract and extreme terms of revolution and very tough methods of execution squads and commissars or classical British parliamentary democracy. I think, there is something between the two, somewhere half way perhaps, a point where one can envisage stronger methods without necessarily giving up the ideal of evolutionary progress. To summarise it: Can democratic methods bring about the preconditions of democracy in a country like India?

JN: I think so. It is possible, and indeed it can be done, subject naturally to various conditions. First of all, when you talk of democracy, what exactly do you mean? Take the democracy during the past 100 or 150 years. Some countries in Western Europe had democracy, but it has been very much limited. The franchise has been limited; it has been democracy of, say, ten per cent, twenty

per cent, twenty-five per cent of the population. Now, only recently, even in those countries you have what is called adult franchise.

TM: In Great Britain, it came in 1929.

JN: Quite recently, and in many countries of Europe, even now women have not got the franchise, so that even politically you have not had full franchise. Now, once you get full franchise, at any rate, the democratic apparatus can work according to the wishes of the great majority of the people; that is the presumption, unless they are misled or driven in the wrong direction. Secondly, the speed of change in democracy is obviously somewhat slower, the processes are slower than in an autocratic, authoritarian regime. That is true. But any vital change in a nation takes time to build up. You cannot impose upon it. Take the changes in the Soviet Union. After all, it is thirty-eight years since the Revolution, the Soviet Revolution, and they had to work very hard and they had a fully authoritarian regime. They could almost do what they liked within limits, and yet they had to work hard for it. It did not come off suddenly. The Revolution came off suddenly no doubt, but the process of building up takes time; it doesn't matter what has happened previously. Now, I am prepared to agree that an authoritarian regime may take less time, but I think the difference in the time limit is not so great as people imagine. It need not be, provided the people of the democratic country are eager enough for change and are prepared to work for it.

TM: Is not there a psychological motive involved here, particularly in a country like India, if you permit me to talk about India, where historical circumstances have created a certain accumulated inertia and the very nature of quick change is likely to provide a psychological stimulus? If you do things one inch per day, that person perhaps will not notice the change and certainly it will not generate any great enthusiasm or dynamism in him, while if you do all the seven inches on Monday morning, then that man may feel that now something is happening and may generate in him a departure from his accepted routine.

JN: Yes. The one inch per day is not adequate. You have to find, therefore, a measure of advance which produces a sense of vitality in him, a sense of self-confidence in him and a desire to work harder for further advance. How much that is? The more, the better of course. In other words, almost the essential thing is to produce a certain psychology in a people. I think it can be done. And I believe, take India today, I think there has been a marked change in the psychology of our people generally. I am not talking about the top people and, therefore, I attach more importance in India at the present moment to what we

call our community projects than even to our major industrial or river valley schemes which are very big and very impressive. There is a change and a new vitality coming into our people. Of course, I would say that that process started by our political revolution, by Gandhiji's movement especially, which shook up these people and gave them the urge to advance and gave them also some idea of how they can do it by working together, cooperating and all that. Now, how far we can take advantage of that and encourage that by further cooperative methods, that is, not the Government doing it, Government does it of course, but the people themselves joining in it and realising that they are partners in a big thing which will raise their level. I think you can produce that. On the other hand, of course, it may be that the shock of a big revolution and change, has the advantage of a clean slate to write upon in a sense, but that revolution also brings about a great deal of destruction, a great deal of inner conflict which may come in the way.

TM: I personally do not believe in chopping off people's heads, but I think, under the circumstances, a certain judicious mixture of force or pressure with the method of persuasion may be very helpful and it depends, of course, like almost all things in history, on personalities. If there is such a thing as a democratic dictator, it is a very rare thing to find one; you, Sir, might be one. So when a country like India has a man who has this great popularity who has also the necessary vision of the thing to be done, why should he be—I am asking this question in the name of millions who are watching India's internal evolution—why should he be semi-paralysed by certain administrative routines by legislative formalities which are essentially imported articles from a very different sociological milieu?

JN: Well, the answer is that he should not and those administrative routines should be changed radically so as to fit in with the new order that one wants to develop.

TM: Time passes and human life is limited....

JN: Yes, that is so. Almost everyone in India will accept that principle. Now again, however, able or popular a dictator might be, he requires a machine to work with. The communist Party is the machine for a communist dictator. Other countries require some type of machine, administrative machine, party machine, whatever the various machines are. In a communist country, the advantage is that the administration and the communist party, all are, sort of, allied together and they push ahead and that is an advantage no doubt. I suppose even in a communist dictatorship there are limitations as to how far they can go against the wishes of the majority of the people. They get into trouble and then they

have to go back. It really becomes a question of balancing, trying to go as far as you can, trying to change the nature of your administrative machine and you are changing it in two ways. One, perhaps educating the old machine; secondly, putting a new type of person where he is needed. So, all these processes have to go together, and the question can hardly be answered in a rigid or theoretical way, because it is always a question of balancing many things. Maybe, that the answer that one gives at a particular moment might have been bettered. A person is too cautious or a person goes too far ahead.

TM: If I were a cynic, I would say that this thing has before been tried once in India. You said you had a very illustrious predecessor, called Lord Buddha, who tried to change by persuasion the Hindu social structure. In fact, he was amazingly successful. It took him barely two centuries to convert India. And what is the result today? We have 200,000 Buddhists and some 300 million Hindus. I know that these, like all examples, are very far from exact; but I have my doubts that when a society has reached a certain degree of rigidity and immobility and inertia whether judiciously applied—is it not the surgical intervention that is required?

JN: Well, you gave the example of Buddhism. It is true that the number of Buddhists in India is very small, but Buddha and Buddhism radically altered Hinduism, had the most powerful effect on Hinduism. Also remember that it was, I imagine, the decay of Buddhism, that is, Buddhism itself lost its pristine vigour and purity of thought, it went to all kinds of practices and beliefs which were very far away from Buddha. That was the reason for its decay, but its influence on the whole of India was terrific. Whether it is called Buddhism or Hinduism, its influence, of course, was rather on the philosophical plane and partly on the social plane. Surgical operations are certainly necessary and in fact, on the political and economic plane, they are done democratically. We may remove the Indian princes. That is surgical operation, done peacefully, nevertheless surgical. We may remove the landlord system. That also is a major operation. It is more difficult, it is true, to deal with the ingrained customs and beliefs of a people. We pass a law against untouchability. There is no doubt that that law has a powerful effect chiefly because it had been preceded by a tremendous movement against untouchability, but the fact remains that there are plenty of people in India who still continue to function in the old way and no law can easily put an end to it. Modern conditions come against it. Untouchability cannot be practised in a railway train or in a factory. In modern life in a city, untouchability does not exist. In a village it does exist, although it is being uprooted. In this way all social customs are being affected by two forces: one is propaganda, persuasion, etc.; the other, conditions of life which are changing—industrial life, this, that and the other, which do not fit in within

the whole social framework. So that the whole point is not whether you should have a surgical operation or not, but what method you should adopt to have the surgical operation. It is necessary—the surgical operation—occasionally. A majority, say, in a democratic assembly, by passing a law, a very advanced law, in a sense performs an operation like that. I suppose what you mean is: should a determined minority perform a surgical operation against the inert majority?

TM: A determined minority or some personalities who happen, by a fortunate historical accident, to be in the position to do it.

JN: True. But if that personality is there, the presumption is that he can move the majority and get the majority to function.

TM: However, this is a playing with words. By “moving”, we either mean a very slow process of persuasion or rather have the utilisation of one’s influence on the masses.

JN: I say, by moving, through the democratic process by law, he can get those laws made by the democratic process. We have passed one or two laws recently and we are considering one, let us say, in regard to Hindu marriage and divorce, which is a very basic thing in Hindu life. They never had divorce for thousands of years. It goes against the grain and all their social fabric turns round this. Well, we have passed a law in Parliament. Bigamy today is an offence for anybody, any Hindu rather. Now, that is a very radical change. We are following it up with changing the Hindu law in regard to succession. These are personal laws ingrained in custom, habit, religion. We are changing it by a majority decision in Parliament. Now, we do not dare to touch the Muslims, because they are a minority in India, and we do not wish a Hindu majority to do it. Their personal laws will remain, unless they want to change. It is easier for Turkey to change them, which is a Muslim country, than for India, because we do not wish to create the impression that we are forcing any particular thing in regard to their personal laws. What I mean, a popular dictator, if he has the people with him, he can get laws passed by democratic means, even though on that particular law the people’s opinion may not be so keen, but he has enough following that they will say: all right, if he says so, it might be good. But the process is democratic, what I mean.

TM: I am afraid we have drifted away from the wider Asian frame. As during our last conversation, if you agree, we would talk entirely of Indian problems, now, I would like to turn back to Asia in general. We have had now ten years of independence in what may be called non-communist Asia,

I am referring particularly to South East Asia. Do you think, Sir, that certain general conclusions can be drawn from the practical experience of these countries during these ten years? For instance, from the results given by the utilisation of the democratic tool in these states? How far this North Atlantic type of legislative machinery functioned in these lands or what kind of modifications have been adopted to apply it to local circumstances?

JN: I do not think it is at all easy to generalise about all the countries in South East Asia. They are different in their backgrounds and in so many things. The present phase is a nationalist phase which arrived at a certain moment during their journey towards the achievement of independence. Nationalism is, I think, still the strongest force in South East Asia, but nationalism with a definite social content, not pure middle class nationalism. The first social content that comes in deals with the land problem, agrarian problem, because most of these countries being undeveloped industrially, the problem is the land problem, or agriculture.

TM: With the exception of Indonesia and Java, where it does not exist.

JN: The land problem?

TM: Not in the sense of big landowners.

JN: True, true, yes, that is true. Then the other urge, of course, is for higher standards, better living conditions, the satisfaction of primary needs, food, clothing, housing. These are primary needs. Now, broadly speaking, in Europe one might say that the primary needs are satisfied. Therefore, they think of other needs and other conflicts arise. Now, in these countries, there is this mixture of nationalism plus, if I may use the term in the broader sense, socialism or social progress, not in any doctrinaire sense. You will find that where after Independence there has been, let us say, a communist insurrection, it has come up against nationalism in that country and usually it has had to submit to nationalism. In Burma there was a powerful communist insurrection, but Burmese nationalism—which was very leftist; it was not a rightist nationalism; in fact it was a socialist nationalism—it could meet that challenge and defeat it. In Indo-China, nationalism and communism went hand in hand because nationalism could not triumph in its own plane and therefore communism gained strength by this tremendous nationalist urge. In India also nationalism succeeded, nationalism with a social content, and immediately it turned its mind to social problems. Therefore, it was in a better position to deal with any kind of challenge of a “surgical character”, which you might say, in regard to social matters because we had made social progress; we were making it, perhaps not so fast

as we would have liked, but anyhow we were making it, and there was hope of making it faster.

TM: Sorry, if I may interrupt it, if the rhythm of economic progress would fall below that level of giving hope to the masses, do you think that this Indian nationalism will cease to be impregnable to the temptation?

JN: Undoubtedly. If the pace of social progress was slower than the urge and the demand, basic demand for it, then something else comes in which tries to satisfy that demand.

TM: Then, may I take it, you mean, that the temptation of the communist short cut may become a living thing in India the moment the social progress or the economic progress is slowed down below this "hope level"?

JN: In theory, yes. But what do you mean by communist short cut?

TM: Well, impatience accumulating to such a degree that the desire of drastic methods....

JN: You see, one must consider these things in relation to the background of the country. If, let us say, the agricultural population here is more or less satisfied with the progress made, not hundred per cent, then the communist functioning, say, in industrial areas will not be able to affect the majority of the population. They come into the picture at a later stage when it is much more developed industrially. By that time many other changes will happen, one does not quite know, apart from the fact that communism, or rather the communist technique of action itself, will very probably undergo many changes.

TM: It has already undergone.

JN: It has undergone changes and it seems to me, looking at the problem quite objectively, quite absurd for a communist in India merely to try to copy what has happened in Russia or China. He may have the communist ideal. So far as we are concerned, I mean most people in India, we are not opposed to communism as an ideal in society or socialism; they are more or less the same as an ideal. It is the communist technique of action that one rebels against, to some extent. So, it is quite possible that communism or socialism as such, continuously affect and pull up the national movement while the national movement also tones down the other movements.

TM: ...with mutually stimulating effect on each other.

JN: Yes.

TM: Well, as we are talking about the South East Asia in general, may we stop for a moment on recent history and talk about Bandung. Would it be possible to define Bandung—using our previous definitions as the meeting of the patient and of the impatient; Asian levellers perhaps meeting to find out what was compatible in their respective methods and try to put these on a common denominator and make their voices heard, strengthened by this compromise?

JN: Yes, of course, the countries represented at Bandung differed very greatly. We had countries, let us say, the Arab countries of West Asia, of Africa; we had China, a communist country; some African countries; then we had the South East Asian countries: India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, etc. So there was tremendous variety. What was the common factor? Well, the common factor was rather against western domination. Everybody agreed about that. The other common factor was a desire for social progress. Everybody agreed about that. If we had gone into details about the methods, agreement would have been lacking, but all those countries were wise enough to concentrate on the points of agreement rather than the ones of disagreement. They were levellers in the political sense, nationally speaking, as between Europe and Asia. That was the dominant feeling in Europe, America and Asia, and they were levellers, both patient and impatient, in the social sense; but I am quite sure there were some countries represented there who had no sense of levelling at all in the social sense.

TM: But they were in a minority in any case.

JN: But the language of levelling has become so common that nobody dare say anything against it.

TM: And what practical results did you see, Mr Prime Minister, coming out of this meeting?

JN: It had a powerful effect on European and American opinion and Asian opinion, different types of effect. In regard to Asia, it produced a sense of solidarity to some extent. In regard to America and Europe, it produced a sense of, well, slight alarm at Asian nations coming together and intrinsically challenging that supremacy which the Western nations had exercised. There is no doubt, of course, that Western countries are, in every material sense, far more advanced and powerful than countries of Asia. It is one thing to be advanced and powerful, it is another thing to have that power to impose yourself

on another. India is, in a military sense or in economic sense, obviously in no way near any powerful military country, but it is an exceedingly difficult proposition, even in a military sense, for any country to try to conquer India. Psychologically and all factors taken together, Asian strength exists in the negative sense of resisting, not of attacking, and creating conditions which are very difficult for the other country.

Nevertheless, what one finds still is not a complete realisation in European countries or in America that Asian problems cannot be decided without Asia, without Asian opinion or Asian cooperation. There still continues that attempt to decide problems of Asia somewhere in London or New York or Paris or wherever it may be, which is resented here as a matter of principle; and, what is more, that decision really does not carry effect. They cannot fully give effect to it. Another tendency—take British policy. British policy during the years of British supremacy in Asia—I mean apart from India and when Britain was dominant in large parts of Asia—they were used to dealing with the ruling clique, with the ruler or his ministry or some select people. Now, they do not quite appreciate that the ruler or the select clique has not got the same influence they used to have because of popular feeling, popular urges. They still deal with the clique, with the result that they may win over the clique and get something done in a governmental way, but they have to satisfy the people there who kick out the rulers occasionally or something happens. What I mean is that the policy of Western powers still does not quite realise what is happening in Asia.

TM: It is human nature that when you feel your position threatened you apply defensive reflexes. What is important is that is this going parallel also with positive measures of rethinking and applying new methods? And this brings us to a very important subject which I intended to ask you, Mr Prime Minister, the whole problem of Western aid to so-called underdeveloped countries, I prefer to call them economically retarded countries. During the last fifteen years, besides these defensive reflexes you were referring to, Mr Prime Minister, there has been also a lot of conscious and occasionally intelligent attempts to find a way. I think a lot of Western aid is given purely as a political investment, but there are people in the West who really try to think on constructive lines. Now, the question arises: Uptill now they have not shown very great results. One obvious reason is that perhaps the money used for a purpose was not sufficient compared to the task, but one has also the feeling that the methods, perhaps even the people who carried out these plans, were not necessarily sufficiently adapted to requirements. What is your opinion, Sir, about, if you take a bird's eye view from Point Four to various national projects or of the more regionally minded attempts, like the Colombo Plan, or other regional

planning schemes—what kind of conclusion could you draw from these attempts?

JN: Again, each country would have really to be taken separately. In India, we have had all these various types of help, Point Four, Colombo Plan, other help too from various countries and yet, the extent of the help has been relatively little compared to our efforts in India. I do not know what percentage it would be, but it is relatively little, ten per cent or whatever it may be.

TM: Much less, I think.

JN: Much less. It does not make a difference, the extent of help. Secondly, the manner of helping. I won't go into the motive of helping, but the manner of helping, because if the manner is too obviously political, then it produces certain reactions, certain suspicions about that help. Now, if help is given, let us say, just to fight the communist menace or by the communist countries just to fight the Western menace, well, it is a coloured help and the more you take it from that point of view, and apart from the fact that you line up with a certain policy, you have a sense of utter dependence. Now, whether it is political dependence or economic dependence in regard to help, it is not a good thing. It is not good from the basic point of view of developing that spirit and vitality in the people which we talked about. You have a war and everybody in a country feels he must do his utmost to win the war. He goes all out till he either breaks up, or whatever happens. Now, we cannot produce that sentiment, but it is something like that sentiment one has to produce, of doing everything one can. Now, the more help you get, the less you produce that, psychologically. So, while receiving help is normally all right, and in fact the whole of America, North or South, has developed because of help from Europe. Even Scandinavia, which is so rich today, got investments from other countries in Europe. They got them in the normal sense. There was no psychological conflict. There were investments and other things they got and they developed themselves. Unfortunately, because of these great conflicts today, this normality is not wholly there. One may try to make the help as normal as possible, and help is necessary undoubtedly. But I do think that there is always this danger, not only political but economic, of the help being such as to remove the inducement for the people of that country to work hard. That is bad. It is better to go a little slow and rely on yourself than become dependent.

TM: Yes, but I am sure you will be the first to admit that the people who see clearly the necessity of generous aid schemes are of a hopeless minority. To convince Mrs Smith that she has to pay so and so many dollars more in taxes, because she has to give aid to Indians or Indonesians, I do not

know, it is quite a tough job. Do you believe, Mr Prime Minister, that within the foreseeable future; I mean, as quickly as the task demands, a world public opinion can be created which will convince the people that a kind of, let us say, international income tax is as necessary to redistribute the grossly unequal income of the world, as it has become natural and accepted in a national state? Nobody would quarrel today with the idea of paying unemployment aid to less fortunate people. Are we going in the long run to that kind of international social consciousness which will permit this kind of attitude?

JN: Well, we are going, but not fast enough. I suppose it is all tied up with the present context of cold war. If that was removed, if the tensions were lessened in the world, fears and apprehensions were less, then I think that would advance much more rapidly. By releasing money from armaments for this purpose, it would really not be any additional burden on the people, because they will save so much money. If they could supply even ten or twenty per cent of that, for, the rest of it would be a big sum.

TM: Which, I think, is a matter of disarmament in fact.

JN: Yes, it is tied up with that. Apart from that, take the United States of America. They have developed an economy which demands throwing money about, just for their own sake. Since the First World War when America became a creditor nation, and even more so after the Second World War, their economy as it is today gets into difficulties unless they throw money or goods about. Even from their strictly personal point of view, it becomes necessary to do that unless they change their own economy.

TM: The essential point, I think, is the direction of these aid schemes. What do you think, Mr Prime Minister, would it be possible that these aid schemes should work on a basis of, how shall I say, like scholarships in a school for a good pupil? I mean, they should be channelled really into countries which prove that they are using it for constructive ends. I think that could be measured. Instead of saying that this country gives so and so aerodromes, it should be rather an increase in literacy or the number of schools and hospitals erected, and that should count.

JN: Obviously that is far better. Of course, it is better always to do this on the international level, that is, through some international authority rather than one nation to the other nation. It becomes all a dole of one nation given to the other. It would be better if the United Nations had this large fund and used it, naturally, not for armament purposes, but for the development purposes—that would be infinitely better.

TM: But, do you imagine a method could be devised, so to say, to measure the constructive use of that money.

JN: It could be devised to some extent naturally. The difficulty is about these bright pupils, that those that are not bright do not get looked after at all, and they require the most looking after in a sense. I can understand the misuse, that is, the misuse being armaments, that is, misuse, I say, of aid. But if you help countries which can utilise your help to the best advantage, it means you are helping countries which are already pushing ahead. It is good.

TM: It is the best way of help.

JN: I know but that means that the really backward countries are ignored.

TM: But only as long as they intend to stay backward.

JN: I know, but you have to give a kind of push to get them out of that rut.

TM: This leads us almost automatically to the central question of our age, atomic energy. Do you think, Sir, that the large-scale application of atomic energy would, as some people believe, lessen the gap between the economically overdeveloped and underdeveloped countries or widen it?

JN: I think that is a very vital question. It would be exceedingly dangerous for atomic energy to be controlled by a few great powers, which is the tendency naturally, because that will mean increasing the gap between their not only power, but their resources and the other countries' which are less developed. Instead of an equalising process it will be a reverse process. In a sense, atomic energy is more required by the undeveloped countries than the developed, that is, power resources are more required. In the United States, power resources are so much developed that they can do without atomic energy. It really does not make any difference to them.

TM: I think the traditional answer to this will be that in most of the economically retarded areas, traditional fuels like hydroelectric power, etc., are still abundant and unexploited and they happen to be cheaper for the time being than atomic energy.

JN: That is sometimes an answer, not always. Traditional fuels are cheaper where they occur. Where they do not occur, take parts of India where we have to take these fuels a thousand miles, well, it is a very expensive business taking them there. I can take atomic energy there immediately.

TM: I saw a most astonishing thing in an editorial recently in India in which Dr Bhabha was quoted as saying, "The entire hydroelectric potential of India's rivers, fully harnessed, would merely replace one seventh of the energy now annually derived from burning cattle dung."²

JN: That is an extraordinary statement.

TM: It seems to me extraordinary.

JN: That is an extraordinary statement. That has been challenged, that is, the extent of it, but the basic fact remains. I do not think Dr Bhabha is correct in his appraisal of the river resources. I think they are greater. He has taken, of course, the present estimate, but that can be increased greatly, because we have not quite examined this matter thoroughly. Because if you look at the map of India, take the Himalayan chain. It is a tremendous reservoir of power which has not been exploited completely, rivers, minerals and all that, so that while it is true that normal fuel would be cheaper than atomic energy at present, certainly—I do not know about the future—but that normal fuel has to be carted, transported and atomic energy can immediately be taken to the other place far from the fuel regions and be used.

TM: It needs less additional organisation which requires human energy, organisation, personnel, etc.

JN: Quite so, quite so and of course one is thinking in terms of development of atomic energy. Dr Bhabha said at Geneva that within ten, maybe, fifteen or twenty years, you may have inexhaustible supplies of it from sea water, not bits of uranium here and there, so that you may really get fairly cheap supplies without limit.

TM: I imagine, Mr Prime Minister, you have followed very closely these events in the field of atomic energy. Do you believe—this is a very general question—but do you believe that, in the near future, the practical application of atomic energy can bring about serious economic and consequent social changes in a vast country that starved for energy, like India?

JN: I should imagine that within twenty years, fairly big changes can take place.

2. The quotation in question is taken from an editorial published in *The Statesman* (Delhi) of 24 December, 1955.

TM: And your successive economic plans, for instance, the Second Five Year Plan, would take actual steps with this optimism in view?

JN: Well, considering our various approaches to the development of India and our resources, we are spending a fair amount in atomic energy development, nothing compared to America of course, or England or even France, but in Asia, we are spending more on it than any other country, much more, and we are more developed in this respect than other countries in Asia. In fact, if I may say so, we are more developed than many European countries, leaving out half a dozen or so.

TM: Yes, in other words, you have practical plans at the moment to put to practical use your theoretical progress.

JN: I know. At the present moment, of course, our plans are merely to develop atomic energy. One of our atomic reactors will be ready in a few months, another in about a year and the third is in view. Of course, all these are in the domain of rather experimental research. The immediate need is the production of atomic energy.

TM: Do you expect, Mr Prime Minister, that this new aspect of the cold war which is emerging, will actually help the countries of Asia to obtain atomic power stations as a sheer opportunistic by-product of the Great Powers' economic competition?

JN: Well, in a purely opportunist sense, it would help, but you require a certain development in a country in order to profit by it. After all, atomic energy requires a scientific background, qualified men, some industrialisation and all that. You cannot pump it down in the heart of Africa. One thing I may tell you about this atomic energy. The thing which we do not like at all is that it might encourage and confirm existing colonialism, because of certain colonial areas possessing atomic raw material.

TM: I think next time we shall talk in greater detail about this "neo-imperialism". To wind up today's discussion, I would like to put one more question: What do you think, Mr Prime Minister, in the west there are a certain number of people who see this need of readjustment to East-West relations in all its urgency. A good many of them search honestly for practical solutions and realize that this is fast becoming a crucial task of this generation. What do you think these people—writers, economists, politicians—who could do in an effective way?

JN: I have no doubt they could, because after all they make people think along certain lines. The mere bald approach of giving economic aid, well, that may be used, but what is more important really is, I imagine, a broader appreciation of these big changes in Asia, or the next step in Africa, and the adjustment to these changes. From that it may follow, does follow, that economic aid, economic help, cooperation, etc., should be given not merely just to win it over to your side, kind of thing.

TM: In other words we come back, that you have to educate public opinion and prepare them for the task.

JN: Quite so.

TM: Thank you very much.

4. Third Session¹

Tibor Mende: If one stops on the streets of any Western city and mention your name to an intelligent newspaper reader, Mr Prime Minister, his automatic association with the name would lead him to notions like neutrality, the non-committed nations, the peace area or coexistence. So, it is only natural that I should request you, Sir, to talk about these subjects, going as it were to the source for clarification about ideas which are only too often misrepresented in the world. Let us perhaps begin with the notion of neutrality.

The desire not to be involved in the destruction of an atomic war is, I believe, more widespread than many people would care to admit, but two attitudes need reconciliation here. Firstly, given the fact that only a handful of industrial powers of today are in a position to wage rather a large-scale war, the neutral's security depends on his confidence in the strong power's non-aggressivity. Secondly, there is the moral imperative of standing up for one's convictions in an age of sharp ideological conflict. If I remember correctly, Sir, you have said in one of your speeches that even if one

1. New Delhi, 8 January 1956. AIR tapes. NMML.

desires to stay neutral in the power conflict, one need not be neutral in the conflict of ideologies. How are these two attitudes reconciled?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Surely there is no justification for saying that there can be only two ideologies in the world, one at present represented by, let us say, communist Soviet Union, and the other by some of the Western countries.

That is too great a limitation on the power of thinking or of action. It is true that those ideologies are in a sense rather dominating the world today and conflicting with each other, partly because behind those two ideologies is enormous military and economic power. It is not the ideology that dominates but the power that dominates. But now a new situation has arisen by the development of that very power resulting in nuclear and super-nuclear weapons which inevitably forces one to think afresh, every country. When one is faced with the possibility of complete disaster, then war is not a solution. In fact, it makes matters much, infinitely worse.

Now, so far as India is concerned—and I speak for India chiefly, though to some extent that might apply to some other Asian countries—we must be judged by our background. Our background in India has been one of, well, struggling for political freedom, economic freedom, self-realisation and developing according to our own ways of thinking. We came into conflict with the British domination of India and we challenged it—not on the military plane at all, we could not but we challenged it in a peaceful way and because of a large number of factors, we succeeded....Therefore, we are apt to attach less importance to the military approach to a problem than to a peaceful approach, apart from the fact that we have not got the military approach in our power. We are not a military nation in that sense. So, both from the point of view of background and our habits, our way of thinking and our general view that the military approach, though it has played a very great part in the world's history, nevertheless in present circumstances is not the right approach. We come inevitably to the conclusion that the military approach should be avoided, war should be avoided and if war is avoided, thinking in terms of war should also be avoided in so far as possible. What is the alternative? Cold war? Well, cold war is thinking all the time in terms of war, preparation for war and the risk of having the hot war. Now, one thing appears to be fairly clear, more especially since the Four Power Conference in Geneva—a general acceptance of the idea that atomic war is not good enough to solve any problems and it should be avoided. From that the consequence flows, that some other method than war has to be tried, even though that method may not yield quick results or may be difficult; problems are difficult. Now, having come to that conclusion that war must be avoided, having a cold war approach seems utterly illogical, because a cold war has only some meaning as a prelude to a hot war....If the hot war is not to take place, then some other method has to be evolved, and a cold war

prevents other method being evolved. It may be said, of course, what are we to do? We do not want cold war, but the other party wants it and therefore we have to react in the same way. Well, that is not a good enough answer, because I am convinced that if one party insists on following a peaceful approach, as I would call it, the other party would be compelled to follow it also in the end.

I think it is the fear of so-called appeasement or so-called appearing to surrender to the other's ideology that makes one speak in terms of military power and threats, with the result that the other speaks in the same way too. That, of course, is a vicious circle.

Now, talking about ideologies, we certainly do not accept the ideological background of, let us say, communist Soviet Union. But, in the economic and other spheres, the background in the United States of America also does not fit in either with our viewpoint or the present approaches to these problems. Politically we are, of course, what is called a parliamentary democracy, which is much nearer to the western viewpoint. We believe in civil liberties, we believe in allowing freedom of expression and all that, but we want to progress rapidly and we want to remove the disparities which exist in our country, economic or other....Those disparities are likely to increase, in our opinion, by what might be called the capitalist approach. We may produce more—we will, no doubt,—but it will make the rich richer and the poor might be slightly better off in the end; but it will take some time.

Meanwhile, we have to face these social problems. Therefore, we are driven to what might be broadly called a socialist approach, but not a doctrinaire socialist, and we try to plan accordingly; and that fits in with our previous thinking too. Long before this conflict arose between the Western powers and the Soviet Union and other countries, we thought along those lines, during our struggle, we thought on those lines, always tied up with a non-violent or peaceful approach. Now, you will remember that we have solved quite a number of difficult problems in a peaceful way. Take the problem of the Indian princes. Imagine, over 500 autonomous states in India which were more or less autonomous and even imagined themselves to be independent. It is quite impossible for free India to function with 500 states, or any number of states which presumed to be independent. Everybody thought that they would give us a great deal of trouble, but we solved that problem in a matter of months, even weeks, peacefully. Why? And how? Well, obviously, there was the pressure of events, the pressure, on the one side, of the new Government of India, and on the other, the pressure of the princes' own peoples. But a very important aspect was our peaceful and cooperative approach to the Indian princes. We did not approach them, shall I say, with military threats and all that, which we could have done. So that a mixture of our peaceful and friendly approach, with the pressure of circumstances, led to a solution of this tremendously difficult problem within a few weeks.

Take again our approach to the land question. Now, I confess I am not quite satisfied with the rate of progress we have made in it. Nevertheless, we have made very great progress in abolishing the big landlord system and we are going ahead in many ways to distribute the land more equitably. It is a difficult problem. Again, that was done peacefully, with the payment of compensation—not full compensation; that was impossible. My point is that these difficult questions involving conflicts, class conflicts, can be approached peacefully and in a cooperative way. We do not deny class conflicts, but we think that class conflicts need not be solved by an aggravation of class conflicts and fighting over them. But, first, of course, comes democratic public pressure; secondly, a friendly approach to win over people, rather than to eliminate them and liquidate them... That is a basic difference from, let us say, the communist viewpoint, and it is also different from, let us say, the American viewpoint. So, I don't see why these opposites should be placed before us to accept this ideology or that. Well, we think differently from either of them.

TM: Your reply, Mr Prime Minister, deals mainly with the ideological side. If we would take an average newspaper reader, let us say, in the United States, he would rather put the emphasis on the power aspect and he would probably say that, after all, dealing cooperatively with the princes or landlords was relatively easy because they never possessed enough force to stand up against the will of the Central Government in India; while in the present power conflict, both sides have tremendously powerful weapons. So, the question what probably this imaginary person would ask is this: Supposing that an ideology becomes so aggressive that it foreshadows physical aggression, what would be the attitude of a neutral in that situation?

JN: If you mean that India is attacked by a powerful country, what will our attitude be?

TM: That I would like to ask afterwards. First, a powerful neighbour's ideology develops in such an aggressive fashion that physical aggression can be foreseen but it has not yet happened.

JN: Yes, that is the ideological.

TM: Czechoslovakia with Hitler of Germany....

JN: Well, you have put me a question which, so far as I am concerned, can only have one answer, that is, Czechoslovakia should have resisted Hitler's Germany, whatever the consequences. And I happened to be in Czechoslovakia in 1938, just on the eve of Hitler's coming, and I just could not reconcile

myself to Czechoslovakia submitting to what happened, but of course, my background was of resistance here in India. I recognised that it was very difficult to resist Hitler's Germany for Czechoslovakia.

TM: Especially after a psychological preparation which caused this demoralization.

JN: Yes, that is true. I am not a pacifist in that sense. I do recognise that under certain circumstances one has to fight. It all depends not on theory but on the background of the people, what they can do. Even Gandhiji, who was a great pacifist, always said that it is better to fight than to be afraid. It is better to indulge in violence than to run away, which meant that you must not surrender to evil, to basic evil, and you must preferably fight in a peaceful way.... If you cannot do that, well, then fight in the military way; but don't surrender to evil. Now, all this is theory, of course, but it does, to some extent, help in, I mean to say, it influences the action or the thinking. Even that theory has to be adapted. As I said, I am not a pacifist, I can imagine conditions in India when we may have to fight. Why, after all, do we keep an Army, an Air Force and a Navy? They are not very big, but they are very competent. We keep them because there is an odd possibility of their being used.

But when you are thinking in terms of a world conflict, and if you come to the conclusion that it has become so dangerous for the world that it has to be ruled out, then, what is the alternative?

TM: That may bring up a question about the classical forms of neutrality like, let us take, Switzerland's, which in the past has always been based on guarantee of the Great Powers. Would, for instance, in Asia, the newly liberated countries welcome or would consider sympathetically a similar kind of arrangement, for instance, between the Great Powers on the two sides of the present ideological barricades?

JN: That again is a question which each country has to consider and decide for itself. India is fortunately situated. I think it is true to say that India has not a trace of fear of either of the Great Powers.

TM: In the military sense?

JN: In a military sense, I mean. Not because we are proud and think we can do anything, not that, but we just don't come in the way of either group. That is a question of geography. There is no particular strong incentive for either of them to attack India. Secondly, if they attack India—they are strong—but they will have a very hot welcome, rather they will add to their difficulties. We can

make it very hot for anybody who does that, so that, talking of India, India is safe. It is quite absurd for anyone to think that we are shaking in our shoes that somebody will attack us. We are not. The one thing, if I may say so, that Gandhiji taught us is not to be afraid, whatever our consequences; and we are not afraid. Of course situations arise which trouble us. Now, what you said about a guarantee, there can, in effect, be no guarantee of the old type now, unless it is a guarantee not to have war. A guarantee saying that we will have war except in your country, has no meaning today when war is worldwide. Therefore, the result is that the guarantee can only be to avoid war, and going a step further, to avoid interference with any country, because interference might lead to war and it is objected to. That is why the Five Principles, which we talk about so much in India and in some other countries.

TM: The *Panch Shila*.

JN: The *Panch Shila* which means "Five Foundations." What is said in them more particularly is that there should be no aggression and no internal interference, not even ideological interference. If they are accepted and followed, then dangers recede, tension recedes, fear of war recedes, fear of aggression and internal interference goes away, but if two powerful countries like the Soviet Union and America merely said, let us say, that we guarantee the neutrality of India or Burma or any country, well, really it has no meaning to me. That is in the present context. If there is no war, well and good; if there is war, then no guarantee will remain there. It is better to avoid the war.

TM: You referred, in passing, Mr Prime Minister, to a factor which seems to me, perhaps I exaggerate, but it seems to me extremely important. I mean your reference to these modern techniques, extremely powerful techniques of psychological penetration, of mass indoctrination. We had several examples, during the last twenty years or so, where public opinion has been prepared, so to say, psychologically, to accept ordinary power domination by another country. The techniques for doing this are highly developed today and have become practically a science. Is not there a danger, combined with eventual economic conditions encouraging such developments, that such psychological clandestine mass indoctrination may prepare a country like India or any other country for penetration by another power?

JN: Yes, there is a danger, but that danger is real only if there is some kind of a vacuum in the other country, vacuum in people's minds, I mean, or in conditions. Naturally if an outside agency carries on this type of propaganda in a big way in a country, it will make a difference. But that difference will be

limited by two factors: one, as I said, is its access to that country to do that propaganda; secondly, the vacuum in the other country. What I mean, if we in India, first of all, do not encourage these things, we can keep them out to some extent, not entirely; ideas come, but not in that concentrated form; they won't come if we can avoid them. Secondly, if we are thinking on positive lines ourselves, then there is no vacuum in our minds. It is only in countries where there is a vacuum and just negation and just frustration, that this kind of propaganda comes.

TM: Yes. Well, I think what you have said up to now, Mr Prime Minister, practically contains indirectly the definition also of the other notion, well known as the peace area. That means, if I remember correctly, your own definition, a region determined not to add to existing tensions, a number of countries in a region determined to refrain from adding to existing tensions.... Now, again, I am trying to argue from the point of view of this proverbial taxpayer somewhere in a Western country. He might say that these countries, determined to be neutral, to keep out and constitute peace area, they just pass on the material burden of armaments on to the shoulders of the Great Powers who are condemned to keep the balance in the contemporary world. He would argue that unilaterally you cannot disarm, and consequently, he will have to keep on spending so and so many millions of roubles or dollars to build atomic bombs, etc. In other words, he would say that these neutral countries are avoiding the burden but indirectly, in the form of world peace—they benefit from it.

JN: That is often said. But I do not think that in a military sense, if you have this kind of ideological conflict in the cold war stage going on, any of the smaller countries makes much difference or lessens the burden of the bigger countries. What will lessen the burden of all bigger countries and relieve the taxpayer is lessening the tension. Therefore, we perform a very important task, or we try to, to try to lessen the tension which will result in lessening the burden of armaments.... Of course, it is difficult, almost impossible you might say, for any country to disarm unilaterally. Therefore, it should be bilateral or multilateral. Everybody should disarm. That is the essence of the question of disarmament today because, if war is ruled out, as it apparently is, there is no other way cut, logically speaking. Ruling out war means settling a problem by means other than war, and if all the parties concerned disarm, proportionately, whatever it is, then the fear of one of the other, does not arise, because the situation remains much the same from a military point of view. It is difficult, of course, to do that but we have to face these difficulties.

My point is that a militarily weak country in Asia, lining up with this or that power, does not add in the slightest to the military strength of that power.

In fact, it becomes a burden because that power has to supply arms and maybe money for military defence, which it otherwise need not. So, it is a greater burden on the taxpayer.

TM: Such an alliance may be no addition in the shape of armaments but our imaginary taxpayer would say that such a country provides bases and that makes defence more easy.

JN: I don't think that today this is so, owing to the possibilities of long-range bombing, being a few hundred miles nearer does not make much difference. But from the point of view of that particular small country, to have a strategic base, also means a target for attack. It has two facets. So, while it may, in a long war, be helpful, to begin with, the country is likely to be attacked and possibly destroyed.

TM: From the point of the sponsor country it may also have to be defended later on.

JN: And defended. While if that country keeps out of this conflict, at least that part of the world escapes both the burden of defence and the destruction.

TM: Well, I think these gloomy speculations are already somewhat out of date and that the development of modern arms is compelling us to rule out war. It is admitted, though reluctantly, that war has become unthinkable and willy-nilly, we find ourselves in the era of coexistence. Can this coexistence forced on us outlive the eventual supremacy in armaments of one side? In other words, are the already existing weapons durably deterrent? Or may it happen that some even more terrifying weapon will be invented tomorrow and the whole thing starts anew?

JN: I am told by eminent scientists in nuclear weapons that there is every chance in the course of the next ten or twenty years of even these hydrogen bombs being manufactured easily without too great expense. Now, that is a terrible possibility, that even if the great countries come to some settlements or agreements, some mischievous little country or a group of countries may try to terrorise areas of the world or the world. That is a terrible thing and really there is no answer to that, except developing a strong world atmosphere against it. It is like dealing with criminals. We have a police force, certainly. But ultimately the criminal is put down not by the police force but by the general opinion of the public who do not approve of criminals.

TM: Well, toothache apart, it would seem that people can endure anything.

When the big bomber came—now a very old fashioned weapon—people used to say that it would put an end to war. Or, I was in Hiroshima a few weeks ago. I found a city completely rebuilt, people were going about their daily tasks, the scars were covered up and those who died were forgotten. The tragedy of war, it seems to me, is that only survivors can talk about it. So, isn't there a possibility that humanity would put up even with these new horrors, and go ahead toward even more terrible things?

JN: Of course, there is the possibility. That indicates two things: One is the possibility of ever increasing disaster; and the other, the amazing power of recovery in the world, which will ultimately be the final power.

TM: Talking of peace, we come up to this problem of the effectiveness of international institutions. To say, as some statesmen regularly say, that all international disputes have to be solved in a peaceful way, must also suppose that there is an international machinery to satisfy justified aspirations. If there is no such machinery then the call for peaceful solutions is just sheer hypocrisy. There are justified aspirations in the world today on the part of peoples, countries, races and so on; but if there is no peaceful way of satisfying them, war will inevitably remain the ultimate arbiter. Do you think, Mr Prime Minister, that these international institutions are really sufficiently adapted to this task?

JN: I should say that they are slowly but progressively becoming more adapted. They have not caught up to the danger but they certainly today can check the danger, can restrain people and allow people to think. That is a great advantage. I have no doubt that the United Nations, with all its weaknesses in enforcing its decisions, has been a power for peace in the world and it may grow that way. That depends really on widespread public opinion. And also, I suppose, concentration of power is a dangerous thing. How we can get over it, I do not know. It is a slow process. Whether it is concentration of military power or economic power, any kind of power, it goes to the head. And there is a tendency not only for the anti-social elements but for certain, you might call, good crusading elements who think that they should impose their goodness on others which creates trouble. I am not quite sure which creates more trouble, the good crusaders who believe in their way of life and wish to impose it on others or the evil persons. The evil at least are known to be evil. The good crusaders come under a garb of goodness.

And that is where, again, this question of non-interference comes in. Of course, we in India have a philosophical background, if I may say so, of non-interference with each other's religion. A person can seek his salvation or religion as he likes. He does not normally upset his neighbour but the strong

crusading religions have had a different background. Well, much can be said for both. I am not criticising any. Today what we see is that economic ideologies have got the force of crusading religions. They come into conflict.

TM: Allied to very powerful modern weapons, to financial penetration and so forth these crusading ideologies pose really a very important problem for the weaker countries—specially here in South Asia—a problem which perhaps one may call the problem of neo-imperialism or more crudely, the problem of the “Latin Americanization” of those countries. Don’t you think, Mr Prime Minister, that there is a tendency among the Great Powers that if they cannot get allies they see to it that they get satellites? Isn’t this “Latin Americanization” a serious threat?

JN: There is that danger, of course, all over the world and it almost applies even to certain bigger countries, because just as in the economic sense, economic power tends to monopoly and, therefore, concentration of power. In the military sense too, that has happened. And today there are really two very big, very powerful countries and the others are a good way behind them, and those powerful countries tend to impose their wishes on the others, within limitations of course. Of course, there are these limitations, the limitation of the people’s reaction. That depends on the people of that country. Other limitations, like the very nationalist urge, the natural instinct of human beings in a country not to be imposed upon by another country. Now, which will triumph in the end, one does not know; but, as I said, we seem to have arrived at a stage when this imposition has gone as far as it could. And a line is now drawn that if one powerful country or group tries to impose itself on another country, which is, let us say, is well, neutral or something like that, there is a reaction of the other powerful group also imposing itself and a conflict arises in that area. That is, a real interference now by one, in another’s territory of influence is likely to create a war. That itself is a check on interference.

Now, I give you an instance. Take Indo-China at the Geneva Conference. The war was going on in Indo-China. The solution that was found was to stop the war and for both major parties to agree not to interfere. On the one side, China was afraid that Indo-China might be used as a base for attack on it. On the other side, the Western Powers were afraid that Indo-China might become absorbed in Communist China and be used as a base for attack on other countries. There are these two fears. The only way to eliminate them was for both to agree not to interfere and leave Indo-China to work out its own future.

Whether that has wholly succeeded or not, is a different matter; but that was the approach and therefore applying that to a little wider sphere, one must accept things as they are, broadly speaking, and decide not to interfere, because

interference leads to the other's interference also and then to conflict and then to war.

TM: Given the growing role the United States are playing in Asia, would you permit me, Mr Prime Minister, to ask you to talk about this very crucial question of Indo-US relations?

I don't think that I need to elaborate on why these relations are so terribly important. If India wants to make rapid economic progress, as she obviously does, then there are two possibilities only. Either India will have to impose tremendous sacrifices on her population or she will have to get foreign aid. At least this foreign aid obviously will not solve the problems but will act as an anaesthetic, which would lighten the sacrifices which would have to be imposed on the Indian people. Now, under present conditions, it is evident that aid on a reasonably important scale could come from the United States only.

It is clear that at the moment there are certain irritants in this relationship. I would even go further and say there is a kind of mutual irritation in present Indian-US relations and that such irritations between two peoples, are very often based on misunderstandings. I apologise in advance for formulating such a long question. But in view of the importance of this problem, I would like to ask your permission to list these irritants and I would be very grateful if, Sir, you would comment on them.

This slight irritation among Indians comes first of all, from the conviction that the United States seem to identify themselves more and more with the interests of the old colonial powers to prop up unrepresentative governments for the sake of strategic advantages, and as a whole they appear to be opposed to the aspirations of the new Asia. Going even further it comes also from the vague belief that the USA seems to inherit the role of the naval power that holds in its embrace the continental powers, like India—the natural consequence of the shift of US interest towards the Pacific Ocean.

Then, secondly, some Indians say that the United States leaders appear to be incapable of realising that neutralism in newly independent Asia is the truest expression of these countries' desire to remain independent.

Thirdly, some Indians observe that Americans prefer to give economic aid against political commitments and as a whole seem to prefer military to economic aid.

Lastly, it is said that the Americans overdo military threats, when really it is economic improvement which would be the real answer.

Now, as for the Americans—I am not an American, but summarising from what I hear from my American friends, and to a greater or lesser extent these views are shared by some westerners in other Western countries

as well—this imaginary American would probably say, that India is not with us, so she is against us and so leaves a gap in the strategic ring which the USA builds around Asian communist states, which the US believes to be a barrier against communist penetration.

Then, secondly, this imaginary American would say that Indian efforts at mediation in current world issues seem, to Americans, at any rate, to weaken the American and to strengthen the communist case.

The third point he might raise would be that in an area where US interest is fast becoming paramount, India maintains a certain moral influence, which occasionally clashes with the US intentions in the region. On a more abstract plane, this is perhaps the clash of two countries equally convinced of the rightness of their mission and revelation.

And, fourthly, this American might say that the “socialistic pattern of society” adopted in India is against the interests of the American private enterprise or the potential US investors who, so the Americans believe, would otherwise be forthcoming and help to solve India’s economic problems.

Fifthly, he might say that occasionally India adopts a tone towards the USA as if America would be the embodiment of evil materialism, while India a shining example of spiritual detachment.

And, lastly, please forgive me, Mr Prime Minister, if I put this very frankly—I have often heard said by good-intentioned Americans, whose information was not proportionate with their good intentions—that “Mr Nehru does not like us.” You know Americans are extremely sensitive to this sort of thing. They would even say that “unconsciously Mr Nehru opens the gates to communism because “after all his sympathies lie the other way”. Please excuse me, I have put it very crudely.

JN: Well, you have put me such a bunch of questions, it is rather difficult to extricate oneself from them.

Firstly, it is quite untrue to think, or to say, that Indians dislike Americans. There is absolutely no such feeling in India, in regard to Americans. There are many things in America which we do not like, in the sense that we are not anxious to have them in India. They do not fit in with our approach to life’s problems. But they are there.... We do not dislike them. America is welcome to have them, if they suit her genius and her way of development. So, there is no question of liking or disliking.

Also, I should like to make it clear that whatever some odd individuals might say here, it is completely wrong to think that we consider ourselves morally superior to anybody. Certainly that is not the broad outlook, or that we consider ourselves above materialism and America materialistic. It is true that some people in India want to take escape in thinking that way to cover up their

own weaknesses. It is not that. We know our weaknesses very well and we try to get rid of them.

But, broadly speaking, the way we look at our own problems, whether it is poverty, developing into a welfare state and a large measure of equality, equal opportunity rather, it does not fit in with the growth of private enterprise in a big way, small way of course. In any event, in India, by far the greater part of our life, of our industry, is bound to be governed by private enterprise. Take the whole of land, we are an agricultural country; take the whole of our small industry, which is a very big sector in India. All that is private industry. So we come to a small sector, what might be called big industry.

In regard to that big industry, we are anxious to avoid the development of monopolies in private hands, because we think they will come in the way of both equalisation and general all-round progress, and we are against the concentration of power, political or economic, in some hand. Therefore, we think in terms of what might be called the basic industries being controlled by the state, and we would much prefer the other industries to be, as far as possible, cooperatively organised, private but cooperatively, but also even privately, provided always that the strategic industries are not in private hands and do not create monopolies. In fact, most of these industries today are dependent on the state protection and our state policies so much, that they grew up because of state protection.

So, that is our broad approach. It does not quite fit in with the American approach of giving free rein to private capital and private monopoly. Of course, it does not fit in with the communist approach either. Now, that is the economic approach which governs our policy, even politically.

Now, it is true that many things have happened on the political plane in the United States which have distressed us. That is, somehow the exigencies of the cold war leading the United States to encourage indirectly colonialism. I believe directly they are not interested in colonialism as such, but indirectly they encourage it. And now this question of colonialism is something which makes us feel very strongly, because we have been conditioned that way, because of our own past, and any such thing naturally excites public opinion in India greatly. It is not enough for anyone to tell me that the principal issue is communism or anti-communism....Therefore, you must put aside your feelings about colonialism and the rest. Apart from not being enough, I think that is completely a wrong approach even to counter communism.

In fact you play into the hands of the other party and you make it appear as if communism was the liberating force for these colonial countries. That is a dangerous thing. You get all the people against you. You must come—if you want the people to be with you—you must come as a liberating force; your ideas must be liberating ideas and your policies. If they are not that, then you may win over some group here, some group there, some dominating group in

a country, but the people will inevitably tend the other way. And it is far more important in Asia or anywhere today to have the people with you, than some group here and there.

Then I am trying to think of various parts of your question. Yes, about aid. I think I mentioned to you the other day about our dilemma. Certainly we want aid, but oddly enough we do not want too much aid. That is to say, we do not wish to create an impression in our people that somebody else is going to build up India. I think that is psychologically a wrong thing, and it does not give them the right training. They have to build themselves up. If we had got freedom thrust upon us without our fighting for it, we would have been a weak nation. We have no sensation of weakness politically, because we achieved something by our own efforts....Therefore, we want to achieve economic well-being largely by our own efforts.

Certainly aid is welcome but within limitations, not only because that aid is apt to upset our economic balances in India, if it comes in large quantities, but because of the psychological factor that I have mentioned. But leaving out the case of India, broadly speaking, it is obviously desirable for the countries possessing big resources in the world to help in the development of the underdeveloped areas. From the various points of view that is desirable and that could be done with great ease if some of the vast sums spent on the military apparatus were transferred that side.

Again, this outlook, which I would call military outlook in the world's problems, seems to us to be a very, very wrong outlook, wrong even from the point of view of the solution of the problems for which it is meant. The military outlook, of course, is, apart from ultimate war, the threat of war. We are powerful enough, do this or you will get into trouble. Now, the time has passed when those threats go very far. They do not go very far. They do not go far at all when the other party also threatens. But even in regard to the countries which are not powerful, they have to deal with their own people; you can threaten a ruling clique, you cannot threaten a whole people....They react the other way, and where there are even the elements of democracy, the result of that threat is the opposite. The people get angry and bend back much more than otherwise. So, this military outlook does not help; and this military outlook of having bases here, there and everywhere, from purely a soldier's point of view in war, it may be helpful of course, but it creates conditions all round those bases which are hostile. It has always been known that after all, even in war, the military outlook is not quite enough. You have psychological warfare, you have all kinds of things to convert people's minds. So I think the main difficulty is that, whether it is America, whether it is the Soviet Union, they attach, to our thinking, far too great value on their great material power, I mean military power and atomic bombs. Now, frankly speaking, I do not care twopence for their atom bombs. I really am not afraid. If they want to bomb

India, well, let them bomb it and have done with it, put an end to India and there the matter ends. Why should I spend a sleepless night over it. Why should I waste my time and energy, and work myself up into a passion of hatred because something might happen? It does not seem to me to help at all, it creates a frustrating experience in me. Your question, that people say that I don't like Americans because my sympathies lie the other way....

TM: I brought up this point because, being the least intelligent observation, it appeals to the largest number of people.

JN: I have just tried to explain to you what our outlook, economic outlook is. I think one mixes up a great deal, what might be called the communist ideal of society and the Communist Party. Now, the two things are quite different. The communist ideal and, I suppose, the socialist ideal do not differ very much. When they will be realised and how, I do not know. And I have no objection to that socialist ideal at all. The only question is the numerous steps in the course of the next few generations which may lead us there. I do not know how the world will change. Therefore I have no ideological aversion to the communist ideal of society. I am not referring to dictatorship. Do not mix up things. I do not like dictatorship. I do not like authoritarian regimes. I am sure that I would not survive an authoritarian regime.

TM: Not for long....

JN: I do not like the techniques adopted by the Communist Party, all that, but that again I would not like it in my country.

Who am I to say what, in a particular set of circumstances, another country does? I am not competent and I cannot anyhow interfere. So I put up with it. The whole course, let us say, of revolutions in Soviet Union and China had a long background. They don't suddenly come out of nothing. They had the whole course of Czarism, all kinds of things, defeat and war and what not. Then something emerges. There was no parliamentary democracy there, all kinds of things. And so, that was perhaps fitted in with their historical development. In China, after thirty years' revolution, they arrived at a certain stage. Who am I to criticise the methods they adopted or the results that they arrived at? I may not like something for myself. Anyhow, my objecting to what they do necessarily leads to their objecting to what I do. I do not want their interference, as I do not wish to interfere with them or with any other country.

I think I can learn a good deal from China because we face similar problems. I do not face the same problem as England or France or the United States. They are highly industrialised countries. China is a country with a huge population, an agricultural country, backward in transport, backward in

industries, backward in many things. We face the same problems. We may approach them differently; we do in many ways. Sometimes we approach them in the same way, possibly because communism does not cover engineering, everything else. If we have a dam, well, it is a dam. It is not a communist dam. It is a river valley scheme, whether it is TVA, whether it is in China, whether it is in India. So, if I may say, we try honestly to adjust this, liking and disliking business. We have no strong dislikes of any country in the world, certainly we have hatred for none and we try to cultivate a positive feeling of liking for the other countries, especially great countries like the United States.

I think the American people have so many admirable qualities, but I am not interested in many aspects of American life. For instance, I am not interested in providing every person in India with a motor car and a washing machine and a refrigerator. The thing does not come into my ken at all. It is not that I am against material comfort, but I am not sure that it is too good for one, too much.

TM: We have covered now quite a number of what we may call the components of your international philosophy, Mr Prime Minister. Yet, some people may say: Well, all right, we see the individual point, A, B, C, but what do they lead us to? I would like to summarise in the form of a question—What is the philosophy behind all this, in the actual fact, in actual international situation? Would it be correct to sum it up this way....

An ever-increasing number of states realise that they have not the means to wage atomic war and they are unwilling to expose themselves to its ravages. So these states openly, or merely in sentiment, regard themselves as non-committed to the power motives of the Great Powers, which may contemplate modern war. Ultimately this spreading tendency to trust peaceful negotiation, rather than war, would leave only powers A and B, perhaps C as well, to arm, to threaten and to entertain ambitions of settling issues by modern war. But A, B and C—finding themselves without reliable allies and realising that the risks of war are too great, may themselves, begin to talk to each other and try to reduce their armaments. This then ultimately may lead to a gradual dissolution of what we call today, "blocs" or military groupings. Is this crudely simplified version correct?

JN: I should think so.

I do not know that it is up to anyone except professional philosophers to talk about the future. I am not a professional philosopher. I have no claims that way. I am interested in the problems of the day, certainly in the context of a certain future that one aims at. I am interested in the next step I have to take, I have to meet a problem, also always thinking of the context. Very often, every practical person, every politician has to choose between two courses,

both of which he dislikes and he tries to choose the course which has the lesser evil.... All these things, of course, happen but as things are, it seems to me that what you have said is a possible way of looking at the future. That is, to put it slightly differently, if people are absolutely convinced that war should be avoided, they will inevitably come to the other conviction, that we must accept things even if we dislike them and put up with them, provided those things do not interfere with us. In other words, we come back to something in the nature of those Five Principles, non-interference with each other, allowing each country to develop its own life. Both of these because that is right; but also because doing anything else gets us into trouble, for both reasons. If we could bring about a more peaceful psychological background in the world, that is, if tensions go, then I think it will be relatively easy to face the problems of the world. Naturally, we never solve all the problems of the world because when we solve one, another takes its place, the more difficult one. In fact, it is the condition of life to have problems. As I said somewhere, only the dead have no problems.

TM: All these hopes, Mr Prime Minister, if I may say so, reflect a strong ray of 19th century liberal ideals. Those ideals were based on three basic assumptions, belief in inevitability of human progress, faith in the perfect ability of the individual, on belief that force can progressively be eliminated from human relations.... But during this last half century we had sharp setbacks, a disillusionment with and loss of faith in these ideals. We had in between two World Wars, Hitler, the gas chambers for millions and harnessing of all of mankind's wonderful inventions for the most destructive ends. In politics we have seen that the forces, which refused to believe in the possibility of the elimination of force from human relations, have gained in strength both on the right and on the left. The reasonable middle course has been more and more on the defensive. Moreover, technological development is leading human society towards integrated blocs in which the decision is more and more in the hands of a few organizations and individuals. In the light of this, what can replace in the mind of a politician, who is also, as you are, Sir, a liberal humanist, the rationalist hope of self-propelling progress of humanity? What is this modified utopia of this 20th century humanist and what can he retain from his 19th century heritage?

JN: Well, first of all, I was born in the 19th century. So, perhaps, I have some bit of the 19th century in me.

What you call 19th century liberalism, and it is true that faith in the inevitability of human progress has been largely shattered, I am certainly not sure of it myself, yet I can say without adducing any reason for it, that somewhere at the back of my mind I do believe that there is something in

mankind, some strength which makes us survive. And it will survive, I think so, in spite of all these difficulties, and if it survives, it will survive on relatively higher planes at each step. But that is just an odd reaction and there is a possibility that it might not do so. What am I to do about it, whether it does or does not do so? It becomes rather an academic argument, except that one tries to work for ends which will avoid the greater dangers, not only of war but other dangers, hatred and bitterness and conflict, which I think are really more dangerous than active war because they degrade human beings, they make them feel frustrated and narrow-minded and all that. I do basically believe that, as in science, every cause has its effect. So, in human relations, whether national or individual, every act that we do, every thought that we think, has an effect. It may be very small and therefore if the act or thought is an evil thought, it has a bad effect, whatever our motive may be.

And unfortunately, war and the fear of war and the preparation of war make one think almost in a hundred per cent evil way, full of hatred and bitterness and anger and spirit of destruction which possibly harms the thinker more than the opposite party. So, how to lessen this and then lead the world ahead, to go forward as it chooses.

TM: Thank you very much.

5. Fourth Session¹

TM: Travelling around in India these days, one inevitably has the feeling of moving among scenery readied on a stage where something important will be played out. One cannot be quite sure how the play will end, in tragedy or in a classical happy end or just in one of those compromises in which most human efforts land.

As you have said repeatedly, Mr Prime Minister, India is determined to go through these inevitable events according to the rules of parliamentary democracy. In other words, it will be a "legislative revolution". For a foreign observer it poses a basic question. Legislation can either outrun the social urge for change or legislation can anticipate social needs. More precisely,

1. New Delhi, 9 January 1956. AIR tapes. NMML.

is predominantly Hindu Indian society ready for the legislative changes that secular India intends to impose on it?

JN: There are always limitations on any action that one wishes to take. There are compromises between the urge for that action and the popular acceptance of it. The compromise is not necessarily bad provided it goes in the right direction. That is, we may not achieve something immediately, we achieve it a year later, but we are going in that direction.

When you talk about legislative changes in a democracy, you necessarily take into consideration the fact that the people have been brought up to that level, if not quite somewhere near that. That is to say, if their representatives accept it in Parliament, a very large section of the people must also accept it, or be prepared at any rate, actively or passively, to accept it. It may be, it is not a full majority in that sense; it has to be brought up to the level, and they are too much rooted in their old habits. In other words, the Government and the Parliament must have the people, by and large, at their back, maybe not in a particular measure but the people have general faith in the bona fides of government that it is going in the right direction.

Nobody can say exactly how soon one can change every old habit which one considers undesirable but if one goes in that direction, the pace gradually quickens. Also, quite apart from the legislative habits and the rest, changes take place in the social order because, let us say, of industrialisation, of many modern things coming in; people work together and that itself shakes up, what I would call, the old agricultural outlook of the separate villages and all that. That is happening. Everything should be taken together. Finally what emerges, of course, is a balance of various forces.

TM: From the time of the first Chin Emperor of China who ordered destruction of everything written in his effort to break with the past, right up to Kemal Ataturk's attempt, "legislative revolution" has, at best, only been a partial success. They could not change the accumulated weight of tradition, custom and inertia, not in any case within a short time. Now, the fundamental rights and even the guiding principles laid down in India's secular Constitution are in direct opposition to the Hindu conception of society. In fact, there are signs that the spiritual or material spokesmen of that old order will resist the rapid imposition of these planned changes.

Just to illustrate my point, I would bring up a very small example. An eminent Indian statesman made a speech² quite recently in which he attacked

2. K.M. Panikkar's address to the annual convocation of the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan on 24 December 1955.

the popular conceptions of "going back to the villages", the ideal of poverty, and he even said it appeared to him that "the claim of India to be more spiritual than the rest of the world was no more than self-deception." Now, an equally eminent South Indian newspaper, which I understand is a spokesman of orthodox Hindu feeling, had in an editorial in which there was a very significant sentence. It attacks what it calls this "indiscriminating cultural receptivity", and goes on to say: "...That can only have the effect of further widening the gulf between the masses rooted in a living tradition and a section of the intelligentsia which has lost its moorings".³ Now, I am not suggesting that the desire for change is not widespread, but will the Constitution's aim to bring Hindu institutions in step with the secular state's ideals be in rhythm with the economic plans of the forward looking India? Or, perhaps is it possible that the resistance encountered will render the changeover so slow that it might come in the way of India's economic ambitions which have a timetable that is much faster?

JN: Naturally, there are all kinds of people in India, more specially among the intellectuals, and there are conservative elements which do not like any change. And there are others who want to go too fast. But I think the conception of Hindu society as a very conservative society, that is, a society opposed to change,—is not quite correct.

In the past, changes took place not by legislation, but by custom, by the people themselves changing. In fact, the whole of Hindu law was hardly a codified law till the British came. There were ancient codes, of course, but every code was liable to change, and in fact, even in the law courts up till today, any law can be challenged on the basis of custom. This custom has grown up. It was during British times that all this was strictly codified and custom began to play a lesser part. In fact, it was rather petrified.

Now, there is, therefore, that dynamic element in the conception of Hindu society which changes, certain basic principles being accepted of course. I think this is more true here than in regard to any religion which is based on strict dogmas. Therefore, I do not think there is a basic difficulty. There is always a difficulty in moving masses, in changing their inertia into action. Then, again, look at our nationalist movement. For a quarter of a century Gandhiji functioned, of course, without the legislative background, he just functioned with the people and his influence, and the influence of our organization certainly had a very powerful effect on the people's mind and even in their lives.

So both these forces functioning together, the legislative and the direct approach to the people, and making them accept changes, have to go together.

3. Editorial in *The Hindu*, 27 December 1955.

I think it is quite possible for these changes to be brought about in India. On the strictly economic front, there really is no basic, shall I say, obstruction. On the narrow social plane, there is somewhat more resistance, but even that I think is not too great, and we are apt to think of these changes from the point of view of, well, a narrow group, which might be called the upper caste group. The masses of the people do not feel that way.

Take marriage and divorce, etc.. Well, we have, as a matter of fact, even changed that: but people do not realise that the great mass of Hindus have had divorce, excepting certain upper castes. So, where the masses come into play in a democratic society, these masses are not opposed to these changes; it is only a certain intellectual elite, conservatively inclined, that might be, and even that elite is split up into those who want to go ahead and those who resist change.

So, in the balance, I think, the forces for change are considerable and need not come in the way of any major economic advance.

TM: Well, I would like to shift my questions toward the economic field. The very idea of the Five Year Plan, as its name implies, imposes a certain rhythm in economic development. This prescribed rhythm may encounter, apart from traditional religious or social opposition, material obstacles as well. You have repeatedly said, Mr Prime Minister, that you consider it even desirable that India should rely less and less on outside aid and more and more on indigenous effort. But figures after all are figures; and after the Second Five Year Plan, has been carefully trimmed, there is still a gap of a formidable sum which has to be found somewhere. If it will not be filled in by foreign aid, it will have to be filled in by austerity, sacrifice and even regimentation for productive work. Now, this poses a basic question, I believe: Is the democratic framework subordinated to the economic ambitions of the Plan or will rather the Plan be scaled down to preserve the democratic margins?

JN: Well, if the democratic framework is subordinated to something else, it really means that the democratic framework is given up to that extent. I do not see any possibility, nor do I consider it desirable to give up that democratic framework. I attach importance to it.

I feel that within that framework one can go far. It may be that sometimes some delays occur. Well, we shall have to accept the delays. On the other hand there is a powerful urge for change because of economic conditions, the urge coming from the people, not merely from some people's head. So there is that pressure which pushes the democratic apparatus to go ahead. Now, in regard to land reform, we were held up not by the democratic framework as such, that is, Parliament, but by the courts which, of course, function quite independently.

Therefore, it took us time to change our Constitution to get over that difficulty, but we did it. That is, we can get over those difficulties. Sometimes it takes time, and it may be possible, it may happen of course, that something that we want to do in five years' time cannot be done in five years. It takes another one year or two. One has to balance all these considerations. But I do not wish to give up the basic democratic structure.

TM: You have said the other day in a speech, Mr Prime Minister, that nothing really matters in India that cannot be measured in terms of the village. You had given the monumental dimensions of the problem of India's half a million villages. Is not there a danger that in the long run India may follow the course that has been followed by so many countries in Europe or, let us say, Brazil and see to the improvement, the social improvement, of its urban masses and to leave practically untouched the basic and fundamental problems of the rural masses?

JN: That can hardly happen for long. That has not happened in the past, of course, because the great number of our representatives in our Parliament and assemblies come from the rural areas and even though they, as individuals, may or may not be villagers, they have to listen to their constituents, and the pressure of rural India is, therefore, very considerable. That is why in our national movement we were very much concerned with rural India. I do not think rural India can at all be ignored, it is too powerful in the democratic set-up and all our training has been to give importance to the rural areas. Now, the Community Project Scheme and the National Extension Scheme are both meant solely for the rural areas and I think they are probably the most revolutionary thing that has been happening in India, that is, vast masses of people by the hundred million are changing, are working for themselves, are getting a new sense of self-reliance and faith in their own work. And the general tendency of Parliament is to encourage them very much.

There is, of course, a certain conflict between the interests of the urban people and the rural people. It has been so in history. That becomes less and less as the rural areas develop, as industries spread out. That is why, also, we believe in a large measure of decentralisation, not at the expense of, well, certain things which have inevitably to be Central and not at the expense of higher techniques, but we do believe in decentralisation, more industries, cottage industries, to balance the heavy industries, etc., that grow up elsewhere.

TM: Given the fact that certain traditional features of Hindu society,—untouchability, for instance, are intimately connected with this economic structure of the village, is not there a danger that this growth of cottage

industries will indirectly strengthen the old framework with all its undesirable social by-products?

JN: No, quite the reverse. All the developments affecting the villages break up this old framework and with it things like untouchability. In fact, untouchability, of course, has broken up. It does exist in odd areas in practice, but popular sentiment is against it and because of economic conditions, new ways of life as well as our propaganda and work and laws, it has no life left in it. It has gone.

TM: I would like to raise a question which would voice certain observations in and outside India. I am not raising it to criticise but just as the enquiry of an observer. There is a growing conviction, in her understandable effort to do many things rather quickly, India tends to disperse her energy. In other words, there is a dispersal of efforts, a certain lack of concentration on essentials. To make quite clear what I mean, I would give three examples and I am selecting them from three very different fields, illustrating three very different aspects of the same problem. Firstly, let us take education. I personally believe that if a country like the USSR, for instance, has become a great power so quickly, it is largely due to the fact that at a very early stage they have devised the tremendous educational system which, like the mass production machine, kept on turning out technicians. In India, at the moment I know there is discussion about reform of the educational system even in the sense of pushing it in the vocational direction but up to now nothing really fundamental has happened.

The second example, very different example, is the manufacture of motor cars. Now, in India, at the moment, the policy is to have assembly plants which ultimately will gradually manufacture more and more of the parts here in India and finally will produce the whole motor car in India. Now, there are about twelve different makes of cars assembled in India. The big presses which turn out the body of a motor car are extremely expensive. If one has twelve factories trying to satisfy the demand, none of them will quickly arrive to such a demand that they can buy these extremely expensive power-presses. If India would have started to manufacture one or two brands of cars, probably India would have arrived much quicker at manufacturing the full car in India.

Thirdly, I would take the example of rural credit, which is connected with land reform. India has carried out land reforms in various degrees and various stages. But, anyway, it is land reform which abolished the zamindari system, but nothing very effective happened up to now to provide rural credit because the *bania* is still the king in the village and this, to a very large extent, annuls the constructive effect of land reform.

So obviously certain things have been started but because of lack of

personnel, or I do not know, whatever the reason, they have not been carried to their logical end. This is what people call dispersal of effort, of not concentrating on fundamental or essentials.

JN: Well, you pointed out three problems which are always before us. I could point out a dozen others of the same type. But the whole purpose of planning is not to disperse effort in this way; to concentrate it on worthwhile things. It is difficult to pick and choose.

Take education. We want to spend large sums of money on education. On the other hand, we want to spend money on wealth producing activities so that we will have more money to spend on education. Now, one has to balance the two. But in regard to education, I believe that at the primary level the progress made has been considerable. It is not as much as we wanted it to be but it has given me enormous pleasure to go all over India and to see new school children and schools. They are a different generation, you might say. You can see the change in them, these large numbers of bright young people who had no schools to go to. We will increase the number of those schools. And in education we have adopted, what we call, Basic Education, which is a seven-year course from the age of about six or seven to about fourteen, which really covers the primary and part of the secondary and which is supposed to be the background for everyone when it becomes compulsory all over India. After that, one branches off into technical or literary or whatever it is. I can hardly discuss the details with you but the problem of preventing dispersal of effort is there.

Now, you mentioned rural credit. Yes, that is most important. In fact, it is in order to provide rural credit more effectively that we nationalised the Imperial Bank, made it into a State Bank,⁴ the main purpose being to provide rural credit in a big way, and I think that development will take place.

Then you talked about cars. That is a very good example of dispersal of effort because of too many private undertakings taking it up. If there had been one, possibly, state undertaking, it would have gone further by now than half a dozen private undertakings. There are, in effect, really three in India, there may be others, but three important ones, three or maybe four.⁵

TM: But assembling over a dozen different kinds of cars in three plants....

JN: Well, that is wrong. One would have to come to some understanding about that, the real difficulty being, of course, that the consumption capacity of India

4. The State Bank of India came into being on 1 July 1955 when the Imperial Bank was nationalised.

5. See *ante*, p. 273.

of cars is limited because of the standards of living. And, therefore, what is likely to happen is that we shall make more and more buses and trucks, that is, for common use, and less and less private cars. As levels will slowly go up, private cars will be there but in relatively smaller quantities.

TM: I am still hammering around the same question of planning. There is another dilemma involved, the dilemma between planning with too modest targets to stand up to comparison with the results of systems planning with coercion, and planning with targets too ambitious to be realised without such efforts which would require a far larger apparatus of enforcement than India possesses. In part you have answered this question, Sir, do you think, this dilemma really exists?

JN: Of course, planning is full of dilemmas. At every step in planning we have to choose between this or that or to find some middle way. For instance, we are convinced that any real industrialisation of the country must have for its base heavy industry, heavy industry meaning the machine-making industry, apart from iron and steel and the rest. That is something which does not immediately produce goods for the people. It just consumes. It is a heavy burden till it starts functioning years later and it may produce all kinds of other things, say, inflation, lack of goods, higher prices. Therefore, you require consumer goods. We are trying to balance that, at the other end, by cottage industry and village industry in a very large way to provide consumer goods. But the dilemma is there, one has to balance these things: too high targets, too low targets; one has to strike some golden mean in between and push ahead as far as one can.

TM: Obviously you have noticed, Mr Prime Minister, looking at the international press, that it has become, I should say, a popular journalistic feature to compare India's and China's Five Year Plans and to talk about the two in terms of, well, almost competitive efforts, as planning with coercion and planning with persuasion, the outcome of which may have a very important effect on the future course of the whole of Asia. Now, if I remember the figures correctly, India up to now, in her economic efforts, invests about six to seven per cent of her national income per annum. In China this is at the moment around eleven to thirteen per cent and it is proposed that it should go up within the next few years up to, I think by 1960, to something like twenty per cent. This would be around the rate of investments the Soviet Union or the United States put aside at the time of their great industrial expansion.

Now, the other day you said, Mr Prime Minister, that India really aims at what we call the "hope level," a degree of economic progress which gives the masses the impression that there is continuous progress. Now,

the question I would like to put is this: Would India try in the near future, or would it be within the means of India to try in the near future, to compete with this rate of investment, with this rhythm of development which China's planners have imposed on their people? Or would India simply say that, well, we do not care what is happening in China, we aim at this "hope level" and we will do our best. Or is it consciously before your mind to compete with China's rate of development?

JN: There is no question of competing with China or any other country.

TM: I mean, only in a friendly way, not in any wrong sense.

JN: I know, we naturally are interested in what is happening in China or in other countries of Europe or in the Soviet Union, and we want to learn from them, and if there is more being done elsewhere, that is an incentive for us to do more too; but there are certain limitations beyond which a country cannot go. It just does not matter whether you call it an authoritarian country or democratic. Even authoritarian countries have limitations. They cannot go beyond them. When they pass a decree in China, I think it is wrong to assume that the Government can just do anything it likes. It has to carry a vast number of peasants. It may go a little further than we can because of the kind of apparatus and the Government it has got, but ultimately there are limiting factors. Chairman Mao Tse-tung said, I think a year or two ago, that it will take him twenty years to have the foundations of socialism in China. So, he has a long-term view and he does not expect very quick results in spite of the great efforts that they are making.

We do our utmost within our limitations; and we think that, once we start moving, the pace becomes faster and faster, whatever the type of economy, once you are in movement. I think that we have, we might say, crossed the barrier of that static condition, static undeveloped country. It is very difficult to get out of that barrier. It is a vicious circle. We are just crossing that barrier. In fact, we have crossed it towards movement. Now, that movement will become faster and faster.

The First Five Year Plan was a kind of carrying on and experimenting and laying down certain basic things. The Second is one of more movement, not too much. The Third will be of rapid movement.

TM: Here I would like to interpose a question which is strictly non-economic. Most of revolutionary Asia's utopia is tied to the promise of rapid material progress. If Indians are really less susceptible to material ambitions than other Asian peoples, as some people maintain, is not India's utopia correspondingly less dynamic? The question I am really asking is,

is it true, what is so often said, that the Indians are a "spiritual people", less interested in material progress than others, in Asia or elsewhere?

JN: I won't put it that way, that Indians are "more spiritual". I would say that a static society talks more about the so-called spirituality. But I think naturally there are differences between Indians and others. It is not that Indians are better than others. But, for instance, wealth is naturally desired by people but the man of wealth here has never been admired very greatly. Wealth is wanted but somehow in the whole of our past the man of learning is admired much more than wealth. It is the national outlook. These are factors which govern but naturally the urge for greater material advance is there, but at the present moment when the levels are so low that the question of very high advance does not arise, everybody agrees that there must be material advance. Now, the question that arises is whether that advance should be general, all over the country, or some people going up to high levels and others advancing more slowly. Now, our whole approach is that it should be general. If so, it will take us a generation or two generations to arrive at a stage when one can think of, I may call, luxury levels. The question does not arise. We are after the necessities of life for the people. Once they are attained, I do not know what their outlook will be then. We shall see then.

TM: But do you think, Mr Prime Minister, that the material incentive, as economists define it, is operative in everyday Indian life as much as in any other society?

JN: It probably is. Possibly it is limited in some ways. For instance, I suppose that in America, probably that incentive is greater than in many European countries. It is there, everywhere, but one talks more about the money motive in America, the price of everything, than maybe in France or England. In that sense, I mean, it is less, but basically it is there, but really the question does not arise in that sense except in a, well, strictly acquisitive society where people, if I may say so, get on the shoulders of others, to be higher than the others.

TM: There is a problem to all these economic factors in India, the question of population. I only see India with its ten-yearly increase of about fifty million people as a man trying to mount a descending escalator. You have to hurry to stay where you are and you have to run if you want to progress. Now, this obviously needs a policy, needs some kind of action.

Let us take the example of Ceylon where malaria has been practically chased away in a few years. There has been such a terrific increase of population that within a few years it will double again. I know that, you, personally, Mr Prime Minister, have given your moral support to family

planning efforts in India. I have even visited some of these clinics in Calcutta and Bombay but obviously these efforts are terribly modest compared to the magnitude of the problem. But I know there are some people in India—I have met a lady just the other day, when I went to a village with her, who is working for family planning as a volunteer, a very fine woman indeed—these people feel a little bit frustrated because they are conscious of the urgency of the problem, but they feel that they do not get the official support or the material aid to carry out their plan on a sufficiently large-scale. What is your opinion, Sir? Are you planning something? Most people outside India do not know that India is one of the very few countries where there is no real serious religious opposition to family planning, which is a tremendous initial advantage. Now, does India have any concrete plans to do something about this matter on a larger scale?

JN: I do not think there are any plans on a mass scale. There are plans on a relatively large-scale gradually increasing in scope. I could not give you a more detailed answer but I would say this that family planning, which I certainly think is desirable and we should carry it out, requires not merely a lot of propaganda and other facilities for it but, if I may say so, slightly higher educational standards too; that is, by itself it does not go far. It will, in urban areas it will, and it is doing that. I am talking about the villages; so that it becomes intimately involved with certain other things, economic advance and the rest. If I isolate the economic advance of the people and just tell them about family planning, it just does not take me anywhere. In fact, I don't reach them even. That vast apparatus of reaching them is absent. I can only reach them, not merely for family planning but for building up this big apparatus; let us say, our community schemes, that is, a base which makes people active, which makes people think, which makes people cooperate, which makes them receptive. Now, I can turn the whole base in the direction of, say, village industries, which we are going to do. We can utilise that base for family planning, in that sense.

The enthusiasts for family planning seem to think that you can ignore everything and meet this menace of a rising population by large-scale propaganda on the subject. That, I think, is a wrong approach and, in fact, is totally an ineffective approach. I do think, if there is a choice I think economic advance is more important today than even family planning. The two should go together as far as possible.

TM: This is a very delicate subject, but I would venture to pose one additional question on this subject. Family planning may be a complicated proposition under existing conditions. But there are methods which are

applied in some countries as in Japan, methods which can reduce the birth rate within a very few years by several per cent. India, being at the threshold of a very important phase of economic planning, might want to stabilise her population at a certain level, to render economic planning more realistic.

JN: Oh I see, well, I do not know about these drastic methods in Japan.

TM: Well, it legalised abortion on a very large-scale and within a few years it reduced the birth rate. I think, by six per cent, if I remember correctly.

JN: Really? I am afraid that I do not think we have given ever any thought to it in that sense. I think, normally, of course, one's feeling is not to encourage abortion except in specified cases where the physician or doctor says so.

TM: It would encounter, of course, tremendous hygienic problems in any case.

JN: Tremendous. Again, that requires a tremendous health apparatus.

TM: To summarise, you see, Sir, the solution of this problem of rapidly rising population is in the full general economic progress of the country and not really in the sub problem of family planning itself.

JN: Yes, that is, I think the question of the general advance is more important from the social point of view, employment, etc., this and that and other. At the same time you carry on work for family planning, create an atmosphere for it and then, at a later stage perhaps, deal with it in a much more mass way after you have laid a certain foundation.

In any event, at the present moment if we worked solely for family planning, I do not suppose it will produce results for the next ten years, any marked results. It will take time. I have got to produce economic results long before that, I cannot wait for that.

TM: I would like to go from one delicate subject to the other. A few weeks ago I was at Khajuraho, and sitting under a big banyan tree next to the temples I was talking to a middle-aged man, a teacher, I believe. He was a handsome man with a long beard, in fact a Brahmin, and, of course, we were talking about India. When the conversation was over he got up and in a sort of very patronising tone he told me, "You must remember that India with Jawaharlal Nehru or without Jawaharlal are two very different things". Now, I am just quoting this picturesque detail because

this feeling, as you must know, Sir, is extremely widespread in India. Actually, I think it is one of the problems which are heaviest on the minds of the Indian masses. What will happen once India is deprived of your leadership? Now, I know, that as a most modest man you will simply answer that no individual is irreplaceable. Yet, the problem is far more complicated. If I may put it briefly, I think you are fulfilling, Sir, several functions in this country here at the moment, of which I would just pick out three which seem to me the most important. Firstly, you are the head of the ruling party of that machinery which is, as you said the other day, necessary to rule a vast and complicated country. You unite all the different elements which make that party. In fact, you act for that party as a kind of universal fireman: wherever there is a flame, you dash there, you sprinkle your magic words and the flames are put out. Secondly, a most important function. You provide a link between what may be called middle class India and village India. To provide this link is by no means an easy task. And, thirdly—I would emphasise this because it seems to me the most important—you represent that extra ounce or I should rather say, extra ton, which tilts the balance of all the developments in India today in a progressive direction. I mean in the internal as well as in external affairs. You give a social colouring to all that is happening and you direct India's attention towards the outside world, thus lessening the danger of India being chauvinistically closed in her own universe. The third function of yours seems to be the most important. You might be conceivably replaced as a party head, possibly perhaps even in your role as a link between middle class and village India; but I wonder if India will find the successor who will exert this same influence in the socially-minded, in the progressive direction. Now, would you please, Mr Prime Minister, talk frankly. What is your opinion about this problem? I know that millions of people are tremendously interested in it.

JN: You have mentioned three aspects of this problem. I will mention a fourth, that is, not only I but a number of us are links with the period of struggle in India for freedom and the second period, after independence, that is, construction. Naturally those people, who are concerned with this struggle, will become fewer and fewer. We have had a certain advantage, partly because in the course of the struggle we gained a large measure of popularity, influence on the public; and all that which can be utilised for construction. Now, in a normal parliamentary democracy that kind of personal influence does not arise which arises in the course of the struggle whatever the struggle may be. It may be, even in a war, a man will come up; usually in a war, a military man will come up. Leave that out. So that we have this great advantage, not I, but scores of people or hundreds of people in various grades in India who have

had that advantage. Now, that advantage will grow less and less in future as the new generation grows up, which is unacquainted personally—I mean, apart from reading or hearing about it—with the days of struggle, and which is apt to think that things can happen quickly by shouting for them. There are all those difficulties. They can only be got over by ultimately training the people in certain directions of activity, of thinking, of receptiveness and the rest. At the present period we are engaged in training the masses for that, and I think we are getting on fairly well.

Take this question of India's outlook on the world, on other countries. Well, there are those two forces—India has always tended to remain in her shell, more so perhaps than other countries. I suppose every really very big country, big in area I mean, tends to that, it is a world in itself. A small country is forced to think of others. On the other hand, modern conditions force one to think of outside world. And I have certainly been instrumental, even in the days of our struggle, to make them think of other countries and the world, and more so afterwards. I think you will find today that even the average villager, an average man plying a tonga in Delhi, will express some ideas about our external policy. He will approve of them, generally speaking; he may not understand naturally the details, but he will approve of them; broadly speaking, he thinks of the outside world more so than ever before.

All these foundations are being laid which are possibly changing the mass thinking of the Indian people, the mass reactions of the Indian people to events. How far they go, and ultimately what happens when I am not there and others of my generation are not there, well, it is anybody's guess. One works for certain ends and goes on working to the best of one's capacity, and then other people take charge. There is no answer to that question. I have no fears, I might tell you, partly, of course, because I don't think it is ever any good to have fears. One does one's best....

TM: Every policy needs people to carry it on. I hate "isms", but you have implanted in India, Sir, what is often referred to as "Nehruism", a distinctly socially-minded policy. Do you think that there is that sufficient personnel available in your entourage to carry on this kind of policy, who can tilt the balance in the same socially-conscious direction?

JN: I think it is quite wrong to call it the "Nehru policy". That has been the definite policy impressed upon us by Gandhiji.

Where I come in is more so in regard to external affairs. Internally, this progressive policy, of looking to the village and all that, bridging the gap between the middle classes and the village, that has been the basic policy of the Congress ever since Gandhiji came into the picture, and he trained hundreds of thousands of people in thinking and working in that direction and I have no

doubt that that part will never go. There are quite a vast number of people in India who are village-minded, that is middle class people, village-minded or village people who have sort of grown up. So, that will never go, that particular direction whatever other changes might take place.

TM: May I ask then, on the same subject, a very delicate question again? A good many people as well as some foreign observers, are convinced that the Congress Party, being so large and consequently so heterogenous, may under certain conditions and deprived of your leadership, split into two parts: oversimplified into a socially-conscious "left wing" and into the other wing comprising all the backward-looking "right wing" elements. Some people say that, in that case, the so-called right wing may unite with the orthodox elements, and the so-called left wing may unite with the other parties on the left – so that India might be ruled one day by an inert majority of orthodox conservatives. In that case, so the pessimists forecast, India would go the Kuomintang way. Well, I intentionally have drawn the darkest picture with the sharpest contours to make myself quite clear....

JN: Well, other people prophesy the reverse. If that process of splitting up happens, India will go not the Kuomintang way but the Communist way. You see, both prophesies are there.

If you look at the history of the Congress movement—it is seventy years old, mind you—you will find that from time to time it had faced this problem and what has happened was that each time it shed a certain conservative fringe. These elements left the Congress from time to time but the main bloc kept together and moved towards more progressive tendencies. That has been progressively so. Even when Gandhiji came into the picture, some of our very prominent leaders left it including, if I may say so, Mr Jinnah, who did not leave it because of any religious or communal consideration, but because it was too advanced for him in social thinking or politically. But the Congress became stronger because it gained much greater adherence among the people. That has been going on.

Now, we faced a crisis, if you like, in our organisation when we gained independence. We had achieved our objective. The binding link of a fight for independence was gone and we faced the same crisis of the different parts of the Congress which, socially speaking, were more conservative or more progressive, pulling in different directions. Well, we kept together. Maybe a few persons dropped out but generally we have kept together. And possibly this kind of thing will happen again and again. Just about a year ago, the Congress pulled itself together.

There was that tendency which you have mentioned and we adopted more formally the socialist ideal and various other things. The result has been that

the Congress is stronger today than it has been since independence. And there are quite a considerable number of people working to that end, prominent people with influence, not only in their states but all over India.

So, past history shows us that when such crises occur, the organisation has the strength to meet them, to face them. It may lose some people but in the result it gains many more. Of course I cannot talk about the future, but I think the general tendency of the Congress is powerfully, and at the base, progressive and socialistic, not in a doctrinaire way, and I do not think anything is going to happen to change that. It may even go a little more in that direction, not less.

TM: I thank you very much, Sir, for answering this question. Perhaps we might embark on a similarly rapid survey of India's foreign politics; but before starting on it, I would like to ask a question which appears to me a rather important one for the whole of Asia.

In the West, there is a general conviction, and I think a mistaken conviction, that the Asian countries, in their economic development, will repeat the Western experience. In other words, that they will really progress gradually from light industries, towards heavy industries; that they will start manufacturing ashtrays, shoes, textiles and then, with the savings derived from these industries they will slowly begin to put up steel plants. It seems to me that the very essence of revolution in Asia is the negation of this conception and that for emotional and various other reasons these people want to start out from the steel plants, and come to the ashtrays, shoes and textiles later only.

It is much easier to learn how to produce textiles than how to build a steel plant. I think there is still a very strong tendency in the West to let these people in Asia learn how to manufacture textiles but not to let them learn how to build a steel plant. I should imagine a country like India encounters this kind of problem. Now, if I may ask this very intimate question: Is the communist countries' approach to a country like India different from the approach of the Western countries' attitude in the particular field? In other words, are the communist countries more willing to offer economic aid in the form of teaching how to build machine-making machinery rather than consumer goods, than are the Western countries?

JN: There is that problem before us, but so far as we are concerned, we are quite clearly of the opinion that we should lay stress on heavy industry and from that base come to other lighter industries.

There are some people in India who think otherwise, but not many. Our Planning Commission and our Government are definitely of that opinion. In fact, as you know, we are starting simultaneously three large steel plants and I

have no doubt that in the course of the next five year plan we shall lay the foundations of heavy machine-making industry. These are the bases. After that, of course, machines will come out of it and we can use them for making a steel plant, etc. Also, on the whole, we have probably more trained personnel for this work than any country in Asia, barring Japan, certainly more than in China at present. Therefore, the next step is not so difficult for us as it might otherwise be.

Now, the outlook of some of the Western countries would naturally be what you have said, to encourage the production of consumer goods and not capital goods in India. The outlook of the communist countries, in their own country and the advice they give others, is to go in for these capital goods industries, machine-making, etc.... That is so. But apart from their advice, we are convinced that we should go in for heavy industry. It really becomes a question for us, partly of resources, partly of not creating conditions which lead to big scale inflation. Now, the communist countries that is, authoritarian countries, have one advantage over us—their economy is so controlled in every direction that they can take steps without fear of that. Of course, it may result in a great deal of inconvenience or suffering to the people, but they can do it. We can have control certainly and we have some control, we have more. But broadly speaking, we cannot have those controls as a communist country has.

TM: I am sorry....what I meant with my question was really in the domain of economic aid. If we follow it up to its logical end, it means really patent rights; the right to adopt certain manufacturing processes. These exclusive processes belong to private enterprise in the Western countries, but these belong to the state in the communist countries. So in practice, do you find that the communist countries are more willing to help in this particular field of patents and exclusive manufacturing processes?

JN: The communist countries means the Soviet Union and some of the Eastern European countries.... There is no question of any patent coming in the way there. That is, you are right that the communist countries are completely willing to help us in learning these know-how and methods, which in other countries might be protected by certain patent devices, whatever it is. Take the drug industry, take any industry. They are completely willing to do that. The others may not be quite so willing. But, as a matter of fact, even they are less reluctant than they were because they can see we can learn anyhow. My point is, it is not their monopoly. They can only keep it from us if it was their monopoly. It is no longer their monopoly and therefore even they cannot really come in the way.

TM: I understand. This fully answers my question. I notice that India is

taking an increasing interest in African affairs. After all, Bandung, to a certain extent, represented this tendency. This is obviously the next phase of human development in this huge continent. How far do you think, Mr Prime Minister, that the independence of Asia, I mean the liberation of the ex-colonial countries of Asia, has influenced the African situation?

JN: It has obviously influenced it very much. I do not know how to measure that, but it has influenced it. In this connection, I do not think it is adequately realised in many Western countries or in America how strongly we feel on the question of colonialism. It is in our blood, we have suffered from it. It is no good somebody telling us, 'Yes, you are right—but wait, there are other difficult problems'. That is an important and vital problem for us. Colonialism and racialism, these two things are vital for any Asian country. And whatever our differences may be we meet together as in Bandung and we are all at one on this. Some at that meeting may be communist countries there, some may be anti-communist countries, but they all agree on this question because of the tremendous popular feeling on that subject. We are interested, therefore, not only in the elimination of colonialism from Asian countries where it exists, but also from Africa.

Also for another reason. We fear that unless this is done, there will be, well, tremendous trouble in Africa, and of the racial type which is very bad really.

Thirdly, and this is rather a new development, we are afraid of a new type of colonialism in Africa based on powerful military resources and calling itself self-government there. Not colonialism of a metropolitan country having a colony but the colonialism of a small dominant group controlling the country and calling it self-government.

TM: Economically controlling it?

JN: No, no, no. Politically controlling, partly economically, of course. They will be called self-governing countries or independent countries but in reality under the control of this small minority from Europe or America.

TM: It is similar to what in South East Asia we call Latin Americanisation?

JN: Yes. But it is really worse, I think, it is worse in Africa because of the racialism and all that and segregation and all that business. So, self-governing countries are created and these people who control those territories are much more reactionary than the most conservative reactionary in England or France. They are cut off from the liberal movements of the Western countries; they just live in an atmosphere of fear from the vast majority of people whom they govern and can only think in terms of suppressing them and sitting on them.

Thirdly, another difficulty; large parts of Africa possess uranium and other things necessary for atomic energy, and have thus become very important. Now, that is an unfortunate thing for Africa because that will make it more difficult for African territories to gain their freedom because of that valuable material and that type of intimate control will continue and lead to trouble.

We have seen, in fact, quite enough trouble in East Africa, in North Africa and any person can say that there will be no solution of that problem by military means. One can understand the use of the military on occasions when there is trouble, but this continuous use of the military year after year in suppressing a movement obviously can produce no result at all. It makes matters worse.

TM: But do you think, Mr Prime Minister, in this African situation, these more enlightened methods of certain European powers of leaving their Asian possessions may serve as a useful example for the future?

JN: Yes, of course! They serve as a useful example, but the example has to be followed and followed fairly rapidly.

TM: Well, I suppose India's interest in the Middle East, which is rapidly increasing, is of a roughly similar nature. And, of course, in particular, there is this link that this is a predominantly Muslim area and India has a very large Muslim part in her population which gives a more intimate link to this interest in the Middle East.

JN: Naturally, we are interested in it because we have a large Muslim population. Also, because historically for a very long period of time India has had close contacts with the Middle Eastern countries.

Our official language for hundreds of years here was Persian, for nearly a thousand years, I should say, about some seven or eight hundred years. And with Iran, with other Middle Eastern countries, history is full of our contacts, cultural and the rest. And now that we are free again, we naturally develop them, we pick up the old threads which were cut off by British rule in India and the development of the sea routes. That is natural. But apart from that, the development of international politics today, naturally, also brings us nearer to each other, the Middle Eastern countries and India. And we are deeply interested in the Middle East, both as individual countries and peoples with whom we want to be friendly and whom we want to see as free people and because of the other dangers in the Middle East situation which might lead to trouble.

TM: Well, on this question of Africa and the Middle East, we may come back, to the population problem. It seems to be a fairly regular phenomenon that any power which tried to dominate India tended to get hold of the

keys of the Indian Ocean. The British Empire was securely established over India only when Britain really controlled these Gibaltars of the Indian Ocean—Aden, Suez, Singapore, Ceylon and East Africa. Now there are certain apprehensions in Africa that India is trying, so to say, to dump her surplus population on certain areas of Africa. Some Africans may go even as far as to speak of, sort of, threatened colonisation, 'Indian colonisation', I use this very much in quotes, this expression, of certain parts of Africa. Do you think, Sir, that in a future India, whose circumstances we cannot foresee at the moment, it may be imaginable to see India as an expansive power having a more intimate link with these countries.

JN: Well, I hope not and I think not, in that sense I mean. So far as the policy is concerned, we have laid it down very clearly, say, in regard to Africa as well as in regard to other countries, that we do not want Indians to have any rights or privileges in a country which, in any way, come in the way of the inhabitants of that country. Let them consider themselves as guests. If they are unwelcome then they have no business to be there. We have gone as far as that. During all these past hundred years or more, Indians have gone to Africa. How many Indians are there? Very few, relatively, and chiefly of the merchant class except in South Africa where they were sent as indentured labourers long ago; but other places, some people have gone, small merchants, small shopkeepers and others, they prospered or they not did.... But there has been no attempt at sending large numbers, in fact, there has been some attempt to restrict their going. I do not see why that should take the shape of any attempt to send large numbers to colonise. Anyhow, we have set our face against doing anything which goes against the interests of the African people.

TM: In conclusion, I would like to ask a very general question, Sir, about Asia. If one would ask you, Mr Prime Minister, as one of the leading architects of the new Asia, what is your vision of this changing Asia in twenty or twenty-five years from now? From the point of view of its internal continental evolution and from the point of view of its position in the world of the last quarter of a century, what kind of Asia will our children or grandchildren see on their maps?

JN: Politically?

TM: I said from the point of view of its internal continental evolution, as well as from the point of view of its position in the world, as a whole.

JN: I would imagine that politically it will not change much. It will remain more or less what it is, the political boundaries with minor changes here and

there possibly. Industrially, it will naturally develop, some parts may develop more rapidly than the others but it will develop bringing somewhat higher standards. I think that this Asia will be basically more inclined towards peace than towards conflict for a larger number of reasons—not that we are more peaceful people as a whole in Asia; I do not mean that. But the background and all that and present conditions and thinking, naturally lead people towards peaceful life and peaceful conditions.

Therefore, Asia should be a force for peace and cooperation in the world, and more so, if I may say so with all respect, than Europe has been in the past, within itself, I mean. On the whole, Europe has been more quarrelsome than Asia, European countries.

It is rather difficult for me to look into the future but there are two things: First of all, Asia is a huge area and to talk of it as one entity is to confuse oneself because there are really huge chunks of humanity with different backgrounds. Secondly, I think, to talk of Europe and Asia or America, all these as separate entities is also misleading, in the future I mean.

Geographically, they are there but modern conditions obliterate these geographical boundaries and differences. Naturally, they will come nearer to each other if we survive any future wars. If there is a war nobody can say what will happen then.... So these conceptions of Asia and Asian feeling as something solid, or something opposed to Europe and America, will gradually disappear as, I hope, it will disappear in Europe and America. And when the immediate necessities of life have been met in Asia, then people will look forward to development and more peaceful domains, cultural and other. Remember always that in Asia the primary problems are the primary necessities; in Europe those have been largely fulfilled and they can play about with other problems. Now, what will happen when Asia has fulfilled that primary task? It is difficult to say; but considering everything, including the atom bomb, if we have survived it, well, then we have taken a turn in another direction, a peaceful direction, a cooperative direction which should be good for all the world.

Now, one thing about India. I should like you to remember that, in spite of the enormous variety of India and people thinking in different ways, everyone in India, barring none, has been very powerfully influenced by, well, nearly half a century of Gandhiji. We have been influenced by that not only because of Gandhiji's personality and the fact that he was not merely a man preaching from the air but he was an active person leading a great movement, that is, translating his theories into action. It is that that impresses people, large masses, training people, disciplining, making them cooperate, being with them in their failures and their successes and gradually leading them to success; that is a very powerful element. The other was that Gandhiji, although, I think, a tremendous revolutionary force in India, somehow conceived of that revolution as a continuity, not as a break. His language was one of continuity and even

when it sought to break, it was one of continuity. Therefore, in the popular mind, he is the tremendous link between all the past of India and all the future revolutions of India. There is no break between them and that is a great factor because other revolutions, other methods of revolutions have always thought in terms of a break. Now, in India, to a large extent, that contrast, antithesis, has been avoided chiefly because of Gandhiji. In fact, Gandhiji was a far greater revolutionary, I think, in India than people who talk of revolution and that has been a tremendous stabilising feature in the changes that have come about and everyone in India has been influenced by that. Even our most reactionary people in India, socially reactionary I mean, are not so rigid in their reaction as probably in Europe or America. Even our most advanced people in India, whatever they may be, even communists and others, are influenced by Gandhiji. Somehow there are common links created by Gandhiji between conflicting elements in India. I don't say that conflicts are avoided that way; but the door is always open and remember also that Gandhiji was absolutely unbending when it came to giving up a principle, when it came to surrendering a vital position. But he never closed the doors to the other party entering and talking to him and discussing matters. He fought the British but he was always friendly to the British. Now, that dual conception is not quite understood. That is why we cannot understand or cannot appreciate the cold war mentality. I can understand a country maintaining its strength or increasing it to avoid dangers in the future, even if you like, for war, whatever it may be. A responsible statesman cannot take risks but I cannot understand the cold war mentality because that is quite foreign to all the training in half a century that I have received from Gandhi and from the background of our national struggle. We saw all kinds of things which angered us greatly, shooting going on at our people, and at that time an Englishman could walk through an Indian crowd untouched. That was Gandhiji's teaching. Broadly speaking, not always perhaps, but broadly speaking, that happened in India. So that we feel that whatever the conflicts, stick to your principle, don't give in if you consider it a valid principle but always think of finding a way out with the other party, that is, of compromising not on principle but on other matters. Don't stick on details, stick to the basic principle and be compromising about details and always have a friendly approach even to your opponent. Now, Gandhiji's principal strength lay in the fact that he undermined his opponent, undermined mentally speaking, psychologically speaking by his goodwill to him. He would not give in to him but he treated him as a friend. Somehow, the opponent's aggressiveness, well, faded away before him and many were converted. That is, he was always trying to win over the other party and not giving in.

In the early days when Gandhiji came to our Congress, we did not think that way. We thought, as all nationalist movements do, in terms of strong language against the opponent, against the British, whatever it was. He suddenly

comes in and uses the mildest language. Our first reaction is: Oh! this man is a weak person, he wants to give in and surrender; but gradually we see that this man is made of steel. There is no giving in. We, meaning some people, while talking tall, were giving in all the time while he, while talking soft, was not giving in. And talking soft made him stronger and made the other party weaker, in a sense, to deal with. So that I do feel firmly that this approach, which I called the cold war approach, which means thinking the other person a devil and the other person thinking you a devil, can only lead, well, to war; of course if not war, to something even worse than war, that is, a continuous war in our hearts, hatred, and filled with violence and dislike of the other. That is a bad thing, utterly, and if we could get over that, I think the world's problems would be simpler. That is, the psychological approach is far more important than the political and certainly the military. My difficulty is that most approaches today are the military approaches. Now, I again repeat, as a responsible statesman, I do not expect any person to become pacifist or all that. Let them maintain their strength if they want to; but why shout it out? Why talk about it? Why threaten the other all the time?

TM: Do you think, Mr Prime Minister, that India tries to carry out her peaceful revolution under the influence of Mr Gandhi's teachings and the very fact that most of the great spiritual and religious ideas which stood for compromise came from Asia will perhaps permit this new Asia to develop in a pacific way in this very age of power politics?

JN: To some extent, I hope so, I believe they will to some extent; but I want people to distinguish between the idea of appeasement and weakness. To talk softly is no weakness. The word appeasement has become almost an insult. What is wrong with appeasement provided you stick to your principles? The point is, not to give up your principle. After all, we used to be told in the past that you have to behave in a civilized way even towards your enemy. Do not speak vulgarly because the fellow is an enemy. You may be running through the heart with your sword if you like, but you do so in a civilized way and provoke the same behaviour from the other side. Apart from that fact, if one lives in a constant state of temper, of hatred and anger, one can't think clearly, one is full of passion. And if both parties live that way, and can't think, well, then the result is bad. I don't know, what am I to say to you. I do not know. You started these talks by references to philosophy and all that, and I told you that I am no philosopher except in the narrow sense, that everyone has to think about the future, about oneself. And I have lived a life which has been one of incessant activity on the one hand, and on the other periods of confinement when I could do nothing except to think of the past and some vague future. In that sense everyone is, or should be, a philosopher. But the problems of the

world are so intricate and difficult that I feel very humble before them. I have no remedy for them except to work on the lines which one believes to be the right lines. We may not be able to say always what is right, but if we know what is wrong, let us avoid it and, perhaps, thereby avert some worse consequence. And so, we have worked in India and we shall continue working till there is any energy or strength left in us. And, then, what is one? I was one to shape the distant future; with so many changes the pace of change becomes faster. I am not, normally speaking, by way of being a religious man, that is no dogma, at least, in me, nor indeed am I interested in the afterlife and all that. Why should I worry myself? I don't understand. The problems of the day are enough for me, and I do not care what happens to me or my reputation once I am dead. When I am dead what does it matter to me? What does matter to me, naturally, is that things I have worked for, should prosper and the country should continue in the same direction or in some better way if that is devised later.

So, in the final analysis, one just works. As the *Gita* says, working for results but not caring too much about results, that is, not so utterly attached to them that they upset one, that is, to have a certain detachment even in the middle of action. How far it is possible I do not know. I am not a very detached person, I get very excited occasionally; and yet, apart from the moments of excitement, I can detach myself. And perhaps, from the purely physical or mental point of view, that is a good thing. It helps in maintaining one's composure and mental or physical health. All I can say is that I really have no feeling of hatred, so far as I can judge, against any country, any people or any individual. Naturally, I dislike people, for this or that, for something they do or say but that is a passing phase. Really I do not dislike anybody. And that too helps in keeping one steady.

TM: Thank you very much, Mr Prime Minister.

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

1¹

New Delhi

26 November 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after a full month. I am very sorry for this lapse on my part, as I feel that I should be regular in sending my fortnightly letters to you and keeping in touch with you. But circumstances have been too strong for me and I have been unable to find the time or to develop the mood for writing this letter. I am writing now in between two visits of eminent guests from abroad. The Soviet leaders have gone from Delhi and at present touring in West and South India.² Tomorrow the King of Saudi Arabia arrives here with a large retinue.³

2. Two major events have overshadowed other happenings during the last two weeks. These are the discussions on the Report of the States Reorganization Commission and the extraordinary happenings connected therewith.⁴ The second matter is the visit of the Soviet leaders to India. In a sense, perhaps, it was as well that the Soviet leaders came at this particular juncture and their visit diverted attention to some extent at least from the fierce controversies on the SRC Report.

3. I do not wish to write to you much on this occasion about the SRC Report. But I cannot help expressing my deep distress, in which you no doubt share, at the occurrences in Bombay⁵ and Rewa.⁶ In a sense, the Vindhya Pradesh occurrences, though very bad, have no great significance. A group of persons misbehaved very badly. The significance of this is that regular parties, as for instance the Praja Socialist Party of Vindhya Pradesh, were directly responsible for this. It is astonishing that any organized party should take to this kind of hooliganism. What is still more painful is that this kind of thing is not condemned by the leaders and other members of that party clearly and unequivocally. Vindhya Pradesh is a politically backward area and it is for this reason that I do not attach too much importance to what happened there. But

1. File Nos. 25(6)/55-PMS and 25(30)/56-PMS. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 4 (New Delhi, 1988), pp.296-307 and 326-342.

2. From 25 to 28 November 1955.

3. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud.

4. Following announcement of the SRC Report on 30 September and subsequent discussions in the CWC meeting on 8 and 9 November, widespread disturbances broke out in Mumbai and on 23 November, the Vindhya Pradesh Assembly at Rewa was attacked.

5. See *ante*, pp. 153 and 209.

6. See *ante*, pp. 157-158 and 160.

the important aspect of it is the tolerance anywhere in India and by anyone of this kind of disgraceful behaviour.

4. The Bombay happenings were far more serious because they were on a mass scale. There is little doubt that a large number of provocative speeches previously led to what happened. We are told that among those who took a leading part in these disturbances in Bombay were members of the Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party. This raises a vital issue for us and for the country. Are we to conduct our political discussions by promoting some kind of a party civil war? For one of our foremost cities like Bombay to have to put up with this is a matter of the gravest concern. I am worried first of all that any person should indulge in this kind of behaviour; secondly that organized parties should encourage it; thirdly that industrial labour and students should be dragged into it; fourthly that there should not be widespread and strong condemnation of it from all sides. Of course, many people have condemned it, but many others who should have done so have remained strangely silent.

5. I repeat that this has nothing to do with the merits of any problem. Normally, a controversial issue, however important, is decided in a democracy after full discussion by some kind of a majority opinion through representative processes. To try to decide it in the streets by bludgeoning people and committing arson is very far from any reasoning or democratic process. A majority should not require this. It is a minority that might feel tempted to indulge in it in order to prevent the majority's viewpoint prevailing. That is a near approach to fascist methods of dealing with problems. Obviously, no Government can be coerced by such methods. Indeed the Government will cease to function if it tolerated such methods and one success of this behaviour would lead to its being followed in many other places. Our country would be reduced not only to chaos but to chaos of the lowest and most vulgar type.

6. I am continually surprised at the contradictions in our ideals and professions and in our practice. Democracy, of course, is entirely opposed to this type of hooligan action. But we base ourselves on something more than democracy which we claim to be a special virtue of our people. We talk of ahimsa and non-violence which are certainly not negative virtues, but have a very positive element in them. We talk of tolerance which can only mean tolerating viewpoints other than our own. I have just been reading an article by the famous violinist, Yehudi Menuhin, who visited India some years ago⁷. In the course of his long article, he says:-

But when I myself think of India, I think of a quality specifically Indian which in my imagination holds something of the innocence of the fabled and symbolic Garden of Eden.

7. In March 1952.

To me India means the villages, the noble bearing of their people, the aesthetic harmony of their life; I think of Gandhi, of Buddha, of the temples, of gentleness combined with power, or patience matched by persistence, of innocence allied to wisdom, and of the luxuriance of life from the oxen and the monkeys to the flame trees and the mangoes; I think of the innate dignity and tolerance of the Hindu and his tradition.

The capacity of experiencing the full depth and breadth of life's pleasures and pains, without losing a nobler resignation, of knowing intimately the exalted satisfaction of creation while remaining deeply humble, are characteristics peculiar to these villages.

7. Yehudi Menuhin⁸ goes on in this strain. Perhaps, he would not write thus if he knew India a little better. Nevertheless, I think that there is some truth in what he says; but at the same time there is another picture which is far from pleasant; and it is this picture that we saw during the recent Bombay riots. Apart from violence, there was no decency or dignity about it. It was an attempt to introduce the law of the jungle. Sometime we see something of this type on a smaller scale when students misbehave en masse.

8. In the larger scheme of things, it is a matter of little consequence to me whether the city of Bombay is attached to this state or that, or remains a separate entity; but it is a matter of the greatest consequence to all of us as to how we proceed about this business and whether we can come to decisions peacefully and abide by them. Almost every decision fails to please everybody. Are we, therefore, to rebel against that decision and try to upset the decision by throwing stones at each other? In a democracy a wrong decision can be set right later provided the majority are won over to that view.

9. Some authority has to take a final decision. In our case it is Parliament, guided by the Government of the day. In view, however, of conflicting opinions and the passions accompanying them, the Congress Working Committee has tried to achieve, by numerous talks and discussions, as great a measure of agreement as possible. It may fail, in some cases, in achieving that agreement. The Government, as such, cannot deal informally with various groups, and hence the approach of the Congress Working Committee becomes necessary and helpful. The final decision, of course, rests with Parliament.

10. It serves little purpose for people to say now that we did wrong in raising this whole question of reorganization. I do not think that there was any escape from this and anyhow it has been done. Now that we face this problem in this present context, we cannot run away from it and we shall have to deal

8. American violinist, famed for the interpretation of Elgar and Beethoven concertos.

with it with such wisdom and courage as we possess. In no event, can we submit to coercion backed by violence.

11. The visit of Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev to India has turned out to be an event of the first importance in world affairs. Accidentally, it coincided with a meeting at Baghdad of some countries which are now referred to as the Baghdad Powers.⁹ These countries are Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and the United Kingdom. They have now set up formally what they call MEDO (Middle East Defence Organization). The United States, though not thus far a member of this Organization, is closely associated with it and their observers attended the Baghdad meeting. At this meeting, a Permanent Council of the Baghdad Pact was set up. Also an Economic Commission and some kind of a military structure on the NATO pattern. An interesting feature is that the United Kingdom offered atomic assistance to the other countries of the Baghdad Pact. Another significant feature is their disapproval of what is called neutralism, which they consider as a danger to the homogeneity of Western Asia.

12. The tremendous publicity given in India and abroad to the visit of the Soviet leaders here has overshadowed this Baghdad Pact. Apart from this publicity, the fact of the visit as well as the speeches delivered by Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev have highlighted a point of view which is directly opposed to that of the Baghdad Pact.¹⁰ To us in India, this Baghdad Pact is of particular significance. It is something in direct opposition to our policy of non-alignment. The fact that Pakistan is a member of it brings this Organization directly to India's doorstep. Both the UK and Pakistan are members of the Commonwealth. We may for the moment leave Pakistan out of consideration because of its hostility to India. But the fact that the UK has formally aligned itself to this Pact and to Pakistan comes perilously near to the United Kingdom taking an unfriendly step towards India. In fact, it associates itself in a military alliance with a country (Pakistan) which is hostile to India. All this raises many difficult problems and is likely to affect our relations with the UK. Indeed, we have pointed this out to the UK Government.

13. It is possible that this MEDO, like SEATO,¹¹ has more bark in it than bite. It may be just a move in the cold war. But the possibilities it opens out for trouble both in Western Asia and in relation to India are considerable and we cannot ignore them.

14. What I have said about the United Kingdom applies in a somewhat lesser measure to the USA, which is closely associated to this Pact, though not a member of it.

15. You will remember that soon after the Geneva Conference on Indo-

9. On 21 and 22 November 1955.

10. See *ante*, pp. 291 and 319.

11. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, p.3.

China, the first meeting took place to start a South East Asia Defence Organization. That was singularly ill-timed. It did not result in strengthening the defence of the countries participating in it. Its chief result was to antagonize and irritate other countries, chiefly China, and to come in the way of the process of lessening tensions which the Geneva Conference had started. This MEDO again was singularly ill-timed after so much talk on the "Geneva spirit" which resulted from a so-called Summit Conference. It almost appears that an attempt is made to balance every forward step taken by one or even two steps back. Let us examine these attempts at forming a Middle Eastern Defence Organization by the Western Powers and their consequences. The object, presumably, was to give notice to the Soviet Union that this area was protected and outside its scope or designs. Also, to strengthen this area against the Soviet. The actual result has been to split up the Arab countries and thus weaken them. Further, attempts to coerce Egypt have failed and Egypt has actually gone some way towards cooperating, at least in trade matters with the communist countries. The sale of Czech arms to Egypt led to a big outcry in the Western nations.¹² But Colonel Nasser persists in it. His object was not merely to get the arms but even more so to give notice to the Western countries that he would not submit to their pressure tactics. He won in this contest. Saudi Arabia stands by him and so does, more or less, Syria. The other Arab countries, in spite of the Baghdad Pact, have been made to realize that Egypt can stand up to pressure tactics. In a sense, Egypt has taken a lead in the Arab world and that lead is not in line with the policies of the Western countries. Thus, the result of the Western countries trying to woo and control the countries of the Middle East has led to a contrary result and actually the position of the Western countries in this area is now much weaker than it was. This is a significant example of wrong strategy and false assumptions. For the first time the Soviet Union and its allied countries are appearing in the Middle Eastern scene, which was thus far considered a safe preserve of the Western countries. The Baghdad Pact makes no difference to this except to irritate and aggravate these disruptive tendencies.

16. The United States and the United Kingdom continue to think far too much in terms of military power and bases. They refer frequently to developing a "position of strength." They forget that strength does not come from military power only and there are perhaps more important factors to it. They forget also that their military power is not so overwhelming as to frighten some other countries.

17. Another aspect of this problem, both in the Middle East and in South

12. The Ambassadors of the US, the UK and France met Nasser on 1 October to express their Governments' concern at the Egyptian Government's decision, announced on 27 September, to purchase arms from Czechoslovakia in exchange of Egyptian goods.

East Asia, should be borne in mind. Almost everywhere, the UK and the USA have aligned themselves to feudal and highly reactionary regimes, which would probably topple over but for foreign help. The people of these countries naturally do not like these feudal regimes and like still less the foreign powers supporting them. Hence the Western countries purchase their military positions or bases at a heavy price.

18. Two or three days ago, a newspaper report appeared to the effect that Pakistan had asked for more arms from the USA. Also, that the USA was spending a large sum of money in improving the airfields and other bases in Pakistan and for this purpose large numbers of US technicians were going to Pakistan. It seems to me quite extraordinary how the USA and the UK ignore the facts of life in Asia at present and place their reliance on these imposed bases and military pacts.

19. The strategy of the cold war gave some strength in Europe to the Western countries; but it does not seem to work that way now even in Europe. In Asia it works to their disadvantage and the initiative appears to lie with the Soviet Union and China. By simply staying put, the Soviet Union is quite happy.

20. This applies to the German question. Various developments in Europe strengthened the Western nations vis-à-vis the Soviet Union which protested in vain. Being unable to prevent West Germany from joining the NATO alliance, the Soviet Union adapted its policy to the new circumstances and made it clear that there would be no union of West and East Germany unless West Germany left NATO. The Western Powers, of course, cannot agree to this demand and so there is a complete deadlock, as was evidenced at the recent Foreign Ministers' meeting in Geneva.¹³ The Soviet Union does not lose anything by this deadlock. On the other hand, the Western countries, after a period of success, have suddenly found a blank wall in front of them and they do not know how to get over it. In Germany itself all kinds of new forces are working.

21. The Conference of Foreign Ministers, held recently in Geneva, was a complete failure. And yet, in spite of this, one need not take too alarmist a view about the European or the world situation. Probably, the language of the cold war will again appear; indeed, it has appeared, but nobody thinks of actual war now.

22. You must have read reports of the speeches delivered by Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev in India. They have been forthright speeches, often containing attacks on US policies.¹⁴ I was a little surprised to hear these speeches

13. From 27 October to 16 November 1955.

14. In their speeches, Bulganin and Khrushchev attacked the policy of military pacts and blocs in South-East and West Asia. In a speech at Mumbai on 24 November, Khrushchev accused the Western Powers, especially Britain, of sending "Hitler's divisions to invade Russia."

before Members of Parliament here.¹⁵ The surprise was not due to the content of the speech, but rather to the fact that they chose to deliver such speeches in India. For our part, we do not encourage controversial utterances of this kind by foreigners in India. At the same time, if our guests wish to speak in that strain, we cannot do anything about it. But, this apart, there was fair amount of sound reasoning in what Bulganin and Khrushchev said, though undoubtedly, in some places, it was one-sided. We have had some talks with them in private and we shall continue with them on their return to Delhi. These talks consisted chiefly in the Soviet leaders explaining their approach to various world problems. We did not say much to them at this stage. There is nothing very secret about their approach because they have repeated it in public. But I did get the impression of confidence and strength from their talks. Also, their desire for peace, though that desire might not be expressed in very peaceful terms.

23. Mr Dulles visited Yugoslavia recently.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that, after taking up a strong line against Yugoslavia, the US have climbed down somewhat and they have again promised Yugoslavia full aid. Yugoslavia continues her independent policy. Meanwhile, the Balkan alliance¹⁷ has considerably weakened, partly because of Yugoslavia's attitude and partly because of the hostility between Greece and Turkey over the question of Cyprus.¹⁸

24. Various talks are going on now between some of our officials and Soviet officials about technical aid. There is no question of our receiving free aid from the Soviet Union; but we may obtain some equipment or machines from them as well as get our people trained. These talks are still in their preliminary stages at present.¹⁹

15. Addressing the Members of Parliament on 21 November, Bulganin said that "on the question of disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons the Western Powers are going backward...and by their new proposals are setting the problem of disarmament back by at least ten years." He said that NATO's "selective" and "aggressive" character had caused concern all over the world, and he accused the West of not allowing the people of Germany to settle the German problem.
16. Dulles met Tito at Brioni on 6 November 1955.
17. The Balkan Pact was signed on 9 August 1954 between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia for ensuring peace, security and development of the region.
18. Greece supported the movement for its union with Cyprus, but Turkey maintained that Cyprus, taken away from her by the British in 1878 be restored to her. Against the background of anti-Greek riots in Istanbul and Ismir on 6 September 1955 and rejection by the Greek Government of British proposals for a settlement, the US Government requested Greece on 15 September to agree to a postponement of the Cyprus debate in the UN General Assembly so as to allow tension to subside.
19. The communique issued on 13 December from New Delhi said that in exchange for raw materials and manufactured goods, India would obtain from the Soviet Union one million tons of steel and equipment for oil processing and mining in the next three years beginning from 1956.

25. U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, came here on his way back from the Soviet Union. We had talks and, as usual, we found ourselves in broad agreement.

26. I have referred above to the Baghdad Pact and to the fact that in so many of these countries the existing regimes are frankly reactionary and feudal. The aid that goes to them is largely spent on the military machine or it goes into the pockets of a few rich people. The economic condition of the country does not improve at all. Even in a European country like Italy, it is instructive to see how this aid has worked. I understand that since the War the United States of America have given vast sums of money in aid to the Italian Government. This aid amounts to over 1,000 crores of rupees. Production has gone up in Italy and Rome and some of the bigger cities are full of expensive cars and luxury articles. But the condition of the peasantry, especially in South Italy, is deplorable. Hardly any part of the aid has trickled down to the masses of the people. Sometime ago there was agrarian trouble in South Italy and, oddly enough, Roman Catholic priests joined with the communists in advising the peasantry to take forcible possession of the land. The Italian Government then moved a little and produced some land reforms which were very ineffective.

27. If this has been the position in a country like Italy, one can very well imagine the state of affairs in some of the countries of West Asia. We have recently had a report about Iran from an officer we sent there in connection with community projects work. He says that the land system there is feudal and very big landlords control the politics of the country. It is not possible to have any community development so long as this land system remains as it is. The Shah of Iran himself owns vast areas of land. He is, I believe, somewhat liberal-minded and recently he gave a small part of his land to the peasants. The other big landlords objected to this strongly as, according to them, this set a bad example. Practically speaking, some of these West Asian Governments have no strong foundations, political or economic. They carry on because their governing structure is helped and protected by foreign powers. The people generally are unhappy and become hostile to these foreign powers which try to perpetuate a social structure which is oppressive.

28. I have referred to the case of Italy, where production has undoubtedly gone up and yet has brought little relief to the people generally. Only the upper layers of the population were benefited and no kind of social change has taken place. This brings out clearly how mere increase of production is not enough. It has to be accompanied by equitable distribution and by basic social changes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi

30 December 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

A few days ago, I sent you a long note¹ on the visit of Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev. This visit, as you know, became an event of great importance, both in India and the rest of the world. I have said something about its significance in the note I have sent you.

2. A number of events have happened in recent months which have added to the significant part which India is playing in world affairs. In this sense, the stature of India in the eyes of the world has risen greatly. This, of course, does not depend very much on the intrinsic merits of a nation but rather on the possibility of its saying or doing something which makes a difference. India's voice and opinion does make a difference today and hence the great interest taken in India. It is true that an important factor in this interest is the growing knowledge of India's achievements during the past few years and the earnestness with which India proposes to go ahead with her developmental schemes and Five Year Plans. Even those countries that do not like our policies pay great attention to what happens in India. We have had rather violent criticisms from the UK and USA. Most of these have been entirely misconceived. In any event they indicate how much value is attached to what India does.

3. In the recent session² of the United Nations General Assembly, it is generally recognized that India's delegation played probably the most important part. This session turned out to be in many ways a historic one. The mere fact of the admission of sixteen new Member Nations has altered the complexion of the UN and rather shaken the dominance of a few Great Powers. Indeed, even as it was, the General Assembly indicated on more than one occasion that it would not be dictated to by the Great Powers. This tendency is bound to become more marked with the addition of the sixteen new Member States.

4. India's delegation has received praise for its work from a variety of countries. Everyone recognized the outstanding part of India during this session and the extraordinary resourcefulness that our delegation showed in finding solutions for difficult problems. The Algerian issue³ was one such problem which threatened to come in the way of all other work. Our delegation managed

1. See *ante*, pp. 354-365.

2. From 20 September to 20 December 1955.

3. The question was raised in the General Assembly on 29 September in the form of a joint memorandum by fourteen countries to discuss the denial by France of the right of self-determination to the people of Algeria where the situation was reportedly threatening to cause disruption of peace in the entire Mediterranean region.

to deal with this matter with remarkable ability. Not only did they succeed in removing this deadlock but, in doing so, they gained the goodwill of all parties. The leader of our delegation, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, was largely responsible for the great success of our delegation's work.⁴ Indeed he was the outstanding figure during this session of the UN General Assembly. Apart from many expressions of appreciation of our work, I have received special messages commending the work of our delegation and its leader from the Governments of France and Canada. India played a notable part also in the admission of the sixteen new Member States.

5. I think that it might truly be said that we have gained this position in international affairs without compromising any principle or policy to which we adhere. Indeed, it is because of our firm adherence to these policies that respect has come to us, even from nations which do not like our policies. Recently, a rather casual remark by me in Parliament about the Baghdad Pact⁵ created a strong impression in some of the West Asian countries. All this means additional responsibility for us and care has to be taken about almost every word that we say.

6. During the visit of the Soviet leaders to India and afterwards, there was a great outcry in the Press of the UK and the USA against them and to some extent against India. I was astonished at the virulence of some of the attacks made. It was almost a reaction of fear lest India should line up with the Soviet group. That indicated a remarkable lack of understanding of how we function as well as resentment at the growing importance of India in world affairs. Soon afterward there was some slight reaction the other way when it was realized that their fears about India changing her policy of non-alignment were unfounded. Both these reactions indicated an extreme nervousness and lack of stability in thinking. There was, of course, no question at any time about our changing our basic policy. It is true that, as a result of the Soviet leaders' visit, greater contacts with the Soviet Union took place and a natural development in our trade and exchanges of equipment or technical personnel will follow. The visit only accelerated this process slightly. It would have taken place anyhow.

7. Many people seem to forget that geography is still very important in

4. On the initiative of the Arab-Asian group of nations led by V.K. Krishna Menon, the Political Committee of the UN decided on 25 November 1955, by unanimous vote and without debate, to remove the question of Algeria from the agenda of the Assembly for the current session. The formula devised by Menon was a procedural one and did not imply any change in the political, juridical or moral attitudes of the parties to the dispute. Following this, the French delegation returned to the Assembly on 29 November 1955 after an absence of two months.

5. See *ante*, p. 389.

world affairs and governs international contacts. Geography leads to closer contacts with neighbouring countries, unless there are very special political reasons to the contrary, such as in the case of Pakistan. A country like Nepal, although weak, is more important to us in the long run than some distant country, however big or powerful it might be. Thus, even apart from our policy of non-alignment it is a natural development for us to have closer contacts with neighbouring countries like China or the Soviet Union. People who think only in terms of the world being divided up into communist and anti-communist blocs forget these other factors, and have only a single yardstick to judge of a nation's policy. It is difficult to use that yardstick in the case of India because of her policy of non-alignment and friendship with all nations. Hence, their appraisal is seldom correct, and repeated failures of their policy make them resentful.

8. It is some extraneous circumstance, usually of a political character, that comes in the way of development of contacts between neighbouring countries. Thus, in the normal course of events, Japan and China would trade with each other. But the United States' policy prevents this from happening. The result is that both China and Japan suffer, and indeed nobody profits except perhaps from the political angle. We have no reason to be bound down by these political or military considerations, and allow these normal developments to take place.

9. Another factor governing international relations is the broad political policy followed by different countries. The statement by Mr Dulles on Goa has irritated and even angered Indian opinion, while the Soviet leaders' support of India's case in regard to Goa was welcomed here, as also what they said about Kashmir. In both these matters, important for India, the attitude of the Western countries has been adverse to India. Generally speaking, in regard to colonial questions, the Western attitude is not approved of in India. The system of military alliances in South East Asia and Western Asia and the Middle East has also been to the disadvantage of India.

10. India has much to learn in regard to the development of industry and technology. We can certainly learn this from the United States or the UK, or other European countries. In fact we have gone there in the past for this purpose. The USSR has now come into the picture with its highly developed industry and technology. If it offers us favourable terms, there is no reason why we should not accept them. In some ways, the lesson to be learnt from the USSR is likely to be more helpful because America is far too advanced and has built up an industrial and social structure which is very different from anything in India. Probably the UK is relatively nearer to us in this respect. The Soviet Union has only recently gone through this process of rapid industrialization, with its successes and failures, and we can learn much from it. From China, we have little to learn in regard to technology as we are probably more advanced. But both China and India are struggling with the same type of problems, agrarian

and industrial, and both have huge populations. The experience of either country can thus be helpful to the other. The fact of communism in China need not necessarily come in the way of this, except to the extent that we have a different approach. An authoritarian government might be able to bring about speedier results. But the problem is essentially the same in both countries.

11. One of the most impressive things that is happening in China is the rapid growth of agricultural and industrial cooperatives. This is no doubt helped by the authoritarian regime there. But this is not an adequate explanation and we have to find out the other causes. What is the approach to this problem in China? How have they succeeded thus far? We have done much work in India in regard to cooperatives. But our success is still very limited. Probably our present laws relating to them do not encourage rapid growth. Also, the very persons who should play a part in organizing cooperatives, cannot do so because of lack of resources. Recently, we had an eminent Chinese agrarian economist in Delhi and he had a long discussion with our Planning Commission about this matter. What he told the Planning Commission about the phenomenal growth in agricultural cooperatives in China was very impressive. It is likely that we shall send a small team to China to study this and report to us.

12. We are often reminded by the Press of the United States and sometimes of the UK that we are ungrateful to those countries. We receive aid from them and yet are obstinate enough to adhere to policies which are disagreeable to them. I hope we are duly grateful for any help given to us. But this constant linking of aid with policy is not pleasant. We have of course always made it clear that every kind of aid should be without strings. I feel sometimes that it would probably be better for our relations with other countries if we did not accept too much aid from them.

13. You must have seen the statement issued by the King of Saudi Arabia just before his departure from India. This tribute⁶ by the King to India's general policy and, more especially, to her treatment of the Muslim minority was very welcome and has had a good effect in India and abroad. I am afraid that it irritated Pakistan very much just as the Soviet support of our case in Kashmir

6. King Ibn Saud exhorted Indian Muslims "to be true to your country and good to your neighbours. Your national duties must be executed with sincerity and straightforwardness." He also said "the fate of Indian Muslims was in safe hands as Mr Nehru was bravely and determinedly executing a wise policy of affection and neighbourliness to all Indians irrespective of creed."

upset them also.⁷ This latter statement makes a considerable difference to the whole Kashmir issue. British and American newspapers have strangely hinted that we in India have been embarrassed by the Soviet statement on Kashmir. I have felt no embarrassment; in fact we have welcomed it.

14. Nearly two weeks ago, we sent a strong note to the United States Government about Mr Dulles' statement on Goa. We have had no answer from them yet. We may get this answer soon and then give publicity to both notes. Our note to the Government about the Baghdad Pact met with a very inadequate response. I presume that the UK Government is beginning to realize that behind the façade of the Baghdad Pact all is not well. The recent disorders in Jordan resulting in the resignation of the Ministry⁸ have brought out vividly popular disapproval of the Pact. The UK and the USA Governments still imagine that they can control Asia's policies by dealing with a few men at the top and ignoring the people.

15. In spite of the strong language used by the Soviet leaders on the one side, and, by the UK and the USA on the other, the international situation is an easier one. It is true that the deadlock over Germany is complete and there is also a deadlock in Indo-China, but the fear of war has receded. Evidently, the Soviet Union is not dissatisfied at this state of affairs. They think that the force of circumstances will compel some of the Western countries to deal with them and Western Germany to deal with Eastern Germany. There is something in this contention, and the US and UK policies have been rigid and have failed to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. They want Germany to reunite and at the same time they want Germany to be in NATO. There can be no reunion of the two parts of Germany except by success in war or by negotiated settlement. If the former is ruled out, as it is more or less now, then the only other way is by agreement. Agreement cannot take place unless the Soviet Union and East Germany agree to it. Meanwhile, opinion in West Germany is increasingly in favour of direct approaches to the Soviet Union about this matter. Thus, the Western position is weakening and they have no alternative policy to offer.

7. Reacting to the statements of the Soviet leaders on Kashmir, Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, said on 16 December 1955, "these are extraordinary statements. The people of Kashmir had not been allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. The state is under the occupation of the Indian Army. A plebiscite has not been held... How then could people of Kashmir have decided to become part of India." On 17 December 1955, Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, accused Bulganin of trying "to set India and Pakistan at loggerheads." He said the Soviet tactics were aimed at "bringing the whole area under the spell of cold war."
8. Following riots and division in the cabinet over the proposal of the Government to join the Pact, Said el-Mulki resigned on 12 December, and a caretaker Government under Ibrahim Hashem was appointed on 19 December 1955.

16. If shooting war is ruled out, then the policy of cold war ceases to have much meaning. The only other policy is to try to settle problems by discussion and agreement. I have no doubt that this method will have to be adopted sooner or later.

17. We are approaching the final stages of our Second Five Year Plan, and still many important decisions have to be taken. In the course of the next month, there will be a meeting of the National Development Council. I hope some of these decisions will be taken then. As a matter of fact, however, the more we have considered these matters, the more we have come to the conclusion that our approach should remain flexible and capable of variation with experience.

I send you all my good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III

New Delhi
16 January 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

This evening I spoke on the radio on the reorganization of states.¹ This evening also, a communique is being issued on behalf of the Government of India on this subject. You will observe that Government have come to decisions about nearly all the matters referred to in the Report. The only major decision that has to be made relates to the Punjab. There are also some minor matters to be adjusted.

2. I need not tell you with what anxious care we have considered these important questions and of our attempts to consult as large a number of people as possible. We came to the conclusion that the closer we adhered to the recommendations of the Report, the better it would be. Indeed, I would have liked to accept every recommendation of the Report in toto. Unfortunately, this could not be done in regard to Bombay because of the unfortunate developments that have taken place there.

3. I realize that many of these decisions may not prove agreeable to you from the point of view of your particular state. In considering each individual case of border rectification we were fully conscious of the arguments against it. Looking at some of these proposed changes by themselves, we might have

1. See *ante*, pp. 204-207.

hesitated to recommend it. As the picture we looked at grew larger and included other parts of India, we saw things in a wider perspective and recognized that in the balance the proposed change was desirable. The whole purpose of appointing the Commission would have been frustrated if we set aside its recommendations and considered everything afresh. If we had to go into every matter in detail, then it would have been better to do so straightaway without the intervention of the Commission.

4. I do not mean to say that the recommendations of every Commission that we appoint must necessarily be accepted. But where a large number of questions are closely interrelated, it becomes difficult to isolate each and decide it separately without reference to the others. The safest course appears to be to accept the conclusions reached by the members of the Commission after very careful survey, discussion, and consultation.

5. A few minor changes have been made almost always by consent of the parties concerned. It is still possible for other minor adjustments to take place if there is agreement of the parties concerned. Otherwise we should hold to the recommendations of the Commission.

6. We attach the greatest importance to safeguards for linguistic minorities and others and I hope that this will find a prominent place in the legislation we have to promote. If these safeguards are adequate and are fully acted upon, then the sense of grievance which has sometimes been felt by linguistic or other minorities will largely vanish. But, after all, no safeguards are adequate, unless the will to give effect to them fully is present. It is thus of the highest importance that we approach this task in good faith and with the desire to do justice and more than justice to those who may be in the position of minorities.

7. Minorities may be, and sometimes have been, troublesome and have made exaggerated claims. In a democracy however, it is the will of the majority that ultimately prevails. The responsibility therefore rests on the majority not only to do justice to the minority but, what is much more important, to win over the goodwill and confidence of the minority group, whether it is linguistic, religious or other.

8. We are suggesting, as you know, the formation of zonal councils. This is a modest beginning in the right direction and this should encourage co-operation between several states. These zonal councils are not meant to be a fifth wheel in the coach or as something coming in the way of close relations between the Centre and the states. They are not meant to take away any power from the states or to reduce the authority of the Centre. The constitutional position of the states and the Centre will remain the same. But it is hoped that the functioning of these zonal councils will not only result in settling numerous problems which arise from day to day between adjoining states but also help in economic planning of that larger area.

9. In considering these difficult questions of reorganization, I have felt more and more that we should have fewer and larger states. I do not suggest any change now. We have had enough experience of facing changes. But I think it will be a worthwhile development later on for two or sometimes more states to join together to form a larger state. A suggestion was made that West Bengal and Bihar should form one large state. From any economic or planning point of view this is obviously desirable. The great industrial area of India lies partly in Bihar and partly in Bengal. River valley schemes overlap. Bengal has been reduced to a fraction of its former size. The cooperation of Bengal and Bihar would, I feel sure, be to the advantage of both. This suggestion, I was happy to find, met with a favourable response though obviously nothing could be done about it at this stage and it requires careful consideration. So also, at a later stage, we might have the joining together of some of the states in South India.

10. I think it will be true to say that this whole question of reorganization of states has created a most difficult problem and a critical situation for all of us. Suddenly, our weaknesses have come to the front and those who do not like us are pleased at these developments. How we, as a people, face this crisis is a matter of the greatest importance. Can we rise above our provincial or linguistic urges and desires, and consider the problem of India as a whole? Not only our reputation but our future is at stake. I earnestly hope that all of us, however strongly we might feel about any particular matter affecting our state, will now abide by the decisions taken and show to ourselves and to the world how we can rise above even strongly felt differences.

11. Here we are now at the threshold of the Second Five Year Plan which has already been considered by the various committees and will soon be put up before the National Development Council. The discussion on this Plan has raised many basic issues and questions of principle. Gradually, and even painfully, we are going forward step by step and laying down the principles that should govern democratic planning. We have no clear precedents for this and so we have to discover them ourselves and act up to them. How to combine a full-fledged democratic structure of the state and a rapid planned development. How to build up a socialist structure on the basis of Parliamentary Democracy. There is no conflict between the two. Indeed, I would say that there is an ultimate conflict between a democracy and an economic structure which does not lead to economic democracy. Speaking at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, I mentioned some of these principles that should govern our approach.² I am sending you a report of this speech of mine as it might perhaps interest you.

2. See *ante*, pp. 71-78.

12. Many of us talk about atomic energy and the nuclear weapons that it has produced. And yet, I doubt whether we realize the great danger which overshadows us all the time now because of these terrible weapons. The Soviet Government has declared that they would be prepared to put an end to the production and experimentation of hydrogen bombs.³ That was good so far as it went and we welcomed that proposal as it was in line with what we have ourselves been saying but, in spite of this brave declaration, in actual fact, the Soviet Government had another experimental explosion of a hydrogen bomb only a few weeks ago.⁴ Now the United States Government has declared that it will have a bigger explosion of this type somewhere in the Pacific areas.⁵ The United Kingdom likewise tells us that it will continue with its work on hydrogen bombs.⁶ Thus, in spite of warnings of scientists, the great nations of the world still pin their faith on the hydrogen bomb and march towards destruction. Are we to look on helplessly, occasionally raising our feeble voice in protest? If not, what else are we to do?

13. In the recent session of our Science Congress held in Agra,⁷ some of these matters were referred to. We are making good progress in atomic energy and our first research reactor will function in about six months' time. Other reactors will follow soon after. We are, I believe, the most advanced country in this respect in Asia at present, excluding what happens in the Soviet Union. Probably, even as regards European countries, there are only very few that are ahead of us. I need hardly say that we think of atomic energy only in terms of its peaceful use.

14. Atomic energy is not merely a weapon to be used for good or ill. It is symbolic of a new phase in world history. In fact, the old type narrow nationalism and state boundaries are likely to mean less and less in future. If that is so, how much less is the significance of provincial boundaries and the like?

3. On 26 November 1955, the Soviet Government announced that it "stands for the prohibition of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons with the establishment of effective international control," and for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.
4. The "most powerful of all explosions so far carried out" was announced in Moscow on 26 November 1955.
5. Reports from Washington on 9 January 1956 stated that the USA expected to conduct its new "super" hydrogen bomb test explosion in the Pacific Ocean in May 1956. On 11 January, Dulles said that no matter how strong the Asian nations' protest may be, no new basis had been found to warrant suspension of such tests.
6. Anthony Eden said on 30 November 1955 that while the British Government would at all times welcome arrangements which contribute to world security, they were not prepared to accept agreements which would not treat Britain on par with other Great Powers.
7. See *ante*, pp. 126-133.

15. A recent statement by Mr Dulles, the US Secretary of State, has created something of a sensation. He refers to atomic war having been on the point of being started on three occasions in the course of the past year or so when it was just stopped in time.⁸ He mentions asking me to convey a warning to the Chinese Government.⁹ I have no particular recollection of this though he may have hinted at it vaguely. This statement of Mr Dulles suddenly pulls us up and tells us how near the brink we are. Mr Dulles appears to have a remarkable capacity for saying the wrong thing and indeed doing it. The fate of the world might well hang on some sudden urge which Mr Dulles might experience.

16. In this connection, I might tell you that we have been in correspondence with the US Government regarding the joint statement Mr Dulles made with the Foreign Minister of Portugal about Goa. We sent a strong note to the US Government. The reply that came after a long interval was not satisfactory and we have sent another note now expressing our opinion in very clear language. Some time later, we may perhaps publish these notes if the US Government is agreeable to our doing so.

17. You will have seen the statement issued by the UK Government about the sabotage of the Indian airliner, *Kashmir Princess*.¹⁰ There is no doubt that this sabotage was organised by some agencies from Formosa. In fact, the person who is said to have done it was heavily rewarded for it and escaped to Formosa. The Government there refuses to give him up. I doubt if anything more horrible has happened in recent times than this sabotage of our airliner. And yet, the culprit is shielded and there is an absence of condemnation of this act in most countries.

18. Recent weeks have seen the establishment of a new independent State, that is, the Sudan.¹¹ We have recognized this State and hope to have close and friendly relations with it.

8. In an interview published in *life* on 11 January 1956, Dulles claimed that the atomic war was averted on three occasions in 1953 and 1954 even though they "had walked to the brink", because the United States had given a warning that any communist aggression in Korea, Indo-China and Formosa Straits would be met by superior forces, including use of nuclear weapons.
9. Dulles asserted in the interview that the communists did not walk out of the conference because earlier in his talks with Nehru he had made it clear that if People's China broke off the negotiations, the USA would not only renew the Korean war but would extend it by air bombardment of Manchuria and use of atomic weapons.
10. A statement issued by British Colonial Office on 11 January 1956 said that in spite of a warrant of arrest issued against Chou chu, the person suspected of planting a time bomb in the *Kashmir Princess*, the authorities in Taiwan had refused to hand him over on "legal grounds".
11. Sudan was proclaimed an independent and democratic republic on 1 January 1956 and India announced her recognition on the same day.

19. We have recently had some trouble about our banks or rather with our bank employees.¹² I must confess that their action in striking after impartial judges had given an award was very reprehensible. Government had no choice but to oppose it. At the same time, it is true that some of the lower paid employees of banks have suffered from this award and their normal monthly income goes down considerably. We must see the human aspect of this and remove the suffering caused. But the way the bank employees acted was the wrong way and this has actually delayed any calm consideration of odd cases of persons who deserve special consideration. I hope, however, that this special consideration will be given to them at a suitable time.

20. The elections in France¹³ have come as a shock to many people and French politics continue to be very unstable. In Europe and indeed elsewhere too the cold war has again displayed its ugly face.

21. We have had recently some more visits from distinguished people from abroad. Madame Soong Ching-ling, the widow of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was an honoured guest. Dr. Martino,¹⁴ the Italian Foreign Minister, also came here and Dr. Franz Bluecher,¹⁵ the Vice-Chancellor of West Germany is still touring India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. The bank employees called for a two-day strike on 6 & 7 January 1956. See *ante*, pp 67-68.
13. Held on 2 January 1956. The results showed the Communists emerging as the single largest group with 150 seats. The Gaullists who won only 22 seats suffered the most serious setback.
14. Gaetano Martino (1900-1967). Foreign Minister of Italy, 1954-57; President of European Parliament, 1962-64. He came to Delhi on 4 January 1956.
15. The Vice-Chancellor of Federal German Republic, arrived in New Delhi on 10 January 1956.

1. National Anthem and National Song¹

This question² came up before the Constituent Assembly when the decision was taken to make *Jana Gana Mana* our National Anthem. At that time it was stated that *Vande Mataram*, although not the National Anthem, would be treated as a special National Song. It was further made clear that people should stand up when *Vande Mataram* was sung. This was made clear by the President's statement referred to in a note.

This of course does not mean that normally *Jana Gana Mana* and *Vande Mataram* should both be sung. But there is no objection to both of them being sung or played, if such is the desire of the organisers of a function, official or non-official.

As a rule, it would be better not to have the two at the same function, as this makes the function rather heavy. However, there is no objection to it.

When both the songs are to be sung, *Vande Mataram* should come at the beginning and *Jana Gana Mana* at the end of the function.

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 25 November 1955. File No. 2(61)/47-PMS. Also available in File No. 27/9/55, MHA.
2. The Madhya Bharat Government had asked for instructions of the Home Ministry on 24 November 1955, whether the songs *Jana Gana Mana* and *Vande Mataram* could both be sung during Government functions and if both could be sung, which should be sung at the beginning and which at the end.

2. To Tenzing Norgay¹

Camp: Calcutta
30 November 1955

My dear Tenzing,²

When I was in Yugoslavia some time ago,³ I was presented by some mountaineers there with a mountaineering kit. This consists of an alpenstock, a rucksack containing two pairs of boots, a pair of warm socks, two thermos

1. JN Collection.
2. Director, Field Training, Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Darjeeling.
3. Nehru visited Yugoslavia from 30 June to 6 July 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 258-262, and 281.

flasks, a wind-proof shirt and two aluminium boxes, presumably for food. (One of them is inside the other).

I am sending this kit to you through the kindness of Dr B.C. Roy.

I was happy to meet your wife⁴ in Delhi for a short while. I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Ang Lhamu.

3. To Yehudi Menuhin¹

New Delhi
4 December 1955

My dear Yehudi,

Your letter of the 4th November reached me some three weeks ago. I did not reply to it earlier as I wanted to read your article² first. I have now done that, and I have enjoyed reading it. I think it is a very good article, though you have taken a somewhat idealised view of India, which, I think, is not fully justified. You see I am concerned with our failings rather than with our virtues. But there is an element of truth in what you write and, in any event, it is good for Westerners to have this placed before them. It might not be so good for people in India who, like all other races and peoples, tend to boost themselves up.

I have not yet seen this new London magazine *Envoy*.³ I suppose it will be coming to me in due time.

It was a pleasure to hear from you. Some time back, Diana⁴ wrote to me a very unhappy letter. I wanted to reply to her but, somehow, I could not do so. I could not find suitable language which might perhaps soothe her, and I did not want to write just an empty letter of sympathy. Please ask her to forgive me for this lapse or for this inability.

Apart from our own work which becomes heavier than ever and more perplexing, we have had a spate of distinguished visitors. There has been quite

1. JN Collection.

2. For an extract from this article see *ante*, pp. 522-523.

3. This was a new monthly magazine founded by V.K. Krishna Menon, whose first issue was published in October 1955.

4. Diana Gould Menuhin, wife of Yehudi Menuhin.

a procession, and this is not over yet. They come to Delhi and wander about all over India. Sometimes, several of these distinguished visitors are touring about India at the same time. We have to take care lest they clash with each other. The highlights have been the visits of Bulganin and Khrushchev and the King of Saudi Arabia.⁵ They followed each other in quick succession, and the contrast between these two was very marked. Both parties brought a large retinue with them, but in this matter the Saudi Arabian King easily outpaced the Soviet group. He brought a party of about two hundred including two or three dozen sons of his.

You may have read some accounts of the big receptions that the Russians received here and the resentment of the American Press at what Bulganin and Khrushchev said.⁶ All that they said was not to our liking either but, obviously, we could not have controversies with our guests. We made our position perfectly clear. In one of the tremendous meetings we had, I spoke of Asoka and the message of tolerance that he had given two thousand two hundred years ago. I wonder if this was reproduced in the American Press. It applied not only to the Russians but also to others in the Western world.

With all my love to you and Diana,

Ever yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. See *ante*, pp. 299-365 and 398-400.

6. See *ante*, p. 321.

4. Controlling Sadhus¹

Goswami Ganesh Dutt² gave me the attached memorandum.³ This deals with the question of controlling the sadhus and sanyasis, etc., of India. I think the subject is an important one and deserves careful consideration. I do not quite

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 4 December 1955. File No. 57/35/56, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Social and religious worker in Punjab, UP and Delhi.

3. Dutt's memorandum dealt with problem of about two crore sadhus, which according to him was "increasing to such an extent that anybody with red-brown clothes does not delay in making disciples."

agree with all his proposals.⁴ I think it would be better to proceed firmly but cautiously. I do not know if it will be possible to have a proper registration of them. Certainly in regard to the organised *maths*, this should be possible. We might also prohibit any person joining a *math* before a certain age. It is a scandal how boys and girls are picked up by some of these *maths*.

Anyhow, I should like this matter to be examined.

4. Dutt's main proposal was for legislation to be enacted to prevent anyone below the age of 40 from becoming a sadhu. Towards this end, he suggested setting up of a committee, consisting of two monks, one representative of the *maths*, one leader of Sanatan Dharam and, lawyers. Dividing sadhus into four categories, Dutt sought training in handicrafts and education for those between 8-20 years; 10 acres of land and one plough for those in the age group 20-50 years, no special attention for those between 50-80 years except registration of the person and the *math*; and for a final omnibus category of thieves and beggars, ashrams were suggested.

5. Communism in India¹

CPI even after one month of the Nazi invasion of Russia (July 1941) declared itself against British. British CP order it to drop anti-British attitude (end 1941) but CPI resisted this till end 1942 when they called for support of British war effort.²

1947, Palme Dutt³ visits India (Sep 1947) urges CPI to support Nehru's govt. CPI accepts this (June 1947).⁴ Soon after Soviet experts disagree.

1. Note, 7 December 1955, Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML. This was written in preparation for his talks with the Soviet leaders on the activities of the CPI in India. On 26 January, Nehru sent it to the Secretary General, MEA, for record.
2. At the start of the Second World War, the CPI supported the Congress view on the War, but with the involvement of the Soviet Union the party in December 1941 advanced the slogan of turning it into a People's War and called for all of India's forces to be used to defeat the fascist forces of aggression.
3. Rajni Palme Dutt was leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain.
4. At the CPI Central Committee meeting in June 1947, the General Secretary P.C. Joshi's view that Indian independence was genuine and that a united front from above, with the Congress, or at least its 'progressive' wing, was accepted by a thin majority.

2 views.⁵

CPI in Dec 1947 select extreme policy.⁶ (P.C. Joshi⁷ driven out). Ranadive's⁸ views opposed (March 1938). India not yet an independent state. Veiled British rule.

Revolutionary line—armed revolt. Proposed general strike in March 1949 beginning with Railway strike. (Telengana, etc.)⁹

General strike prove a fiasco. Ranadive discredited. Andhra faction under Rajeshwar Rao¹⁰ comes to the fore. Relies on peasantry.¹¹

(Condemnation of Chinese rev. by Ranadive for nearly 2 years. Rao takes Chinese CP as model).¹²

Ranadive removed as GS in July 1950—R. Rao becomes GS. By end of 1950—CPI disorganized. Mostly banned.

From early 1948 Soviet line to India changed. No complete independence; Nehru a British lackey. Towards end 1950 Soviet policy to India again changes.

5. Two differing viewpoints emerged at a meeting of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in June 1947. One identified the entire bourgeoisie with imperialism and favoured a return to the proletarian anti-capitalist approach. The other view condemned only the big bourgeoisie leaving the way open for a united front from below against the Congress.
6. At the second Congress of the CPI from 28 February to 6 March 1948, the dominant group led by B.T. Ranadive removed P.C. Joshi and others from key positions and adopted a programme of insurrectionary activities for installing "a revolutionary government in the country."
7. Leading Communist leader. In the 1950's advocated alliance between CPI and Congress and emerged as a CPI reformist.
8. B.T. Ranadive; leading Communist leader.
9. The CPI embarked on a policy of violent strikes and terrorism in early 1949. The symbol of the struggle was to be Telengana, where local communists had liberated two entire districts and set up their own administration.
10. Chandra Rajeshwar Rao (1914-1994); joined CPI, Andhra 1934; Member, CPI Central Committee, 1948; General Secretary, 1950-51, 1964-1990; Awarded Order of Lenin, 1974. Publications include: *Problems of India's Agrarian Sector, Telengana Struggle—Some Useful lessons from its rich experience.*
11. In May 1950, Ranadive was replaced as General Secretary by Rajeshwar Rao, a leading communist from Andhra Pradesh, who advocated a 'Maoist' line for the Indian communist movement, while Ranadive wanted a struggle waged through people's democratic front from below.
12. Ranadive attacked Mao and the Chinese Revolution in his attempts to counter Rajeshwar Rao and the Andhra Communists in the CPI. Ranadive wrote in 1949: "It must be admitted that some of Mao's formulations are such that no communist party can accept them; they are in contradiction to world understanding of the communist parties."

Tones down. (Palme Dutt's messages).¹³ No China way for India. Dange¹⁴ & Ajoy Ghosh oppose Rajeshwar Rao. June 1951. Rao resigns GS & Ajoy Ghosh comes in. Armed rev. called off.¹⁵ Decision to participate in general elections.

Result of elections optimism of CPI. Policy of united front.¹⁶

But again differences arise. Central Committee of CPI in January 1953 fails to mend differences. Pressure to return to armed struggle. Failure of parliamentary strength.

This brings conflicts with Soviet CP who advocate friendship between India and Soviet bloc.

Peace movement.

CPI Madurai Congress Dec. 1953 to Jan 1954. Conflict continues.¹⁷

Harry Pollitt comes to India, angry at CPI not concentrating on US threat (US-Pak Pact) and still thinking in terms of attacking British imperialism.¹⁸

Elections in Punjab & Pepsu. Communist defeats. CPI despairs of constitutional methods.

Sept. 1954: Central Committee CPI asserts again its opposition to Congress Party which is a Govt of landlords & capitalists collaborating with British imperialism.

Avadi Congress: Socialism.¹⁹ Consternation in CPI. Andhra elections. Defeat of communists.²⁰

13. In December 1950, Rajni Palme Dutt, leader of Communist Party of Great Britain sent a secret memorandum to the CPI which stressed the positive contribution already made by Nehru on behalf of peace and placed before the party concrete grounds for changing the policy of opposition to Nehru's Government.
14. S.A. Dange; CPI leader and pioneer of Indian trade union movement.
15. Opposition to Rajeshwar Rao's 'Maoist' line came from Dange and Ghosh in April 1951, when adherence to peaceful neo-Maoism was made explicit. Change in policy was confirmed with Ajoy Ghosh becoming powerful and a CPI directive ending the fighting in Telengana.
16. The CPI contested the 1951 General Elections in 49 Parliamentary seats, winning 16 and with 10 allies became the largest opposition group.
17. The Third CPI Congress at Madurai, in January 1954, passed a resolution that India 'continued to be subject to the influence of British imperialism', though it supported certain specific acts of the government which helped the cause of peace, for example, India's role in ending the Korean war. But the differences in the party on whether it should adopt anti-British or anti-American stand persisted.
18. Harry Pollitt, member, CPGB who attended the Third CPI Congress at Madurai, urged the party to line up with the international line, condemning US actions. But the attention of the CPI was confined on internal politics, leading to the emergence of a separatist line with Ajoy Ghosh, S.A. Dange and E.M.S. Namboodiripad at the forefront.
19. The Avadi session of the Indian National Congress, held from 21 to 23 January 1955, passed a resolution for "establishment of a socialist pattern of society."
20. In elections to the Andhra Legislative Assembly in February 1955, the CPI managed to secure only 15 seats out of 196 after putting up 169 candidates.

1955 Ajoy Ghosh goes to Moscow. CPI at last abandons its policy of wholesale opposition to Congress. Decides to join Republic Day and Independence Day celebrations. But Congress domestic policy was close policy and would be opposed. (June 1955).

Pravda (26.1.55) praises foreign policy of India and also comments great internal progress.

Steel Plant.²¹

Basic conflict between interests of world communist; indigenous revolutionary movement. Also dilemma of anti-democratic party trying to achieve its aims within democratic milieu.

DCB

Madurai Congress of CPI(3rd) had decided that India was a dependent country.

Dilemmas—guidance sought by visits to Moscow and Peking.

New & appraisal

1. Consequent lead in Peace policy.
2. Madurai formulates that India on brink of economic and political crisis; not correct.
3. CPI failed to work out policy of united front.
4. National Congress was not disintegrating, was in fact getting stronger!
5. Wrong to think of possibility in near future of Congress Govt. being replaced by Democratic Party Govt.

India now considered independent.

PM's visit to Soviet Union.²² Disturb CPI. Immediately after PM's return Ajoy Ghosh summoned to Moscow. He goes there.

Soon after, on Aug 4, 1955 Soviet *New Times* article on India's industrial progress. Repeated CPI's criticism of our industry and agriculture.

AK Ghosh returns from Moscow in Sept 1955. Says basic policy must be to detach India from Anglo-American bloc and line with USSR & China. Praise foreign policy but criticise internal policy, even though, for purpose of expediting. Socialist countries outwardly eulogise India's progress. Tempo of agitation however should avoid irritating Congress Govt too much.

Next CPI Congress in Calicut in Feb. 1956.

21. Under an agreement signed on 2 February 1955, the Soviet Union agreed to set up a steel mill at Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh.
22. Nehru visited the Soviet Union in June 1955. The CPI claimed at the time of Nehru's visit that India's policy had undergone a "welcome change in recent years" and "broadly welcomed it" but continued to object to certain specific aspects of it.

Attempts to infiltrate in Govt offices, Armed forces, etc.
Cultural organizations.
Local struggles.

Dange
Rajeshwar Rao
Sundarayya²³

Ranadive
Ajoy Ghosh
P.C. Joshi

International line regarding leadership of Indian freedom movement was totally wrong: Trying by implications to correct it. But do not go far enough, self-criticism. Must admit past mistakes.

Ajoy Ghosh explains Moscow line on analogy of Hitler pact. A clear, positive statement necessary.

Visits of Indian CP leaders—must not be invited to Moscow or any other Communist country.

Panch Shila must function effectively.

In Lasting Peace: In a People's Democracy journal should not give different interpretations of *Panch Shila* or incite CP to adopt contrary policies.²⁴

There must be total rethinking. This not possible if confusing policies pursued. Clear line must be given.

1951 programme was drafted by Stalin. Some top Indian CP men went to Moscow secretly.

These were Dange, Ajoy Ghosh, Rajeshwar Rao, & Adhikari²⁵ went in Dec. 1950 to Moscow without passports, etc., via Afghanistan. They gave "correct line on strength" of Stalin.

Monetary help direct, indirect—must stop. Through Peace Councils.

W.F.T.U.²⁶

W.I.D.F.

A.P.H.

CPI purchases big properties in Betul and Poona—so-called sanatoria.

Lavish personal expenditure of CPI leaders.

Embassy appointments of CPI members—must stop; complications may result. Also source of corruptions.

23. P.P. Sundarayya (1913-1985); involved and popularised concept of "Visalandhra"; in 1952 entrusted by Central Committee of CPI with responsibility of organising Parliamentary wing of CPI; Elected to Rajya Sabha, 1955; resigned same year to contest mid-term Assembly elections, Andhra; member, Andhra Legislative Assembly 1955-1967.

24. See *ante*, p. 361.

25. Gangadhar Adhikari (1896-1981); member, CPI Central leadership, 1933-1981.

26. World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) both international communist front organisations, were founded at the end of the Second World War.

Other Communist embassies. Recent troubles in Polish embassy.

Burma—CP carry on active insurrection. Removed from outside. U Nu.

Kashmir impressions.

Burma.

Indian tour. Criticism.

Talks on cultural relations. Trade Air service? Industry. Planning experts
medicine making plants.

Developments in UN.

Goa arguments.

Disarmament.

Joint statement, sentences,

Added about especiality.

Communism—CPI

Bucharest journal.

6. Arrangements for Food during Tours¹

I do not know what instructions are sent to places which I visit on my tours. Whenever I criticise the food or any arrangement, I am told that it is strictly according to instructions. The food consists usually of long many course meals of the type one normally gets in a railway refreshment room. Sometimes the food is fairly good, sometimes not. But the main thing is that very elaborate arrangements are made for my meals and some hotel or restaurant is put in charge of them. Usually a large group of persons from the hotel comes from some other city with a good deal of paraphernalia and arranges this long meal.

2. People have been told that I should have meals after the European style and that various kinds of meat are necessary. As a matter of fact, I usually only take half the meal and even there I leave out most of the meat. I am not particularly fond of either meat or of the European style although, if it is very good, I like it.

3. When I arrived at Calicut and reached Krishna Menon's house,² I found

1. Note to Personal Secretary, Kozhikode, 27 December 1955. JN Papers, NMML. A copy of this note was sent to M.O. Mathai.

2. On 27 December 1955, Nehru visited Kozhikode and was received at the family residence of V.K. Krishna Menon in the traditional Malabar style with *Nirapara* and *Kuthivilakku* by Shrimati V.K. Janaki Amma, sister of V.K. Krishna Menon.

that there was much consternation at the prospect of my having to be provided with plenty of meat after the European style. The house is vegetarian and they were unhappy about this. Worse still, the District Magistrate sent four chickens to be slaughtered and cooked. The lady of the house was completely upset at this idea. Fortunately, I came in time to prevent this outrage on her sentiment and I asked specially for a Malayali vegetarian meal. A very good dinner was given to me which I enjoyed.

4. At Nilambur,³ where the local Raja provided our party with lunch, this was the first occasion in his life when meat entered his house. Evidently he disliked the idea, but did not wish to come in the way of my presumed tastes. As usual, some hotel had been asked to organise the meal and they gave a seven course affair full of heavy meats and fruits which I hardly touched.

5. I am not a vegetarian, but I do not eat much meat at any time and often I do not eat it at all at home. Therefore, there is not only no need for laying stress on meat, but I would much rather not have it when I am touring and require light meals. The only instruction that should be sent is that I am prepared to eat anything provided the meal is a light one and there are no chillies or spices in it. On the whole, I would prefer a vegetarian meal unless this upsets the party or the hosts. In any event, the meal should be a light one. Normally I should like food after the local fashion except for the chillies and the spices.

6. When I am staying in some circuit house, then some outside arrangements normally have to be made. They can provide me with any food which is convenient, including European food. But there should be few courses and the meal should be light. Elaborate hotel arrangements requiring staff to travel about are undesirable.

3. Nehru visited Nilambur on 27 December 1955.

7. *The Discovery of India*: Hungarian Translation¹

I am glad that a translation of my book *Discovery of India* is appearing in the Hungarian language. This book was written twelve years ago when I was in prison.² It reflects the moods of prison life.

Much has happened since then in India, in Asia and the world, and new problems have arisen. But if this book helps a little in the understanding of India, it will serve some purpose. I am particularly happy that this mutual understanding should take place between the people of Hungary and the people of India. In the past our contacts with Hungary were limited. But in the new order of things it is desirable for these friendly contacts to increase so that they might lead to greater understanding and friendship between our two countries. The world hungers for a lessening of the tensions and rivalries that pursue it and come in the way of cooperative effort. It has been India's aim and policy to work for the friendship of nations and for peaceful settlements by negotiation of problems between nations. That end India has endeavoured to serve. I trust that this end will be furthered a little by the publication of this book in Hungary.

1. Foreword to *The Discovery of India*, Hungarian edition, 20 January 1956. JN Collection.
2. Nehru wrote it between April to September 1944 in Ahmadnagar Fort prison.

8. To Indira Gandhi¹

New Delhi

24 January 1956

Darling Indu,

Of course neither Pantji nor I can go to Orissa now.² Apart from this difficulty of finding the time, I do not think it is desirable. Dhebarbhai will be going there on the 31st.

1. Sonia Gandhi (ed.), *Two Alone, Two Together: Letters between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, 1940-64*, (London, 1992), pp. 613-614.
2. Indira Gandhi in her letter of January 1956 (undated) wrote that, Nityanand Kanungo, Congress leader from Orissa and Union Minister, had told her that "it would be a good thing if either Nehru or G.B. Pant could go" to Orissa. Indira Gandhi told Kanungo that neither could go, as the former had a trip planned to Bangalore and the latter, "because of his health."

I think, on the whole, it will be desirable for you to go to Orissa. Of course this visit cannot be for a tour as previously thought of. This would be just to give moral support to Noba Babu³ and others. Noba Babu is a very fine man but unfortunately he does not get much cooperation from his colleagues in his Cabinet or the PCC or even his wife. I should like him to feel that we are with him. So it would be a good thing for you to go to Cuttack (and perhaps to Puri also) – no public meetings, etc., but private talks, etc. You can go in addition to Dhebarbhai, who agrees with what I have written above.

Papu

3. Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, Chief Minister, Orissa.

acharya	a reverential term for a learned person
dakshin	south
jagirdari	a system of assignment of land and its revenue
Jai Hind	victory to India
kuthivilakku	a tall bronze lamp, lit for ceremonial purposes
manapatra	an address of welcome
math	a monastery
morcha	picketing
nirapara	a big wooden vessel, filled with rice
panch shila	five basic principles of international conduct
Punjabi suba zindabad	long live Punjabi-speaking state
purva	east
Ram Rajya	equitable and ideal rule; literally kingdom of Ram, worshipped by Hindus
rashtra bhasha	national language
sanyas	renunciation of the world
satyagrahi	practitioner of truth force or soul force
shikara	a long, partly covered boat
tehsil	sub-division of a district
vidyapeeth	a school, centre of learning
vihara	a Buddhist monastery
zindabad	long live

INDEX

(Biographical footnotes in this volume and in volumes in the first series are italicised and those in the second series are given in block letters.)

- Aarey Milk Colony (Mumbai), 335 & fn
 Abdullah, S.M., (*Vol.7, p.308*), 292 fn, 293 & fn-294, 307 fn
 Addis Ababa, 418
 Aden, 514
 Adenauer, Konrad, (*VOL.28, P.570*), 304
 Adhikari, Gangadhar, 550 & fn
 Adilabad, 5 fn
 Advisory Committee on Social and Moral Hygiene (December 1954), 135 & fn-136 & fn; report of (October 1955), 135
 Afghanistan, 321 fn, 445, 550; Government of, 312
 Africa, 28, 36, 92, 313, 316fn, 399, 443, 471, 477-478, 512-514
 _____, East, 360, 513-514
 _____, North, 352, 360, 513
 Aggarwal, R.N., 399 fn, 409 & fn
 Agra, 203, 268 & fn, 313, 537
 Agra University, 126
 Ahmadnagar, 404 & fn; Fort of, 553 fn
 Ajmer, 153 fn, 203 & fn
 Akali Dal, 285 fn
 Albania, 347, 363 fn, 377 fn
 Alexander, Horace, (*Vol.6, p.208*), 414 & fn-415 fn
 Alexandrowicz, Charles Henry, 370 & fn
 Algeria, 352 fn, 529 & fn-530 fn
 Ali, Chaudhury Mohammad, (*VOL.3, P.316*), 373 & fn, 380 & fn, 388 fn, 533 fn
 _____, S. Fazl, (*VOL.3, P.31*), 4 fn, 168 & fn
 All India Bank Employees Association, 67 fn
 All India Congress Committee, 59, 117, 334 fn; resolution of (New Delhi, September 1955), 334 fn
 All India Depressed Classes League, 224 & fn
 All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, 62 & fn
 All India Police Sports Meet (Gwalior, February 1956), 270-271
 All India Radio, 4, 204, 534
 All Parties Political Conference (October 1955), 160
 All Party Conference on Kashmir (Karachi, 26-28 November 1955), 373 fn, 380 & fn
 Allahabad, 370, 439-441, 444
 Ambar Charkha, 57 & fn-58, 59-60, 62 & fn-63, 64
 Ambedkar, B.R., 136 fn
 American Intelligence Service, 410
 American Revolution, 31
 Amritsar, 265 fn, 285 & fn-286
 Andaman and Nicobar, 153 fn
 Andhra, 3 & fn, 5, 12, 103, 106 & fn, 153 fn, 208 fn, 277 fn, 339 fn, 547 & fn; Government of, 3 fn; Legislative Assembly of, 549 fn
 Andhra Pradesh, 547 fn
 Ang Lhamu, 544 & fn
 Anirudhan (Vallathol Narayana Menon), 110 fn
 Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi-i-Urdu, 143 fn
 Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (Myanmar), 320 fn
 Appleby, Paul H., (*VOL.22, P.133*), 80 & fn, 283 & fn; report of, 283 & fn
 Apsara, 134 fn
 Arab States, 305-306, 329, 350, 382 fn, 388, 391 fn, 399, 414 fn-415 fn, 471, 525

- Archaeological Survey of India, 14fn, 105
 Argentina, 126 fn
 Arya Samaj, 135 fn
 Asia, 9, 11, 21, 28, 33-34, 36-37, 41, 92, 97, 171, 200, 313, 316 fn-317, 321 fn, 329, 333, 349 fn, 377, 385, 399, 405, 407, 415-416, 429, 444-445, 460, 463, 468, 471-472, 477-478, 482, 484, 488, 491, 502-503, 510-512, 514-515, 517, 526, 533, 537, 553
 _____, Central, 312, 445
 _____, East, 41, 405, 526
 _____, South, 487
 _____, South East, 123, 364, 382 fn, 401 fn, 469, 471, 512, 526 fn, 531
 _____, West, 41, 380-381 fn, 388, 471, 524, 526 fn, 528, 530-531
 Asian-African Conference (Bandung, April 1955), 36 & fn, 92, 300, 377, 385 & fn, 400 & fn, 416
 Asoka, 37-38, 177, 207, 314 & fn, 332, 408, 545
 Assam, 44, 142 fn, 153 fn, 168 fn, 199; Government of, 142
Assam Tribune, 198-199
 Astor, Nancy Witcher, (*Vol.9, p.671*), 140 fn
 Atomic Energy Department (GOI), 125
 Australia, 247 fn, 382 fn
 Austria, 357 fn, 363 fn, 377 fn
 Avadi, 226 & fn
Avinyaktibad (Rathindra Nath Tagore), 109 fn
 Azad, Abul Kalam, (*Vol.1, p.353*), 106 & fn, 118, 156 & fn, 210 fn, 280, 326-328, 431
 _____, Bhagwat Jha, 138 & fn
 'Azad' Kashmir, 294, 307 fn, 349
 Bagchi, P.C., (*VOL.30, P.210*), 109 & fn
 Baghdad, 306 fn, 317 fn, 380 fn, 382 fn, 384, 388, 524
 Baghdad Pact (November 1955), 241, 248, 306 & fn, 317 & fn, 321 & fn, 324, 329 & fn, 333, 351, 357-358, 364-365 & fn, 373, 379 fn-380 & fn, 381 & fn-382 & fn, 383-387 & fn, 388 & fn-389 & fn, 391 & fn-392 & fn, 401, 403, 413, 416, 418 & fn, 524-525, 528, 530, 533
 Banaskantha, 203 fn
 Bandung, 36, 92, 385 fn, 471, 512
 Bandung Conference *see* Asian-African Conference
 Bangalore, 311 fn, 313, 319 fn, 321 fn, 553 fn
Bapuji (Vallathol Narayana Menon), 110 fn
 Bareilly, 313
 Baroda, 224
 Basu, Jyoti, (*VOL.19, P.168*), 54 fn
 Beaverbrook Press, 415
 Beethoven, Ludwig van, 523 fn
 Beg, Mohammad Afzal, (*Vol.14, p.396*), 307 & fn
 Beijing, 200 fn, 392 fn-393 & fn, 394 fn, 397, 549
 Belaunde, Victor, 377 fn
 Belgium, 350, 382 fn
 Bellary, 159 fn, 207-208 fn
 Bengal Presidency, 213 fn
 Besant, Annie, (*Vol.1, p.104*), 441-442
 Betul, 551
 Bhabha, Homi J., (*Vol.13, p.536*), 124 & fn-125 fn, 135, 268 & fn, 402 fn, 476
Bhagat Singh and his Comrades (A.K. Ghosh), 339 fn
 Bhagavadgita, 453, 518
 Bhakra Nangal Project, 93, 95, 182; Dam of, 313
 Bhandarkar, K.Y., 272 fn
 Bhargava, Mukat Behari Lal, (*VOL.4, P.220*), 203 & fn
 Bhilai, 44 fn, 549 fn
 Bhilai Steel Works, 319 fn
 Bhopal, 153 fn, 279 fn
 Bhutan, 280
 Bidar, 5 fn
 Bidyadhari, 141
 Bihar, 44, 50, 53 & fn-54 & fn, 137-138 fn, 139, 141 fn, 153 fn, 172, 180 & fn-181 & fn, 209, 212-213 & fn, 216-218, 223 & fn, 339 fn, 536; Government of, 139, 223 fn

- Birla, G.D., (*Vol.5, p.135*), 91 fn
 Biswas, Rasiklal, 224 fn
 Bluecher, Franz, 165 & fn, 411 & *fn-412*, 422, 539 & fn
 Bodley Head (London), 100 fn
 Bolshevik Revolution, 444
 Bombay, 5, 39 fn, 47, 153 & *fn-154*, 168 fn, 179, 196, 200 & fn, 202-203 fn, 205, 208-209 fn, 210, 214 & fn; Government of, 206 fn
 Bombay city *see* Mumbai
 Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, 153 fn
 Brahmo Samaj, 440
 Brazil, 347 fn, 499
 Brioni (Yugoslavia), 527 fn
 Brish Bhan, (*VOL.17, P.412*), 287 & fn
 British Colonial Office, 538 fn
 British Nationality Act (July 1948), 250 & fn
 Buddha, Gautama, 9, 12, 207, 467, 523
 Bukhara, 445
 Bulganin, N.A., (*VOL.29, P.206*), 16 fn, 164 fn, 246-247 fn, 291 & fn, 294, 299 & *fn-300*, 301, 303, 307 & *fn-308*, 310-311, 317-319 & fn, 320-324 & fn, 325 & fn, 328-329 & fn, 330-332, 334-337, 340-341, 344-346, 347 fn, 349 & fn, 353-355, 358, 362-363, 378-379, 383 fn, 390, 403, 413, 419-420, 424 *fn-425* & fn, 426 fn, 431, 521, 524, 526 & *fn-527* & fn, 529-531, 533 & fn, 545
 Bulgaria, 134 fn, 363 fn, 377 fn
 Burma *see* Myanmar
 Cabinet (India), 60, 66, 79, 214 *fn-215*, 247 & fn, 254, 282, 287, 376 & fn, 423, 433 & *fn-434*, 457, 554; Foreign Affairs Committee of, 426 fn; sub-committee of, 215
 Cairo, 382 fn, 415-416 & fn, 417
 Calcutta *see* Kolkata
 Calicut *see* Kozhikode
 Cambodia, 377 fn, 397, 419
 Cambridge, 442
 Canada, 122 *fn-123*, 247 fn, 356, 377 & *fn-378*, 379 fn, 382 *fn-383*, 397 fn; Government of, 122-123, 401, 530
 Cassidy, John, 388 fn
Catalogue of Ikshvaku Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum (R. Subrahmanyam), 103 fn
 Caucasia, 344
 Cavour, Camillo Benso di, 443-444
 Central Board of Editors (1952), 117 fn
 Central Films Advisory Board, 277
 Central Public Works Department, 124
 Central Secretariat (Delhi), 256
 Central Statistical Organization (Delhi), 83
 Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), 248 fn
 Central Urdu Library (Hyderabad), 143 fn
 Ceylon *see* Sri Lanka
 Chakravarty, B.N., (*VOL.27, P.389*), 369 _____, Renu, (*VOL.18, P.335*), 249
 Chanda, Asok Kumar, (*VOL.5, P.221*), 254 & fn
 Chandernagore, 372 fn
 Chandigarh, 275
 Chandigarh Capital Project, 273 & fn, 275 fn
 Chas thana, 180 fn
 Chatterjee, N.C., (*VOL.6, P.51*), 249
 Chaudhuri, Nabakrushna, (*Vol. 6, p.44*), 554 & fn
 _____, Tridib, (*VOL.29, P.397*), 316 & fn, 334, 386, 430, 432
 Chen Han-seng, 77 & fn
 Chennai, 106 fn, 165, 257, 275, 313
 Chiang Kai-shek, (*Vol.10, p.74*), 348 & fn
 Chicago, 350 fn
 Chief Ministers' Conference (New Delhi, 23-24 October 1955), 163 & fn
 China, People's Republic of, 9, 12-13, 30, 36, 42, 77, 104, 126 fn, 148, 164 & fn, 300, 306 & fn, 313, 338, 346, 348, 353, 363, 392 & fn, 394 *fn-395* & fn, 396 & *fn-397* fn, 398, 402 fn, 404-409, 430, 444, 458, 470-471, 487, 492-493, 496, 502-503, 511, 526, 531-532, 538 fn, 548-549; Government of, 348, 392 *fn-393* & fn, 395-398, 405, 538
 Chinese Revolution, 547 fn

- Chinese Revolution, The* (Tibor Mende), 437 fn
- Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory, 257, 335 fn
- Chou chu, 538 fn
- Chou En-lai, (VOL. 15 Pt.I, P.18), 348, 393 fn-394 fn, 395 & fn-396 & fn, 397 & fn, 398 fn
- Chowdhury, Hamidul Huq, 533 fn
- Churchill, Winston, (*Vol.4, p.52*), 444
- Cinematograph Act (1953), 276 & fn-277 fn
- Coimbatore, 14 & fn, 16 & fn-17, 313
- Colombo Plan, 349 fn, 472-473
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee, 122 fn-123 & fn; meeting of (Singapore, 17-22 October, 1955), 123 & fn
- Colombo Powers, 416 fn-417 & fn
- Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), 340 & fn, 342 & fn, 361 & fn
- Comintern (International Communist Organisation), 340 & fn, 342
- Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference (April 1949), 250 & fn
- Communist*, 361 fn
- Communist Answer to Pandit Nehru* (A.K. Ghosh), 339 fn
- Communist Party Congress (October 1952), 340 & fn
- Communist Party of India, 31, 54 fn, 160, 318, 320, 338 & fn-339, 340-341, 343-345, 360-361 fn, 362, 420, 522, 546 & fn-547, 549 & fn, 551; Calicut Congress of (February 1956), 550; Madurai Congress of (December 1953-January 1954), 548 & fn-549
- Communist Party of Soviet Union, 339-341, 344-345, 361, 548
- Communist Party (UK), 344 & fn, 546-547 fn, 548 fn
- Community Development Projects, 24, 41, 44, 92, 259, 499
- Conference of Arab Prime Ministers (Cairo, January 1955), 382 fn
- Conference of Heads of National Laboratories and Research Institutes (New Delhi, December 1955), 123 & fn
- Congress, Indian National, 4, 6, 7 fn, 13 fn, 20-21, 29, 32, 41, 43, 49, 52-53 & fn, 57, 86, 147, 153, 156 fn, 164-166, 181 fn, 190, 196, 206 fn, 211-212, 214, 224-226 & fn, 227, 236, 282, 422, 449, 454-455, 457-458, 508-510, 516, 546 fn-547 fn, 548-549 & fn, 550; Amritsar session of (11-12 February 1956), 226; Avadi session of (21-23 January 1955), 226 & fn-227, 549 & fn; Hyderabad session of (January 1953), 389 fn; Kolkata session of (29 December 1928-1 January 1929), 164, 409; resolution on SRC report of (November 1955), 167 & fn;
- Congress Working Committee, 53 & fn-54, 153 fn-154, 155 & fn, 160-161 & fn, 163, 166-167 & fn, 168 fn, 181, 206 fn, 208-209 & fn, 210 & fn-211, 212-214, 216, 521 fn, 523; resolution of (August 1949), 155 fn; resolution of (May 1953), 155 fn; resolutions of (April 1954), 161 fn; resolution of (23 January 1956), 208 & fn; sub-committee on SRC of (October 1955), 167 & fn, 210 & fn
- Constantinople, 444
- Constituent Assembly of India, 115 fn, 136 & fn; Advisory Committee of (February 1947), 136 & fn
- Constitution (India), 23, 39, 47-48, 50, 102, 115, 137, 144 & fn, 146-147, 149, 155-156, 159, 162, 172-174, 176, 185, 189, 211, 245 fn, 250, 254, 276 fn, 282, 295, 369 fn, 427, 429, 496-497, 499
- Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Bill, 235 & fn
- Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill (December 1955), 159 & fn
- Constitution (Pakistan), 374 fn
- Constitution of India: Its Philosophy and Basic Postulate, The* (P.B. Gajendragadkar), 67 fn

- Cooper, John Sherman, (VOL.28, P.283),
378 & fn, 383 & fn-384, 424 & fn-
425, 428-432
- Coorg, 153 fn
- Council House (Bombay), 153 fn
- Cunha, Paulo A.V., 241 & fn, 329 & fn,
333, 359, 401 & fn, 415 & fn, 419,
423 & fn-424, 425 & fn, 429, 432, 538
- Cuttack, 181 fn, 554
- Cyprus, 527 & fn
- Czechoslovakia, 305, 344, 380 fn-381 fn,
431, 481-482, 525 fn
- Dachigam, 322
- Dadra, 433
- Dal Lake, 308, 322
- Damodar Valley, 307-308; project of, 93
- Dange, S.A., (Vol.4, p.564), 548 & fn, 550
- Das, Basanta Kumar, 374 & fn
—, Seth Govind, (Vol. 7, p. 660), 150 &
fn
- Das Kapital* (Karl Marx), 61
- Datar, B.N., (VOL.29, P.162), 247 & fn
- Datta, K.K., 97 & fn
- Dawn*, 380 fn
- Defence Service Officers Institute (New
Delhi), 284 & fn
- Dehra Dun, 240 & fn
- Delhi, 44, 48, 102, 145-147, 149, 153 fn,
165 fn, 176, 200 & fn, 215, 231 fn,
234-235, 246, 255, 257, 265, 268, 271
fn-272, 278 & fn, 284, 299-301,
307,309, 311-312, 317, 321, 330 fn,
332-333, 343, 361, 398-399, 404, 413,
415 & fn-416, 425, 432-433, 437, 508,
512, 527, 532, 544-545 & fn;
Legislative Assembly of, 278 fn *see*
also New Delhi
- Delhi School of Economics, 82-83
- Denmark, 382 fn
- Deo, Shankarrao, (Vol.7, p.617), 168 & fn,
202
- Depressed Classes Leaders' Unity
Conference (Kanpur, May 1935), 224
& fn
- Desai, C.C., (VOL.7, P.628), 266 & fn,
375 & fn
- , Morarji, (Vol.13, p.5), 7 fn, 91 fn,
153 fn, 200 & fn, 206 fn
- Deshmukh, C.D., (Vol.15, p.635), 69-70,
89, 106 & fn, 108, 208-209 fn, 214 &
fn, 240
- Deshpande, V.G., (VOL. 28, P. 404), 252
- Dhage, V.K., 231 fn-232 fn
- Dhaka, 372 fn
- Dhapa Multi-purpose Cooperative Society,
141
- Dhar, D.P., (VOL.14 Pt.II, P.153), 291 &
fn-292
- Dhaura Kuan (Delhi), 284 fn
- Dhebar, U.N., (VOL.16 Pt.II, P.727), 53
& fn, 156 & fn-167, 210 fn, 224 & fn,
553-554
- Diem Ngo Dinh, (VOL. 27, P. 96), 306
& fn, 394 & fn, 419
- Discovery of India, The* (Jawaharlal
Nehru), 553
- Diwan-i-Khas (Red Fort, Delhi), 398 & fn-
399
- Douglas-Home, Alexander Frederick,
(VOL. 29, P. 282), 403 & fn
- Dulles, J.F., (VOL. 1, P. 572), 241 & fn,
318 fn, 329 & fn, 333-334, 342, 350
& fn-351, 353, 359 & fn, 364,389 fn,
392 fn-393 & fn, 401, 403, 415, 418
& fn-419 & fn, 422-423 & fn, 424 &
fn, 426 & fn, 428 & fn-429, 431-432,
527 & fn, 531, 533, 537 fn-538 & fn
- Durga Das, (VOL. 8, P.311), 329 & fn
- Durgapur, 44 fn
- Dutt, Goswami Ganesh, (VOL. 5, P. 147),
545 & fn-546 fn
- , Rajni Palme, (Vol. 14, p. 435), 547
& fn-548 & fn
- , Subimal, (VOL.7, P. 644), 376 fn,
426
- Dyer, R.H., 265 & fn
- East Bengal *see* Pakistan, East
- Eden, Anthony, (Vol. 7, p. 105), 310 fn,
321, 324 & fn, 349 & fn-350, 351-
352 fn, 353, 378 & fn, 383, 385 fn,
390-391 fn, 392 fn, 414, 419 & fn,
537 fn

- Egypt, 305, 310, 329, 350, 380 & fn-381
fn, 382 & fn, 387-388, 392 fn, 414,
419 & fn, 525; Government of, 417 fn,
525 fn
- Einstein, Albert, (*Vol. 2, p. 280*), 133
- Eire, 363 fn
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., (*Vol. 14, p. 28*),
304, 318 & fn, 329 & fn, 432; Scheme
of, 304
- Elgar, Edward, 523 fn
- Elizabeth II, (*VOL. 4, P. 608*), 329 & fn
- England *see* UK
- Envoy* (London), 544
- Europe, 33-34, 36, 48, 99-100, 131, 408,
411, 445, 465, 469, 471, 473, 499, 503,
512, 515-516, 526-527 fn, 539
_____, East, 422
_____, West, 464
- Falshaw, Donald, 285 & fn; report of, 285
& fn
- Far East, 306, 329 fn, 348, 359 fn, 392,
424 & fn
- Faure, Edgar, 318 & fn-319 fn, 358
- Fedotov, D.M., 126 fn
- Films Division of India, 276-277 & fn
- Finland, 363 fn, 377 fn, 416 fn
- Five Year Plan (First), 18, 42, 78, 226,
283, 456, 503
- Five Year Plan (Second), 8, 17 & fn-18,
24, 31-32, 42, 44 & fn, 57 fn, 59, 65
fn, 68 & fn, 77-78 fn, 79-80, 82-84,
90-91 fn, 118 & fn-119, 124, 182, 187,
195, 205, 281, 319 fn, 337, 413, 477,
498, 534, 536
- Five Year Plan (Third), 78-79
- For a Lasting Peace, For a People's
Democracy* (Bucharest journal), 341,
361 & fn, 550-551
- Ford Foundation, 80
- Foreign Ministers' Conference (Geneva, 27
October-16 November 1955), 357-358,
364, 479, 526 & fn
- Formosa, 306, 311, 348, 377 fn-378, 379
fn, 397, 414, 538 & fn; Government
of, 406
- France, 264, 306, 310 & fn, 318-319 &
fn, 350, 352, 356-357 fn, 358, 360, 382
fn, 477, 492, 504, 512, 525 fn, 529 fn,
539; Cabinet of, 352 fn; Government
of, 319 fn, 352 fn, 430, 525 fn, 530
- French Revolution, 31, 264, 443
- Gadgil, D.R., (*Vol. 15, p. 248*), 70 & fn-
71, 75
- Gaitonde, Pundalik D., (*VOL. 30, P. 384*),
426 & fn
- Gajendragadkar, P.B., 67 & fn
- Gajendragadkar Committee (July 1955), 67
fn
- Gallman, W.J., (*VOL. 1, P. 629*), 388 fn
- Gama, Vasco da, 33-34
- Gandhi, Indira, (*Vol. 1, p. 232*), 14 fn,
175, 246, 553 & fn
_____, Mahatma, 6, 34, 38, 51-52, 54,
114, 129, 147, 194, 201, 211, 225, 299,
422, 439, 443, 446-452, 454-455, 459,
465-467, 482-483, 497, 508-509, 515-
517, 523
- Ganga river, 441
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe, (*Vol. 4, p. 423*), 443
fn, 476, 526
- Gaya, 137 fn, 139
- Geneva, 45, 123, 306 & fn, 310 fn, 318-
319 fn, 325 fn, 351-352, 392 fn, 476,
526
- Geneva Agreements (1954), 35 fn, 394 &
fn, 419
- Geneva Conference (April-July, 1954), 394
fn, 487, 524-525
- Geneva Powers, 394, 397 & fn
- Geological Survey of India, 109 fn
- Geology of India and Burma* (M.S.
Krishnan), 268 fn
- Germany, 72, 76-77, 99, 261, 304 & fn,
325 fn, 357 & fn, 411, 418 fn, 422,
430, 481-482, 527 fn, 533; Government
of, 325 fn
_____, East, 304 & fn, 325 fn, 418 fn,
526, 533
_____, West, 382 fn, 526, 533
- Ghana, 252
- Ghashkail, 141
- Ghose, S.N., 117 fn

- Ghosh, Ajoy Kumar, 339 & fn, 341, 344, 548 & fn, 549-550
- _____, Amalananda, 103 & fn, 106, 108-109
- _____, Atulya, (VOL. 19, P. 418), 168 & fn
- _____, Aurobindo, (*Vol. 1, p. 56*), 372 fn
- _____, J.C., (VOL. 3, P. 418), 66 & fn, 118 & fn-119 & fn, 120 fn
- Giridih, 139
- Girnar, 314 fn
- Goa, 27, 34, 112, 177, 315-316 & fn, 329 fn, 333-334 fn, 348, 351, 358-359, 364-365, 386, 401, 403, 415 & fn-416, 419, 422, 424 & fn-425 & fn, 426 & fn-427, 428 & fn-429, 430, 432-433, 531, 533, 538, 551
- Goa Liberation Aid Committee, 316 fn
- Goalpara, 168 fn
- Goel, Sitaram, 200 fn
- Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, (*Vol. 1, p. 38*), 225
- Gold Coast *see* Ghana
- Gopalan, A.K., (VOL. 15 Pt.II, P. 156), 320 fn
- Greece, 382 fn, 527 & fn; Government of, 527 fn
- Gromyko, A.A., (VOL. 14 Pt. II, P.345), 347, 379
- Growing up on The Times* (Louis Heren), 330 fn
- Growing up Poor in London* (Louis Heren), 329 fn
- Gujarat, 153 fn-154, 201-202, 204 fn, 206, 209 fn, 214
- Gulab Bhavan (Srinagar), 311 fn
- Gulbarga, 5 fn
- Gupta, Bhupesh, (VOL. 18, P. 335), 54 fn, 320 fn
- Gurmani, Mushtaq Ahmed, (VOL. 9, P. 302), 375 & fn
- Guru Govind Singh, 285 fn-286
- Guru Nanak, 285 fn
- Gwalior, 271
- Haider, Nayeema Khatoon, 223 & fn
- Haile Selassie (VOL. 6, P. 257), 165 & fn
- Hamarskjold, Dag, (VOL. 23, P. 511), 433
- Hansen, H.C., 350 & fn
- Harwan, 322
- Hashem, Ibrahim, 418 fn, 533 fn
- Hatta, Mohammad, (*Vol. 3, p. 129*), 416 & fn
- Hekmat, Ali Asgar, 389 & fn-390
- Heren, Louis, 329 & fn-330 fn, 415 & fn
- Himachal Pradesh, 44, 153 fn-154 fn
- Himalayas, the, 5, 10-12, 15, 27, 299, 476
- Hindu, The*, 497 & fn
- Hindu Succession Bill (November 1955), 28 fn
- Hindustan Motors Limited (Kolkata), 273 fn
- Hindustan Shipyard (Vishakhapatnam), 44 fn
- Hindustan Times, The*, 329 & fn
- Hindusthan Standard, The*, 321 fn
- Hirakud Project, 93
- Hiroshima, 486
- Hissar district, 154 fn, 203 fn
- Hitler, Adolf, (*Vol. 5, p. 477*), 323, 481-482, 494
- Hospet, 159 fn, 208 fn
- House of Commons (UK), 352 fn
- Houssay, B.A., 126 fn
- Hungary, 134 fn, 363 fn, 377 fn, 431, 553
- Huq, A.K. Fazlul, (*Vol. 8, p. 93*), 374 & fn
- Husain, Zakir, (*Vol. 3, p. 67*), 143 fn
- Huxley, Julian, (VOL. 3, P. 499), 80
- Hyderabad city, 3 fn, 5, 143-144, 146-147, 149
- Hyderabad, 5 & fn, 11 fn-12, 103, 106 & fn, 169 & fn, 179, 204 fn, 339 & fn, 360; Government of, 3 fn
- Ibn Abdul Aziz, Malik Faisal, (VOL. 28, P. 143), 400 & fn
- Ibn Saud, Abdul Aziz Bin (King of Saudi Arabia), (VOL. 18, P. 207), 39 & fn, 234, 240, 246-247 & fn, 269, 307 & fn, 399 fn-400, 415 & fn, 521 & fn, 532 & fn, 545
- Iceland, 382 fn

- Ikshvaku Kings, 9 & fn
 Ilyushin-14 (aircraft), 346 fn
 Imperial Bank of India, 501 fn
 Imperial Library *see* National Library
India Before the Storm (Tibor Mende), 437 fn
 India-China Agreement on Tibet (April, 1954), 300 fn
 India, Government of, 4, 14 fn, 16 fn, 29, 32, 39 fn-40, 43, 46 fn, 49, 51, 57, 66-67, 70 fn, 74, 80 fn-81, 83-84, 89 & fn, 91 fn, 96, 100 & fn, 117, 120, 122 fn, 126, 134 fn, 144, 148, 155 & fn, 161, 163, 165, 170, 179-180, 181 fn, 184, 188, 195, 198, 204 & fn, 208-209 fn, 212-214 & fn, 219, 246-247 fn, 248, 253-254, 258, 271 & fn, 275-277 & fn, 279 fn, 282 & fn-283 & fn, 292 fn, 295 fn, 301, 305, 311, 332, 336, 339, 341, 345, 354-355, 361-362, 369 fn, 371, 375 fn-376 fn, 377 fn, 381 fn, 386, 393 fn, 402, 415 fn, 422-423, 426 fn, 432 & fn-433, 456, 466, 480-481, 496, 510, 523, 534, 539, 548 fn
 Indian Administrative Service, 245
 Indian Citizenship Bill (December 1955), 389 fn
 Indian Civil Service, 245 & fn, 274, 415 & fn
 Indian Converts (Regulation and Registration) Bill (December 1955), 136 & fn, 138 & fn
 Indian History Congress (Kolkata, 30 December 1955-1 January 1956), 97 & fn
 Indian Industries Fair (New Delhi, October 1955), 117 & fn
 Indian Institute of Technology (Kharagpur), 263 & fn
 Indian Military Academy (Dehra Dun), 240 & fn
 Indian Science Congress (Agra, January 1956), 126 & fn-127, 203 & fn, 268 & fn, 537
 Indian Statistical Institute (Kolkata), 83-84
Indian Year Book of International Affairs (Ed. C.H. Alexandrowicz), 370 fn
 Indo-China, 35, 46, 311, 394 fn, 397 fn, 407, 469, 487, 533, 538 fn
 Indo-Soviet Friendship Society, 319 fn
 Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement (January 1954), 369 fn-370, 371
 Indo-Tibetan Border Areas, 280 & fn
 Indonesia, 12, 360, 407, 416-417, 469, 471; Government of, 417 fn
 Industrial Disputes Act (1947), 68 fn
 Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Act (August 1955), 67 & fn
 Industrial Policy Resolution (1948), 70 fn, 75 & fn, 79, 87
 Industrial Resolution, 36-37, 130
 Institute of Nuclear Physics (Kolkata), 125, 134 fn
 Integral Coach Factory (Perambur), 257
 International Atomic Energy Agency, 305 fn
 International Commission for Supervision and Control in Indo-China, 35 fn, 394 & fn, 419; fourth interim report of, 394
 International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy (Geneva, August 1955), 45 & fn, 125 & fn
 International Court of Justice, 427 & fn-428 fn, 433 & fn
 International Training Centre for Water Resources Development (Roorkee University), 92
 Iran, 148, 248 fn, 306 & fn, 350, 380 & fn, 387, 389, 444, 513, 524, 528; Government of, 389
 Iraq, 248 fn, 306 fn, 329 fn, 333, 380 & fn, 387-388 fn, 524
 Ireland, 247 fn, 377 fn, 443
 Irish Revolution, 444
Iron Ores of India (M.S. Krishnan), 268 fn
 Ismir, 527 fn
 Israel, 305-306, 310, 414 & fn-415 & fn, 419 fn; Government of, 417 fn
 Istanbul, 527 fn
 Italy, 363 fn, 377 fn, 382 fn, 528; Government of, 528

- Jadunang, 139 fn
 Jain, Ajit Prasad, (VOL. 10, P. 200), 346 & fn
 Jaipur, 309, 323
 Jallianwala Bagh (Amritsar), 265 & fn
 Jammu & Kashmir, 10, 153 fn, 291 fn-292, 293 & fn-294, 295 & fn, 307 fn, 373 fn, 429; Constituent Assembly of, 292 fn; Constitution of, 292 fn; Government of, 292-295
 Jana Sangh, 285 fn
 Janaki Amma, V.K., 552 fn
 Japan, 9, 12-13, 104, 261, 319 fn, 348 fn, 360, 364 fn, 377 & fn, 379 fn, 405-406, 506, 511, 531
 Java, 469
 Jha, C.S., (VOL. 28, P. 129), 381 & fn
 Jinnah, M.A., (*Vol. 1, p. 168*), 375 fn-376 & fn, 449, 509
 Jordan, 363 fn-365 & fn, 377 fn, 382 fn, 418 fn, 533; Government of, 418 fn, 533 fn
 Joseph, C.M., 25 & fn
 Josh Malihabadi, 266 & *fn*
 Joshi, Jethalal Harikrishna, 136 & fn
 —, P.C., (*Vol. 3, p. 321*), 547 & fn, 550
 Jung, Ali Nawaz, 13 & fn
 —, Ali Yavar, (VOL. 1, P. 588), 416 & fn
 Kabir, Humayun, (VOL. 18, P. 143), 108 fn-109 fn, 110 fn, 271 & fn-272 & fn
 Kabul, 312, 327-328, 332
 Kairon, Partap Singh, (*Vol. 14, p. 75*), 156 & fn, 280-281 fn
 Kalamandalam (Kerala), 110 fn, 116
 Kamath, H.V., (*Vol. 9, p. 397*), 183, 249-250, 252-253
 Kampuchea, 363 fn
 Kanchipuram, 9 fn
 Kanniyakumari, 5, 12, 15
 Kanungo, Nityanand, (VOL. 28, P. 427), 311 fn, 327, 553 fn
 Karachi, 373 & fn, 380 fn, 387 fn
 Karimnagar, 5 fn
 Karnataka, 153 fn, 159 fn
 Karve, D.G., 57 & *fn*
 Karve Committee (Village and Small-Scale Industries Committee, June 1955), 57 & fn-58, 59; report of (November 1955), 57 & fn-58, 60
 Kashmir, 177, 291 & fn-292 & fn, 293-294, 307 & fn, 317, 321, 330, 332, 348-349, 358-359 & fn, 364, 370, 373 fn, 390-391, 403 & fn, 425, 429, 456, 531-533 & fn
 Kashmir Emporium, 308
Kashmir Princess (Indian airliner), 538 & fn
 Kathiawar, 314 fn
 Katju, K.N., (*Vol. 1, p. 154*), 240 & fn, 291 fn
 Kemal Pasha Atatürk, (*Vol. 1, p. 179*), 496
 Kenya, 352 & fn, 431
 Kerala, 14 fn, 24-25 fn, 110 fn, 153 fn
 Kerensky Revolution, 444
 Keskar, B.V., (*Vol. 11, p. 15*), 326
 Keynes, John, 442
 Khajuraho, 506
 Khammam, 5 fn
 Khan, Mohammad Hamidullah, (VOL. 1, P. 585), 279 & fn
 —, Muhammad Zafrullah, (*Vol. 9, p. 394*), 387 fn
 —, Shabbir Hasan *see* Josh Malihabadi
 Kharagpur, 263
 Kher, B.G., (*Vol. 8, p. 279*), 150 fn
 Khosla, A.N., (VOL. 1, P. 262), 91 & fn, 94, 97
 Khrushchev, Nikita Sergeyeovich (VOL. 29, P. 220), 16 fn, 164 fn, 246-247 fn, 291 & fn, 294, 299 & fn, 301, 303-304 & fn, 305-307 & fn, 308-310 & fn, 311, 315-316 fn, 317-318 & fn, 319 & fn-320, 321 & fn-322, 323-324 & fn, 325, 328-329 & fn, 330-332, 334-336 & fn, 337-349 & fn, 350-351 & fn, 352-355, 358-360 & fn, 361-363, 379, 389 fn-390, 403, 413, 419-420, 424 fn-425 & fn, 426 fn, 431, 521, 524, 526 & fn-527, 529-531, 533 & fn, 545
 Kikuyu (Kenya), 352 fn

- Kolkata, 5, 147-148, 165, 168 fn, 177, 200
fn, 218, 235, 312-313, 318, 320, 325,
331-332 & fn, 390, 408-409, 505
- Korea, 35, 46, 306, 377 fn, 538 fn
_____, North, 422
- Korean Agreement (1953), 35 fn
- Kotah, 205 fn
- Kotelawala, John, (*Vol. 10, p. 4*), 369 &
fn, 371 & fn, 416 & fn-417 fn
- Kottukapally, George Thomas, 138 & fn
- Kozhikode, 33, 36, 552 & fn
- Krishna river, 3 fn, 9, 11 & fn-12, 103-
104
- Krishnamachari, T.T., (VOL. 7, P. 447),
57 & fn
_____, V.T., (*Vol. 10, p. 412*), 64 & fn,
77-78, 91, 106 & fn, 279 & fn
- Krishnan, M.S., 126 & fn, 268 & fn
- Kunzru, H.N., (*Vol. 1, p. 270*), 4 fn
- Kuomintang, 509
- Kurnool, 3, 5, 255, 265
- Kurnool Municipal Council, 3 & fn, 6
- Kutch, 153 fn, 204 fn, 206
- Labour Appellate Tribunal Award (1954),
676 & fn
- Lahore, 390
- Lal, Harbans, 287 fn
- Lalbahai, Kasturbhai, (VOL. 19, P. 480),
91 fn
- Lalit Kala Akademi, 48 & fn
- Lane, Allen, 100 fn
- Laos, 363 fn, 377 fn, 419
- Latvia, 431
- Le Corbusier M., (VOL. 18, P. 115), 273
fn-274, 275 & fn, 282 & fn-283
- Lebanon, 382 fn
- Lenin, V.I., (*Vol. 2, p. 210*), 340 fn, 344,
444
- Library Association of Bombay, 99
- Libya, 363 fn, 377 fn
- Life*, 393 & fn, 538 fn
- Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions)
Ordinance (January 1956), 89 fn
- Lignite Project (Neyveli, South Arcot), 44
fn
- Lithuania, 431
- Liu Chung-lo, 126 fn
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, (VOL. 21, P. 564),
377 fn
- Loharu, 154 fn, 203 fn
- Lok Sabha, 19 fn, 135-136 fn, 137-138
fn, 170-171, 175, 177, 179-180, 183,
192-193, 235 & fn-236 fn, 247 fn-248,
249-253, 316 fn, 389 fn; Business
Advisory Committee of, 236 fn; Joint
Select Committee and its report
(November 1955) of, 248 fn; Rules
Committee of, 236 fn; Secretariat of,
265
- London, 140, 330 fn, 415, 472, 544
- Lucknow, 48, 146, 149
- Luxembourg, 382 fn
- Macdonald, Malcolm, (VOL. 28, P. 334),
239 & fn, 241, 324 & fn, 378 & fn,
381 & fn, 383-384, 391, 419 fn
- Macmillan, Harold, (VOL. 29, P. 229),
325 fn, 394 & fn
- Madhya Bharat, 153 fn, 203 fn, 205 fn;
Government of, 543 fn
- Madhya Pradesh, 44 fn, 153 fn, 157 fn,
179-180, 181 fn, 205 & fn, 549 fn
- Madras, 153 fn, 208 fn, 275-277 & fn,
336 & fn, 339 fn; Government of,
275-276, 278; High Court of, 276 &
fn-277 fn
- Madras city *see* Chennai
- Madras Record Office, 106 & fn
- Madras University, 370
- Maha Punjab, 156 fn
- Mahananda river, 180 fn
- Mahanty, S., 123 fn
- Maharashtra, 7 fn, 153 fn-154, 169, 190,
197, 201-202, 204 fn, 206 & fn, 209
fn, 214-215, 339 fn
- Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee,
153 fn, 209 & fn
- Mahbubnagar, 5 fn
- Mahe, 430
- Mahmud, Syed, (VOL. 22, P. 419), 117
fn
- Malabar, 14, 19, 22 & fn, 24, 33, 40, 339
fn

- Malabar Hills (Mumbai), 375 fn
 Malaya, 252
 Mallapuram, 159 fn, 208 fn
 Manbhum, 180 & fn
Manchester Guardian, 414 fn
 Manchuria, 538 fn
 Mandsaur, 203 fn, 205 fn
 Manipur, 140 fn, 153 fn, 339 fn
 Mao Tse-tung, (*Vol. 10, p. 75*), 71, 503, 547 fn
 Marathawada, 5 fn
 Martino, Gaetano, 77 & fn, 165 & fn, 539 & fn
 Mathew, P.C., (*VOL. 27, P. 468*), 139 & fn-140 & fn
 Mathur, H.C., 232 fn
 Mau Mau (Kenya), 352 fn
 Mavalankar, G.V., (*VOL. 2, P. 614*), 233 & fn, 236 & fn
 Mazdoor Sabha, 160
 Mazumdar, Dines Chandra, 141 & fn
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, (*Vol. 3, p. 394*), 443
 Medak, 5 fn
 Medhi, Bisnuram, (*Vol. 8, p. 483*), 198 & fn, 272 & fn
 Meghadoot (aircraft), 346 fn
 Mende, Tibor, 437 & fn-438, 439-488, 492-496, 498-506, 508-514, 517-518
 Menon, K.P.S., (*Vol. 15, p. 326*), 326, 330
 —, Lakshmi N., (*VOL. 8, P. 299*), 124 fn
 —, Vallathol Narayana, 110 & fn
 —, V.K. Krishna, (*Vol. 7, p. 15*), 28, 36, 321 fn, 346-347 & fn, 358 & fn, 377 fn-378 fn, 379 fn, 383, 387 fn-388 fn, 413 fn-414 fn, 415, 425 fn, 427-428 fn, 431, 530 & fn, 544 fn, 552 & fn
 Menshikov, Mikhail, (*VOL. 29, P. 201*), 326 & fn, 343, 346 fn, 363, 420 & fn
 Menuhin, Diana Gould, 544 & fn-545
 —, Yehudi, (*VOL. 18, P. 141*), 522-523 & fn, 544 & fn
 Middle East, 306, 328, 333, 357, 360, 381-382, 384-385, 387, 391 & fn-392 & fn, 415 & fn, 418 fn-419 & fn, 444, 513, 522, 531
 Middle East Defence Organization, 382 & fn, 389 & fn, 524-525
 Mikhailov, N.A., 326 & fn-327, 328
 Ministry of, Commerce and Industry, 59-60, 65 fn, 79, 257
 —, Communications, 257, 312, 327-328
 —, Defence, 257, 284
 —, Education and Scientific Research, 69, 105-106 & fn, 108, 117, 155 & fn, 257, 271 fn, 328, 391; Assessment Committee of (1955), 155 fn
 —, External Affairs, 233-234 fn, 257, 265, 279-280 fn, 311 fn, 326, 328, 372, 426 fn, 434; Protocol Department of, 234 & fn
 —, Finance, 65 fn, 68 fn, 188
 —, Health, 69, 118, 257, 328
 —, Home Affairs, 141, 204 fn, 268-269, 280 fn, 543 fn
 —, Information and Broadcasting, 275-276, 328
 —, Iron and Steel, 65 fn
 —, Irrigation and Power, 109 fn
 —, Law, 150, 271 fn-272 & fn
 —, Natural Resources and Scientific Research, 65 fn, 109 fn, 118
 —, Planning, 257
 —, Production, 65 fn-66, 257
 —, Railways and Transport, 257
 —, Rehabilitation, 257
 Mitra, P.C., 189
Modern Review, 458 fn
 Mohammad, Bakhshi Ghulam, (*Vol. 9, p. 440*), 291 & fn-292 & fn, 294, 307 & fn-308, 309-311, 322, 330, 332
 Mokokchung (Nagaland), 139 fn
 Molotov, V.M., (*VOL. 1, P. 134*), 325 fn, 357 fn, 377 fn, 394 & fn, 419
 Mongolia, 347 & fn-348 fn, 377 & fn-378, 379 fn, 405-406, 414
 Mookerjee, H.C., (*Vol. 10, p. 383*), 136 fn
 Mookerji, Radha Kumud, (*VOL. 18, P. 659*), 121
 Morocco, 306, 352 fn
 Moscow, 164, 200 fn, 311, 318, 330, 332, 335, 339-341, 344-345 fn, 360-361, 409, 421-422, 537 fn, 549-550

- Moulik, Moni, 330 & fn
 Mountbatten, Edwina, (VOL. 3, P. 43), 331
 Mukerjee, H.N., (VOL. 18, P. 335), 248 fn-249, 320 fn
 Mullick, B.N., (VOL. 26, P. 480), 267 fn
 Mumbai, 7 & fn, 45, 49, 51, 53, 134 fn-135, 147-148, 154, 162, 165, 169, 176, 180-181, 196-197, 201, 206 & fn, 209 fn-210, 214 & fn-215, 216, 313, 319 fn, 321 fn, 359 fn, 375 fn-376 & fn, 505, 521 & fn-522, 523, 526 fn, 534
 Munagala enclave, 5 fn
 Municipal Corporation (Delhi), 399 fn, 409
 Municipal Corporation (Kolkata), 312
 Municipal Corporation (Mumbai), 162, 176
 Munshi, K.M., (Vol. 5, p. 292), 91 & fn, 126 & fn, 129, 136 & fn, 149 & fn
 Murli Hills, 223 & fn
 Muslim League, All India, 21-22 & fn, 39-40 & fn
 Muslim League (Kerala), 22 fn
 Myanmar, 9, 12, 104, 164 fn, 248-249, 252, 307, 311, 317-321 & fn, 332, 338, 340 & fn-341, 342, 349 fn, 354-355, 360, 363, 407, 469, 471, 483, 551; Government of, 249, 320 fn, 340 fn-341
 Mysore, 153 fn, 159 & fn, 205, 208 fn; Government of, 208
 Nadar, K. Kamaraj, (VOL. 17, P. 327), 275 & fn
 Naga Hills District, 142 fn
 Naga National Council, 142 fn
 Nagaland, 139 fn
 Nagar Haveli, 433
 Nagarjuna, 9 & fn, 13, 104
 Nagarjuna Island Museum, 14 fn
 Nagarjunasagar Dam, 3 fn, 9-10, 11-13, 14 fn, 103-105
 Nagarjunakonda, 108 fn
 Nagarjunakondasagar Project, 3, 106, 108
 Naidu, Padmaja, (Vol. 2, p.226), 458 fn
 Nagonda, 5 fn
 Namboodiripad, E.M.S., (Vol. 8, p. 529), 548 fn
 Nanadas, M., 248 fn
 Nanda, Gulzarilal, (Vol. 9, p. 309), 123 fn
 Naravane, 206 fn
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel, (VOL. 23, P. 50), 305 & fn, 382 fn, 415-416 & fn, 525 & fn
 National Book Trust, 100 fn
 National Development Council, 78, 83-84, 281, 534, 536; Standing Committee of, 83-84, 86-87, 89, 536
 National Extension Service, 44, 259, 499
 National Library (Kolkata), 109, 390
 National People's Congress (China), 164 fn
 National Planning Committee, 13 fn; River Training and Irrigation Sub-Committee of, 13 fn
 National Press Club (New York), 425 fn
 Nedou's Hotel (Srinagar), 322
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 3 fn, 8 fn, 13 fn-14 fn, 19 fn, 25 fn, 40 fn, 45 fn, 48 fn, 65-66, 68-70, 78 fn, 91 fn-92 fn, 103 fn, 106 fn, 108 fn-109 fn, 110 fn, 122 & fn, 134 fn-135, 136 fn-137 fn, 138, 140 fn-141 fn, 156 fn, 158 fn, 164 fn, 170, 175, 177 fn, 180, 183-184, 189-200 fn, 203 fn, 210 fn, 214 fn, 226 fn, 231 & fn, 233 fn-234 fn, 247 & fn, 249, 252-253, 266-267 & fn, 268 fn-269 fn, 273 fn, 275 fn, 279 fn-280 fn, 285 fn-286 fn, 291 fn, 294 fn, 303-304 & fn, 305-306, 307 fn, 310 fn, 316 fn, 318 fn-319 fn, 320 fn-321 fn, 324 fn, 333 fn-334 & fn, 335-339, 341-346 & fn, 347 & fn-348, 349-351 & fn, 352-355, 357 fn, 363, 369 fn, 371 fn, 373-374 fn, 375 fn-376 fn, 377 fn, 379 fn, 381 fn, 383 fn, 389 fn, 393 fn, 404 fn, 415 fn-416 fn, 417 fn, 419 fn, 421-424 & fn, 425 fn, 428 fn, 433, 437 fn-438, 439, 455, 456 & fn-457, 458 & fn-459, 460-471, 473-479, 481-489, 492-514, 517, 532 fn, 537 fn-538 fn, 543 fn, 547-548 & fn, 549 fn, 552 fn-553 fn

_____, addresses the nation, from AIR, New Delhi (16 January 1956) 204-207; drafts, resolution for Congress Working Committee (23 January 1956) 210-212, joint statement of B.C. Roy and S.K. Sinha (23 January 1956), 212-214; gives interview to, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (New Delhi) 421-423, Tibor Mende (New Delhi, 31 December 1955), 438-459, (1 January 1956) 460-478, (8 January) 478-495 and (9 January) 495-518; issues a statement on bank employees' strike (31 December 1955) 67-68; makes a statement in Rajya Sabha (22 November 1955) 122-123; participates in discussions in Lok Sabha (2 December 1955) 135-138, (21 December 1955) 170-183, (5 December 1955) 247-254, Rajya Sabha (24 December 1955) 184-198, (21 November 1955) 231-233; sends message to: Anthony Eden (2 December 1955) 384-387, (25 January) 391-393, Reception Committee, Amritsar Congress Session, (31 December 1955) 224-226, sixth all India Police Sports meet (10 January 1956) 270-271, and Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati (20 December 1955) 107-108; speaks at, civic reception in honour of: Bulganin and Khrushchev, New Delhi, (19 November 1955) 299-301, Kolkata (30 November) 312-317, King of Saudi Arabia, New Delhi, (28 November) 398-400, and Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat Sen) (New Delhi, 18 December) 404-409, a meeting of: civil servants of Andhra State, Kurnool (9 December 1955) 255-265, Congress Parliamentary Party (5 December 1955) 60-64, (22 November) 153-156, and (11 December) 161-167, and Congress workers, Agra (3 January 1956) 226-227, Standing Committee of National Development Council (7 January 1956) 71-78, and National Development Council (20 January

1956) 83-90, State Banquets in honour of Bulganin and Khrushchev (New Delhi, 20 November 1955) 301-303, and in honour of Franz Bluecher (New Delhi, 11 January 1956) 411-412, public meeting in: Coimbatore (25 December) 14-18, Delhi (30 January 1956) 43-54, Kozhikode (27 December) 33-43, Kurnool (9 December 1955) 3-8, Palghat (25 December) 19-24, Trichur (26 December) 25-33; speaks while: inaugurating, a new building of Delhi School of Economics (18 January 1956) 81-83, Water Resources Development Training Centre (Roorkee, 25 November 1955) 91-97, annual meeting of Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations in India (New Delhi, 7 December 1955) 98-102, silver jubilee celebrations of Kerala Kalamandalam (Cheruthuruthy, 26 December 1955) 110-116, forty-third session of Indian Science Congress (Agra, 2 January 1956) 126-133, laying the foundation stone of Nagarjunasagar dam (10 December 1955) 9-14, Urdu hall, (Hyderabad, 8 December 1955) 143-149; writes foreward to, *Ancient India* (9 January 1956) 120-121, *Indian Temple Sculpture* (12 January 1956) 121-122, and *The Discovery of India* (Hungarian edition) 20 January 1956, 553;

_____, on Africa, racialism in, 512; Ambar Charkha, advantages and disadvantages of, 57-64; Arab-Israel conflict, 305, 414; army cadets, 240; Asia, emergence of, 36-37, 407, cooperation and solidarity between Africa and, 92, 471; Asian-African Conference, proposed next session of, 416-417; Asoka, message of peace and tolerance of, 37-38, 207, 314, 408; Assam, Czech offer to build ropeway in, 272; atomic energy, potentialities of, 37, 131, 475; atomic reactors, supply by Canada of,

122-124; authors and publishers, relations between, 98, 100; automobile industry, 273, 501; bank employees, strike by, 67-68, 539; Bihar, attacks on Christians in, 137, 139, allegations against politicians of, 223, proposed merger of West Bengal with, 54, 212-213, 216-218, 536; Bombay city, proposed Central administration of, 200-201, 206, 215; books, pricing of, 98-99, 101, publication by Government of, 100, 101; bureaucracy, links with the masses of, 96, 259; casteism, 22, 26, 40, 47; cause and effect, 133; Chandigarh Project, P.L. Varma's indispensability for, 274-275, 285; Christian missionary schools, government support to, 279; civil services, privileges for members of, 245, 254-265; cloth, modern techniques in production of, 58-59, 63; coal industry, nationalization of, 65-66, 75; cold war, 72, 112, 302; colonialism, 28, 34, neocolonialism, 490; Commonwealth citizenship, 247-248, exclusion of South Africa from, 251-253; communalism, 21-22, 26, 29, 39-41, 47; communal riots after partition, 44, 46; communists (Indian), 'inverted mirror' view of, 30, policies of, 31, 338-339, 341, 343, 360-362, 420, 546-551; community development, 24, 41, 44, 92, 259, 499; Congress Party, influence of Mahatma Gandhi on, 455, 517, non-attendance of Parliament by members of, 235, relationship of socialists and communists with, 228, role and character of, 53, 224-225, 509, selection of election candidates by, 227 and of SC candidates by, 224; continuity and change, 264; corruption, 81; culture, 175; Delhi State, relationship between Chief Commissioner and ministers in, 278; democracy, meaning and functioning of, 194, 270, 464-468, 481, 496, 498, 522; disarmament, 484; East Punjab,

factionalism in, 280-281, Akali politics in, 285-286; education, 80, 94-96, 118-119, 501; England, social misery caused by industrialization in, 61, capitalism in, 73; family planning, 505; Five Year Plan (First), achievements of, 42; Five Year Plan (Second), allocation of resources in, 69, challenges of, 17-18, 187, 195, 413, plan-frame, 68-69, 83-84, 88; foreign aid, 401, 473, 491, 532; foreign dignitaries, 45, gifts from, 246-247, 269; Ganga, the, symbolism of, 441; German unification, issue of, 418, 422, 431, 526, 533; Goa, inaccurate reporting about, 415, India's reactions to US-Portugal statement (2 December 1955) on, 329, 333, 351, 422, 424-425, 429, 432, policy of restraint on, 27, 112, 316, 359, 386, publicity on, 426-427, Portugal's complaint to ICJ regarding, 427, 433-34; G. Tucci, alleged links with US intelligence of, 410; happiness, 126; Hindi, simplification of, 101; Hindu society, reforms in, 28, 41, 497; himself, and prison life, 446, influence of Annie Besant on, 442, influence of father on, 440, differences with Bhimsen Sachar of, 282-284, early life, 438-439, functioning as a democratic leader, 282, popularity, 332, his tours, security and food arrangements during tours, 266-268, 551-552; historians, role of, 97; Hyderabad State, division of, 5, 169, 179; India, and Commonwealth, 248, 250, comparison of China with, 404-405, 503, 532, composite culture of, 40, consumer goods production in, 87, cooperatives in, 17-18, 24, 30, 77, emotional integration of, 185-186, 190, equality of opportunity in, 23, fissiparous tendencies in, 7, 38, foreign investment in, 77, foreign policy of, 16-17, 45, 177, 355, 365, 406, 408, 479, 482, 531, 533, freedom and development of, 8, 32-34, 43, 92, 97,

302, 352, industrial development of, 61, 65, 74-75, 77, 79, 81, 87, 336-337, 362, 490, 499, 502, 511, 531, national anthem of, 543, relations with, Arab countries, 399-400, 513, China, 409, USSR, 30, 301, and West Germany, 411-412, role of peacekeeping in Korea and Indo-China, 46, 394, 397, 419, role of private sector, 70, 74, 423, and public sector in, 70, 74, 423, unity and diversity of, 10-13, 15, 20, 25, 38, 114, zonal councils in, 19, 183, 192, 193, 199, 535; Indian sculpture, knowledge among the younger generation of, 120, 121; Indira Gandhi, early education of, 175; International Court of Justice, Portugal's complaint to, 427, 433, 434; Jinnah, memorial for, 376; Kashmir, political prisoners in, 292, release of Shaikh Abdullah in, 292-294, Saudi King's visit to, 307, Security Council resolutions on, 349, Soviet leaders' visit to, 291, 307-309, 311, 322, 330, 332; language issue, 23, 47-49, 102, 115-116, 143, 145-146, 148-149, 162, 172-174, 176, 190-192; language, simplicity of, 101-102, 144, learning of foreign, 147; life insurance, nationalization of, 89; literature and the fine arts, 111, 113-115, 121-122; Madras state, exhibition of Films Division documentaries in, 275-278; Mahatma Gandhi, and Ram Rajya, 452, burning effigy and picture of, 51, influence on Congress Party of, 225, influence on Motilal Nehru of, 448-449, non-violent approach of, 447, 451, teachings of, 299, 451, 515-516; Malabar, women of, 33; means and ends, 7-8, 128-129, 302, 452-453, 457, 508; Members of Parliament, invitation for official functions to, 231-234; military alliances, 248, 306, 317, 329, 333, 358, 364, 380-392, 413, 418, 524-525, association of Commonwealth countries with, 390; minerals, state control over, 88 and export of strategic

minerals, 402; museums, learning from, 95; Muslim League, ideology of, 40; Nagarjunasagar Project, inauguration of the works of, 3, 9-10, excavation and preservation of ancient Buddhist monuments at the site of, 9, 11, 13, 103-106, 108-109; nationalism and religion, 20, 22, 41; natural resources, harnessing of, 476; newspapers, misreporting by, 90; nuclear weapons, dangers of, 129, 178, 204, 485, 537, and division of the world into actors and spectators, 82, non-violent approach to deal with, 5, 129; opposition parties, lack of popular support of, 29; pacifism, policy of, 482; Pakistan, aid to organizations in, 372, anti-India campaign in, 373, publicity of India's progress in, 375, question of joint and separate electorates in, 374, US military assistance to, 384, 386, 526; *Panch Shila*, 37, 177, 193, 204, 300, 313-315, 332, 390, 400, 407, 408, 421, 483, 494; planning, 8, 42, 44, 72, 88, 93, 130, 183, 187, 213, 218, 260, 270, 336, 498, 529, allocations to states in, 188, aspects of, 42, 72, 84-90, involvement of scientists with, 124; police and the people, 258, 270; politicians, 131; power and domination, 460-462, 479, 487; Prime Ministership, desire to give up, 52-53; princely states, integration of, 28, 74, 114, 480; Rani Gaidinliu, pension and house for, 139-140; Rathindranath Tagore, house and paintings of, 109-110; reading habits, 99; religious conversions, proposed legislation on, 135-138; rich and poor, hiatus between, 188; river valley projects, 93, 208; scientists, 126-133; slogans, shouting of, 31, 43, 286; socialist pattern of society, 27-28, 42, 71, 86, 89, 259, 422, 536; Sri Lanka, people of Indian descent in, 369-371; States Reorganization Commission, report of, 4-6, 19, 38, 144, 159, 163, 170, 172-174, 176, 179, 184, 189, 205,

- 535, agitations against, 15, 46, 47, 210, 522, Congress Party's views on, 154, 160-161, 163, 166-167, 181, 210, consensus on, 196, 198, 523, criticism of, 168, 170, discussion in Parliament of, 165, 236, recommendations regarding, Ajmer, 203, Bombay State, 49-50, 153-154, 169, 181, 196-197, 210, 214-215, Punjab, 154, 156-157, 181-182, 206, resignation in protest against, 211, 214, safeguards in, 155, 176, 190, 535, Shankarrao Deo's opposition to, 169, violence in Vindhya Pradesh assembly against, 158, 160, 521; teachers, salaries of, 120; technocrats, need for, 76, 245, 262; USSR, air services with, 312, 327, atomic explosions by, 204, atomic reactors from, 134, communism in, 71, discussions with leaders of, 310-311, 318, his visit to, 303, 331, 354, learning from revolution in, 259-260, 315, 444, propagandist speeches of leaders of, 319, 324, 328, 332, 358-359, 431, 527, purchase of fighter aircraft from, 239, 241, technical assistance from, 319, 346, visit of leaders of, 16, 313, 354, 364 and popular response to leaders of, 299, 311, 312, 318, 320, 325, 331, 354, 355; UK, association with Baghdad Pact of, 384, 403, 524, purchase of fighter aircraft from, 239, 241, relations with, 315, 359; U.N. Dhebar, contribution to Congress Party of, 53; UN, admission of China to, 405-406, admission of new members to, 347, 363, 377-379, and world peace, 486, Krishna Menon's role in, 28, 36, 529-530; unemployment, and war against poverty and, 42, problem of, 58, 61; USA, attitude of Indians towards, 489, overbearing attitude of, 356, policy of nuclear deterrence adopted during Korean war by, 393, 538, reciprocal release of internees by China and, 395-396, 398; wars, 112, 491, 495, and peace, 131; youth, responsibilities of, 96, 107; —, Kamala, (Vol. I, p. 163), 456 fn —, R.K., (Vol. I, p. 336), 393 fn-394 fn, 395 fn-396 fn, 397 fn-398 & fn Nepal, 280, 363 fn, 377 fn, 410, 531; Government of, 410 Netherlands, the, 382 fn Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (Korea), 35 fn *New American Commonwealth, The* (Louis Heren), 329 fn New Delhi, 16 fn, 78 fn, 140 fn, 156 fn, 161 fn, 165 fn, 188, 299 fn, 369 fn, 383 fn, 393 fn, 416 fn, 426 fn, 428 fn, 527 fn, 539 fn *see also* Delhi *New Leader, The*, 200 fn *New Times* (Moscow), 341, 361, 549 New York, 21, 346, 377 fn-378 fn, 401 fn, 415, 425 fn, 472 *New York Times, The*, 16 fn, 329 fn, 334 fn; New Delhi Bureau of, 16 fn New Zealand, 247 fn, 347 fn, 382 fn Nijalingappa, S., (VOL. 16 Pt. II, P. 202), 207 & fn Nikotis, Gajko, 418 & fn Nilambur, 552 & fn Nishat Bagh, 322 Nizamabad, 5 fn *No Hail, No Farewell* (Louis Heren), 329 fn Norgay, Tenzing, (VOL. 22, P. 578), 543 & fn North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 304 fn, 382 & fn, 524, 526-527 fn, 533 North East Frontier Agency, 142, 162, 173 Norway, 350, 382 fn Nuri el-Said, (VOL. 25, P. 500), 329 & fn, 333 & fn, 403, 419 Nu, U, (VOL. 4, P. 452), 318 & fn, 340, 363, 389 fn, 416 & fn, 420, 528, 551 Nyasaland, 247 fn Official Language Commission (June 1955), 150 & fn; report of (August 1956), 150 fn; Parliamentary Committee (February 1959) and its report (April 1959) on, 150 & fn

- Ollenhauer, E.P., 304
On the Edges of Times (Rathindra Nath Tagore), 109 fn
 Orissa, 44 fn, 47, 50, 153 fn, 172, 180 & fn-181 & fn, 213 fn, 217, 553 & fn-554
 Orissa Pradesh Congress Committee, 554
 Ottawa, 401
- Pacific Ocean, 488, 537 fn
 Pahalgam (Srinagar), 311
 Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza, (VOL. 21, P. 592), 165 & fn, 391, 528
 Pai, A.V., (*Vol. 10, p. 44*), 139 fn, 266 fn-267 fn
 Pakistan, 22, 44, 54, 198, 247 fn-248 fn, 252, 257, 291 & fn, 294, 306 & fn, 333, 349, 358, 364, 370, 372-373 & fn, 374 & fn-375 & fn, 379-380 & fn, 381 fn-382 & fn, 384-387 & fn, 388-389 fn, 390, 392 & fn, 403 & fn, 407, 455, 524, 526, 531-532, 533 fn; Foreign Office of, 291 fn; Government of, 266, 291 fn, 373, 376 & fn, 380 fn, 389 fn
 _____, East, 374
 Palace Hotel (Srinagar), 323
 Palam airport (Delhi), 231 & fn, 234, 299
 Palar, L.N., (VOL. 10, P. 382), 417 fn
 Palghat, 19, 24, 40 fn
 Pallavas, 9 fn
Panch Shila, 37, 177, 193, 204, 300 & fn, 313-315, 332, 343, 345, 362, 390, 400, 407-408, 421, 483, 494, 550
 Pandit, A.D., (VOL. 18, P. 8), 278 & fn
 _____, Vijayalakshmi, (*Vol. 1, p. 1*), 324 & fn, 328 fn-329 fn, 330 fn, 403 & fn, 426, 431
 Panikkar, K.M., (*Vol. 1, p. 384*), 4 fn, 110 & fn, 496 & fn
 Pant, G.B., (*Vol. 3, p. 106*), 156 & fn, 172, 199, 201-203, 210 fn, 214 fn, 224, 245, 254, 267 fn, 281-282, 286 fn, 295, 310 fn, 431, 553 & fn
 Paris, 472
 Parliament (India), 4, 19, 28, 40 fn, 67-68, 78 fn, 79, 84-86, 89 fn, 150 fn, 153, 155, 159, 163, 165-167, 171, 178-179, 183-186, 193-194, 196-199, 205, 231 & fn, 232-233, 234 fn, 236 fn, 253, 256, 265, 270, 276 fn, 319 fn-320, 321 fn, 325 fn, 329, 383, 425 & fn, 430, 468, 496, 498-499, 523, 530
 Parliament (UK), 344, 349
 Parmar, Nathabhai M., 224
 Patel, Vallabhbhai, 136 & fn
 Pathak, Gopal Swarup, 370 & fn
 Pathet Lao, 419
 Patil, S.K., (*Vol. 12, p. 503*), 153 fn, 206 fn
 Patna, 54 fn, 218-219, 390-391
 Pearson, Lester, (VOL. 10, P. 170), 401 & fn
 Peking *see* Beijing
 Penguin Books Limited, 100 fn
 People's Publishing House, 420
 Pepsu, 153 fn-154 fn, 287 & fn, 548; Public Works Department of, 287 fn
 Philippines, the, 382 fn
 Phizo, A.Z., (VOL. 15 Pt. II, P. 181), 142 & fn
 Pillai, N.R., (VOL. 1, P. 598), 239 & fn, 324, 326, 328, 381 & fn
 Pinay, Antoine M., 318 & fn-319 fn, 358
 Planning Commission, 57, 59-60, 65-66 & fn, 68 fn-69, 77-78, 80-81, 83-86, 88, 124, 135, 187, 195, 208, 218, 272, 280 & fn, 283, 337, 510, 532; Economic Committee of, 57
 Poland, 134 fn, 397 fn, 431
 Pollitt, Harry, (VOL. 8, P. 216), 548 & fn
 Poona *see* Pune
 Portugal, 316, 329 fn, 333, 359 fn, 363 fn, 377 fn, 382 fn, 424 & fn, 425 fn-426 fn, 427 & fn, 429-430, 433; Government of, 429, 432-433
 Prabartak Sangha, 372 & fn
 Praja Socialist Party, 30, 41, 158, 160, 521-522
Prantatwa (Rathindra Nath Tagore), 109 fn
 Prasad, Rajendra, (*Vol. 3, p. 4*), 106 & fn, 143 fn, 246-247 & fn, 278 fn
Pravda, 343 & fn, 549

- Premier Automobiles Limited (Mumbai), 273 fn
- Problems of India's Agrarian Sector* (C. Rajeshwar Rao), 547 fn
- Public Security Act, 293 fn
- Pune, 175, 313, 551
- Punjab, 10, 44, 48, 102, 136 fn, 143, 145-147, 149, 153 fn-154 & fn, 156, 174, 179-182, 191, 198, 202-203 fn, 204 fn-205, 206, 212, 215, 273 fn, 313, 448, 534, 545 fn, 548; Government of, 147-148, 156 fn, 273 fn, 282, 286
- Punjabi Suba, 156 fn, 286 fn
- Puri, 181 fn, 554
- Purnea, 138 fn, 180
- Purulia, 180 & fn
- Radhakrishnan, S., (*Vol. 4, p. 564*), 232 fn-233 & fn, 271 & fn
- Raichur, 5 fn
- Rajagopalachari, C., (*Vol. 1, p. 350*), 199, 322
- Rajasthan, 153 fn-154 fn, 203 & fn, 205 fn
- Rajbanshi Devi, 246 & fn
- Rajbhoj, P.N., (*Vol. 5, p. 289*), 224 fn
- Rajya Sabha, 28 fn, 54 fn, 124 fn, 184, 186-187, 189, 191-193, 195, 197, 232, 247 fn, 271 fn
- Ram, Jagjivan, (*Vol. 15, p. 208*), 224 & fn
- Ram Rajya Parishad, 160
- Ramlila Maidan (Delhi), 299
- Ranadive, B.T., (*VOL. 5, P. 350*), 547 & fn-548, 550
- Rani Gaidinliu, (*Vol. 8, p. 502*), 139 & fn-140 fn
- Rao, B. Ramakrishna, (*VOL. 26, P. 153*), 106 & fn
- _____, C. Rajeshwar, 547 & fn-548 & fn, 550
- _____, J.V.K., Vallabha, 248 fn
- Rarewala, Gyan Singh, (*VOL. 24, P. 299*), 156 fn
- Rashidov, S.R., 326 & fn-327
- Rashtrapati Bhavan, 231 fn-232 & fn, 233 fn-234 & fn, 269, 284, 320 fn
- Rasulov, Jabar, 345 & fn
- Rau, Dhanvanthi Rama, 135 fn
- Rayalaseema, 208
- Red Flag Communist Party (Trotskyites, Myanmar), 340 fn
- Reddi, B. Gopala, (*VOL. 8, P. 395*), 106 & fn, 255 & fn
- _____, Narasimha, 3 & fn
- Reddy, M. Govinda, 122 fn-123 fn
- Reid, Escott, 381 & fn, 401 & fn
- Representation of the People Act (1950), 272 fn
- Republic* (Plato), 101
- Revolt of Asia, The* (Tibor Mende), 437 fn
- Rewa, 157-158 fn, 160, 521 & fn
- Rhee, Syngman, (*VOL. 12, P. 391*), 306 & fn, 393, 422
- Rhodesia, 247 fn
- Romania, 363 fn, 377 fn
- Roorkee, 94
- Roorkee University, 92 fn-93, 97
- Rosenthal, A.M., 16 fn, 321 fn, 329fn
- Rourkela, 44 fn
- Roy, B.C., (*Vol. 4, p. 230*), 53 & fn-54, 70 & fn, 90-91fn, 209, 212, 216, 372, 544
- _____, Matilal, 372 fn
- Roychaudhury, N.K., 372 & fn
- Russell, Bertrand, (*Vol. 1, p. 141*), 442
- Russia *see* USSR
- Russian Revolution, 31, 315, 337, 360, 362, 439, 445, 465
- Sachar, Bhimsen, (*VOL. 2, P. 304*), 273 & fn, 280-281 & fn, 282 fn, 286 fn
- Sadar-i-Riyasat: An Autobiography* (Karan Singh), 294 fn, 309 fn
- Saha, M.N., (*Vol. 13, p. 320*), 134 & fn, 175
- Sahay, Bhagwan. (*VOL. 28, P. 264*), 410 & fn
- _____, Vishnu, (*VOL. 11, P. 142*), 391
- Sahitya Akademi, 48 & fn, 146, 173
- Sahityamanjari* (Vallathol Narayana Menon), 110 fn
- Said el-Mulki, 418 fn, 533 fn
- St. Laurent, Louis, (*VOL. 12, P. 414*), 122 fn

- Sakhrie, T., 142 & fn
Salihundam, A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh (R. Subrahmanyam), 103 fn
 Samarkand, 445
 Sampurnanand, (*Vol. 2, p. 143*), 280 & fn
 Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, 206 fn, 209 fn
 Sangeet Natak Akademi, 48 & fn
 Santhal Parganas, 138 & fn
 Santhanam, K., (*Vol. 1, p. 350*), 157-158 fn
 Santiniketan, 175, 496 fn
 Sarabhai, Mridula, (*Vol. 5, p. 316*), 292 & fn, 330
 Sarnath, 104
 Sarva Seva Sangh, 62 fn
 Sastroamidjojo, Ali, (VOL. 25, P. 431), 416, 417 & fn
 Sastry Tribunal (1952), 67 fn
 Satavahanas, 9 fn
 Saudi Arabia, 39 fn, 307 & fn, 382 fn, 387, 525
 Saurashtra, 136 fn, 153 fn, 201, 204 fn, 206, 214
 Scandinavia, 473
Secularism and the Constitution of India (P.B. Gajendragadkar), 67 fn
 Sen Tribunal (1950), 67 fn
 Seshadri, R.M., 277 fn
 Shah, Mahendra Bir Bikram, (VOL. 28, P. 268), 410 & fn
 Shalimar Gardens, 308-309, 322
 Sharma, Nand Lal, 138 & fn
Shariat, 40 & fn
 Shaw, George Bernard, (*Vol. 1, p. 35*), 442-443
 Shenoy, B.R., 69 fn
 Shimla, 246, 269
 Shivananjappa, K., 159 & fn
 Shrikant, L.M., (VOL. 16 Pt. II, P. 430), 141 & fn
 Shukla, Shambhunath, 158 fn
 Sidhanta, Nirmal Kumar, 125 & fn
 Sihanouk, Norodom, (VOL. 23, P. 563), 397 & fn
 Sikkim, 280
 Simla *see* Shimla
 Sinclair, Upton, 200 & fn
 Sindri, 307
 Singapore, 122-123 fn, 252, 514
 Singh, Atma, 287 & fn
 —, C.P.N., (VOL. 11, P. 279), 275 fn, 280
 —, Hukam, (VOL. 16 Pt. II, P. 531), 156 fn
 —, Jodh, 156 fn
 —, Karan, (VOL. 10, P. 237), 292 & fn-293 fn, 295 & fn, 307 & fn-308, 309, 311 & fn, 321-322, 330, 332
 —, Karnail, 335 & fn
 —, Kartar, (*Vol. 10, p. 391*), 156 fn
 —, Ram Subhag, (VOL. 29, P. 97), 233 fn, 236
 —, Swaran, (VOL. 4, P. 41), 117 & fn
 —, Tara, (*Vol. 4, p. 572*), 156 & fn-157, 285 & fn-286 fn
 —, Tarlok, (VOL. 1, P. 121), 64 & fn
 —, Yadavendra, (VOL. 3, P. 263), 158 fn, 160 & fn
 —, Yadu Nath, 234 fn
 Sinha, Mahamaya Prasad, 223 & fn
 —, Satya Narayan, (VOL. 2, P. 17), 233-235, 236 & fn
 —, Shyama Prasad, 223 & fn
 —, Sri Krishna, (*Vol. 3, p. 420*), 53 & fn-54, 209, 212, 216, 223 & fn
 Sinn Fein, 443
 Sironj, 205 fn
 Siruguppa, 159 fn, 208 fn
 Sobolev, M., 379 fn
 Socialist International, 343 & fn, 361
 Socialist Party, 160
 Soe, Thakin, 340 fn
 Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat Sen), (*Vol. 2, p. 286*), 164 & fn-165, 330, 334, 353, 408-409, 539
 South Africa, Union of, 247 fn, 249, 251-253, 447, 514
 South East Asia Treaty Organization, 358, 373, 382 & fn, 385, 389, 524-525
 Soraya (Queen of Iran), 165 fn
 Southern Angami Tribal Council, 142 fn
 Soviet Academy of Science, 547 fn; meeting of (June 1947), 547 fn
 Soviet Union *see* USSR

- Spain, 363 fn, 377 & fn
 Special Marriage Act (October 1954), 40 & fn-41
 Special Sub-Committee for East Punjab and West Bengal (February 1948), 136 fn
 Sri Lanka, 9, 12, 104, 247 fn, 252, 363 fn, 369 & fn, 377fn, 407, 417 fn, 471, 503, 514; Government of, 369 & fn-370, 371
 Sri Prakasa, (*Vol. 2, p. 203*), 336 & fn
 Srinagar, 291 fn, 308-309, 311 & fn, 322, 349, 389 fn
 Srinivasan, C.R., (*VOL. 19, P. 184*), 437 & fn
 State Bank of India, 501 & fn
Statesman, The, 232 & fn, 476 fn
 States Reorganization Bill (1956), 278 fn
 States Reorganization Commission, 4 & fn-5 & fn, 6, 15, 49-51, 78, 153 fn-154 & fn, 155 fn, 157 & fn, 159 & fn, 161 & fn, 164-165, 168-171, 179-180 fn, 181, 184-286, 189, 195-197, 203 fn-204 & fn, 205 & fn-206, 207-208 & fn, 210, 213-214 fn, 236fn, 295 fn, 376 fn, 535; report of, 4 & fn, 19 fn, 46 fn, 49, 51, 153 & fn-154, 155, 157-161 & fn, 162-167 & fn, 170, 173, 176, 179-180, 184, 186-187, 190, 196, 204-205, 207-208, 213-214 fn, 236 fn, 521 & fn, 534
 Standard Motor Products of India Limited (Chennai), 273 fn
 Stalin, Josef, (*Vol. 2, p. 397*), 339, 344, 361, 550
 Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights (February 1947), 136 & fn
 Subrahmanyam, R., 103 & fn, 105
 Sudan, 539 & fn
 Suez Canal, 306, 514
 Sukthankar, Y.N., (*VOL. 21, P. 264*), 107 & fn
 Summit Conference (Geneva, 19-23 July 1955), 356, 358
 Sun Yat Sen, (*Vol. 9, p. 632*), 539
 Sundarayya, P.P., 550 & fn
 Sunderbans, 141 & fn
 Sunel enclave, 203 fn, 205 fn
 Supreme Court of India, 67 fn, 276 fn-277 fn
Suryavamsa Gajapatis of Orissa (R. Subrahmanyam), 103 fn
 Sweden, 416 fn
 Switzerland, 482
 Syria, 350, 382 fn, 387, 525
 Tagore, Rabindranath, 101, 110
 _____, Rathindranath, 109 & fn
 Taiwan *see* Formosa
 Taj Mahal, 45
 Tamil Nadu, 190, 226 fn, 369 fn
 Tamenglong (Manipur), 139 fn-140 fn
 Tanjore, 277 fn
 Tara Chand, (*Vol. 1, p. 331*), 391 & fn
 Tashkent, 299-300, 312, 327-328
 Tass News Agency, 420
 Teheran, 391
 Telengana, 179, 204 fn, 339 fn, 360, 547 & fn-548 fn
Telengana Struggle—Some Useful Lessons from its rich experience (C. Rajeshwar Rao), 547 fn
 Tennessee Valley Authority, 493
 Thacker, Maneklal S., (*VOL. 29, P. 141*), 124 & fn
 Thailand, 9, 382 fn
 Thomas, A.N., 137 fn
 Thorez, Maurice, 340 & fn
 Tibet, 13, 99, 104, 200 fn, 410
 Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, (*Vol. 1, p. 41*), 224
Times of India, The, 321 fn
Times of Karachi, The, 373 fn
Times, The, 321 fn, 329, 330 fn, 415 & fn
 Tiruthuraiundi (Tamil Nadu), 277 fn
 Tito, Josip Broz, (*VOL. 22, P. 414*), 357 & fn, 418 & fn-419 fn, 527 fn
 _____, Madame Jovanka Broz, 420
 Togliatti, Palmiro, 340 & fn
 Topchiev, Aleksandr Vasilevich, 126 fn, 134 & fn
 Travancore-Cochin, 27, 153 fn, 339 fn, 420
 Trichur, 25

- Trichur Municipal Council, 25 & fn
 Tripura, 153 fn, 339 fn
 Trivedi, C.M., (VOL. 3. P. 5), 105 & fn-106, 255 & fn
 Trombay, 134 fn
 Tucci, Giuseppe, 410 & fn
 Tuensang, 142 fn
 Tun, Thakin Than, 340 fn
 Tungabhadra Project, 208 & fn
 Tunisia, 352 fn
 Turkey, 248 fn, 306 fn, 380 fn, 382 fn, 387 & fn, 444, 468, 524, 527 & fn
 Turko-Iraqi Treaty (February 1955), 329 fn, 382 & fn, 387
 Turko-Pakistan Agreement (Karachi, April 1954), 387 & fn
 Tyagi, Mahavir, (*Vol. 5, p. 211*), 241 & fn
 Union Public Service Commission, 105
 USSR, 16, 30-31, 42, 71-73, 94, 99, 123 fn, 126 fn, 134 & fn, 148, 204, 232, 239, 259, 261, 264, 291 fn, 299-301, 303-304 & fn, 305-307, 312-313, 315, 317, 318 & fn-319 & fn, 324 fn-325, 326-327, 331-332, 335, 337-339, 340 fn-341, 342-344, 346 & fn, 347 & fn-348 fn, 350-351 & fn, 352-353 fn, 354-357 & fn, 358-359, 362-363, 364 fn-365, 377 & fn, 379 fn, 382, 385, 388-389 & fn, 391 & fn-392, 401 fn-402 fn, 403, 408, 416 fn, 418 fn, 420-422, 430-431, 443-445, 453, 458, 465, 470, 479-480, 483, 491-492, 500, 502-503, 511, 525-526 & fn, 527 & fn-528, 530-531, 533, 537, 546 fn, 549 & fn; Government of, 134, 303, 346, 351 & fn-352, 357 fn, 381 fn, 537 & fn
 UK, 61, 72-73, 94, 99-100, 102, 134 fn, 239-240, 247 fn-248 fn, 250-252, 257, 304-306 & fn, 310, 318-319 & fn, 324-325, 328-329 fn, 331, 350-352 & fn, 353 & fn, 356-357 & fn, 358-360 & fn, 364-365, 380 & fn-381, 382 & fn, 384-387, 390, 392 & fn, 397, 401, 403-404, 413, 419, 434, 439-443, 472, 477, 492, 504, 512, 514, 524-525 & fn, 526 & fn, 529-533, 537 & fn; Foreign Office of, 325 & fn; Government of, 139 fn, 164fn-165, 239, 241, 250, 255, 258, 265, 283, 324 & fn, 333, 356, 359, 381, 383-385, 391 fn-392 fn, 394-395, 403, 409, 416, 418, 426, 524, 533, 537 fn-538
 UK-US Draft Resolution on Disarmament, 388 & fn
 United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan, 349
 United Nations Organization, 21, 28, 35-36, 45, 274, 324, 347, 358, 363-364 fn, 373, 377 & fn-378 fn, 379, 383, 388, 397, 405 & fn-406, 408, 413 fn-414, 433, 474, 486, 529-530, 551; Charter of, 358 fn, 406, 424 fn; General Assembly of, 347 & fn-348 fn, 357 fn-358 fn, 363 fn, 377 fn, 379 fn, 387 fn, 414, 527 fn, 529 & fn-530 & fn; resolution of (December 1955), 363 fn; Security Council of, 305, 347 & fn-348 fn, 349, 377 & fn-378 fn, 379 fn, 406, 414
 USA, 30, 36, 42, 72-73, 99, 101, 122 fn, 123 fn, 134fn, 200 fn, 248 fn, 261, 304 & fn-305, 306 & fn, 310 & fn, 317 fn-318, 319 & fn, 324-325, 329, 333-334, 350-351 & fn, 352-353, 356-357 & fn, 358-359 & fn, 360 fn, 364 & fn-365, 377 & fn-378, 380-381 & fn, 382 & fn, 384, 386-387 & fn, 388 & fn, 391 & fn-392 & fn, 393, 395 & fn-396 & fn, 398 & fn, 401 & fn-402 & fn, 403, 413 fn, 416, 418-419, 422, 424 & fn, 425, 426 fn, 428 fn-429, 431-432 fn, 471-475, 477, 480, 483, 488-493, 502, 504, 512, 515-516, 524-525 & fn, 526-533, 537 fn-538 & fn, 548 & fn; Government of, 123, 304, 350, 359, 364 fn, 395-396, 401-402, 424 & fn, 426 fn, 428 fn-429, 432 & fn, 527 fn, 533, 537-538 & fn; State Department of, 364 fn, 428 & fn-429, 431
 United States Battle Act (1951), 402 & fn

- US-Pakistan Military Aid Agreement (Karachi, May 1954), 387 & fn
- Urdu hall (Hyderabad), 143 fn, 149
- Uttar Pradesh, 12, 44, 102, 143 & fn, 145, 147, 149, 153, 175, 193, 280, 313, 339 fn, 454, 545 fn; Government of, 149, 280 fn, 313
- Uttarayana, 109
- Uzbekistan, 327, 445
- Vardhaman Nagar, 137 fn
- Varma, Parmeshari Lal, 273 & fn-274, 275 & fn, 282 fn-283
- Vidarbha, 153 fn, 201-202, 204 fn-205 fn, 206, 215
- Vietnam, 306, 377 fn, 394, 397 & fn, 419
 _____, North, 419
 _____, South, 306, 394; Government of, 419; National Assembly of, 394
- Vijayapuri (Sripurvata), 9 & fn, 11, 13, 103-104
- Vindhya Pradesh, 153 fn, 157 fn-158 fn, 160, 521 & fn; Assembly of, 157 & fn-158, 160, 521 fn; Government of, 158 & fn
- Visalandhra, 215
- Visva-Bharti University, 107-108, 496 fn
- Visvesaraya, M., (*Vol. 3, p. 364*), 79 & fn
- Voroshilov, K. Y., (*VOL. 29, P. 211*), 340 & fn
- Wadiyar, Jayachamaraj (Maharaja of Mysore), 309 fn
- Warangal, 5 fn
- Washington, 389 fn, 395, 423, 428 fn-429, 431, 537fn
- West Bengal, 44 & fn, 49, 53 & fn-54 & fn, 70 fn, 91, 136 fn, 141 fn, 153 fn, 168 fn, 172, 180 & fn-181 & fn, 190, 209, 213, 216-218, 271 fn, 335 fn, 339 fn, 372 fn, 536; Government of, 134 fn, 312; Legislative Assembly of, 54 fn
- White Flag Communist Party (Stalinists, Myanmar), 340 fn
- Wint, Guy, 414 fn
- Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), 550 & fn
- World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), 550 & fn
- World Power in the Balance* (Tibor Mende), 437 fn
- World War (First), 406, 444, 474, 494
- World War (Second), 319 fn, 338, 406-407, 454, 474, 494, 546 fn, 550
- Yadon Ki Barat* (Josh Malihabadi), 266 fn
- Yugoslavia, 350, 357 fn, 418 fn, 527 & fn, 543 & fn
- Zerlina, 134 fn

The present volume covers the period from 18 November 1955 to 31 January 1956. The most important event during this period is the visit of the Soviet leaders to India.... the first visit of the Soviet leaders.... to a non-socialist developing country.... Of particular interest is the Prime Minister's anxiety to make the Soviet leadership understand his Government's problems with the Communist Party of India. The reaction of the Soviet leadership is tactful but non-committal....

At home the Report of the States Reorganization Commission has begun to create problems... It is interesting to note that for Nehru himself, the individual linguistic state is a low priority.... The preparation of the Second Five Year Plan.... gives Nehru an opportunity to analyse.... the problems of short-term and long-term planning.... the priority of primary education in national planning.... the relationship between heavy industries and small-scale industries.... divergent views about the Ambar Charkha....

Another important aspect of domestic politics is the relationship between the Centre and the states.... A potentially much more important issue was Nehru's suggestion to the J & K Government to examine feasibility of Shaikh Abdullah's release....

Nehru's fascination with science comes through, loud and clear, in his address to the annual session of the Science Congress. He speaks about the scientific temper and the scientific approach, particularly from the point of view of the development of atomic energy.... Perhaps the most important single development at home was the initiation of the Nagarjunasagar project in Andhra and Hyderabad.... the historical monuments at the site of the dam would be removed piece by piece and reconstructed on the top of a hill nearby.

Tibor Mende's conversations with Nehru is an exercise in self-analysis at a critical moment....

